

PRYNNE
—
CANTERBURIES
DOOME
—
LONDON
1646







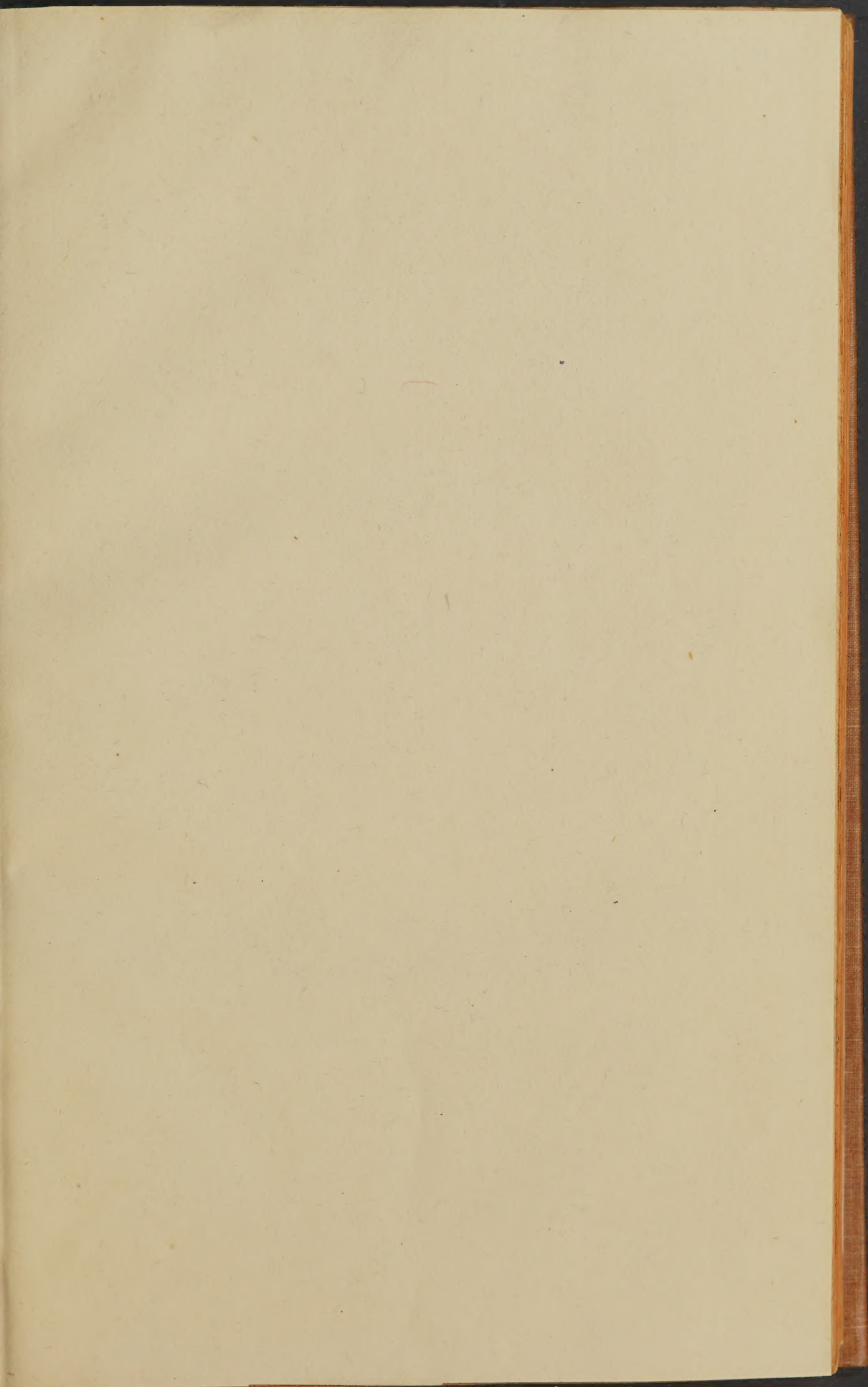
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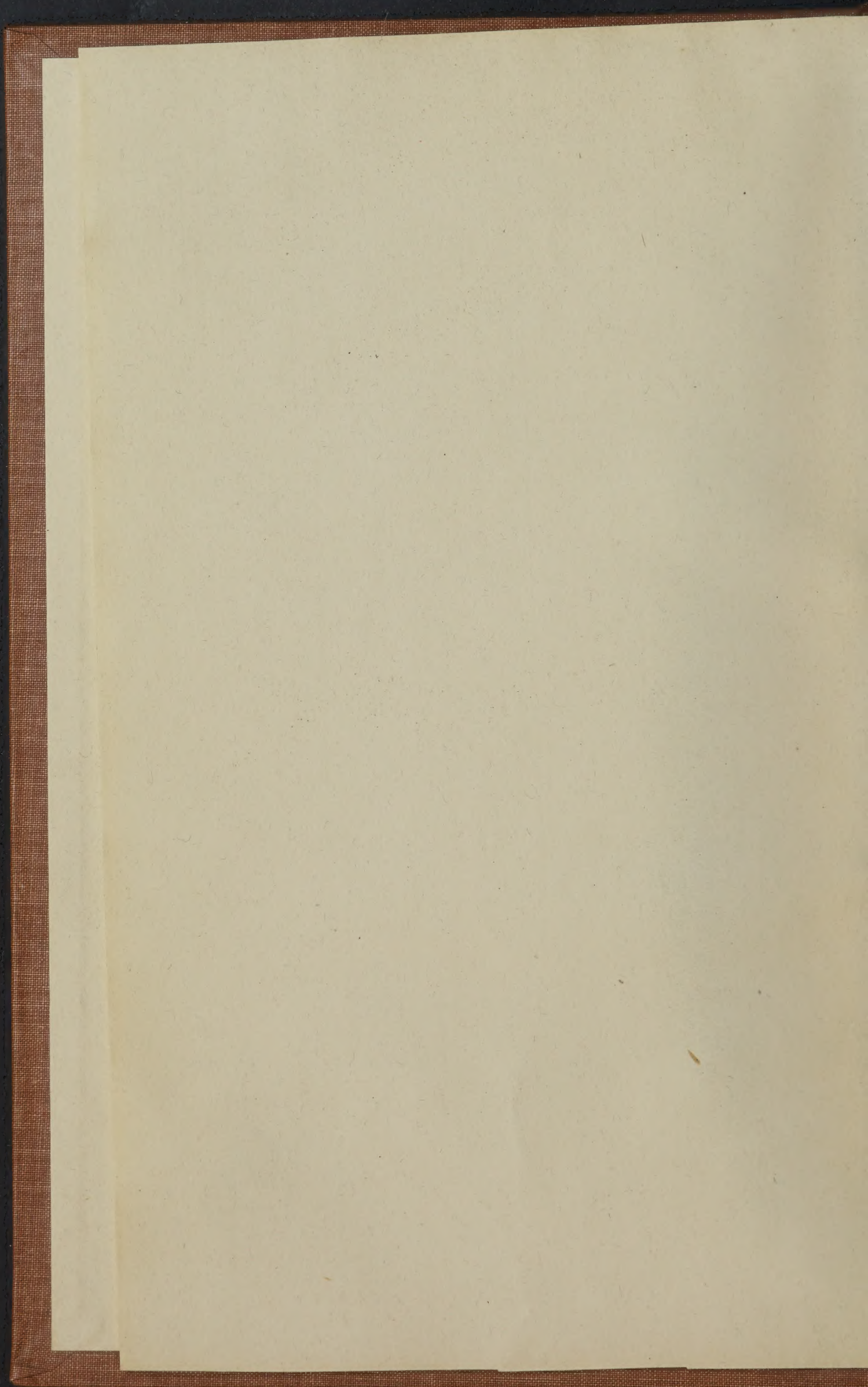
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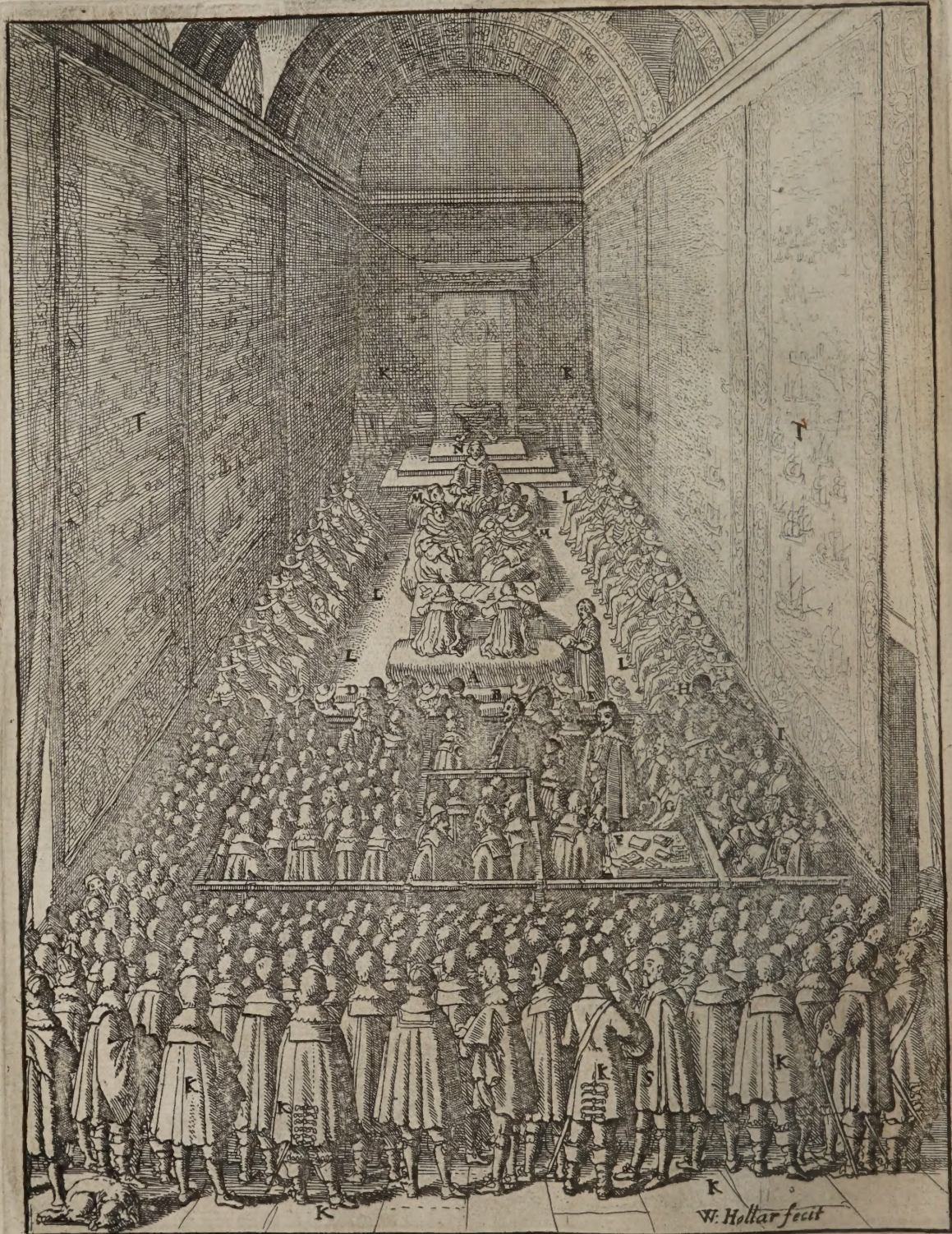




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Canterburies Doome.
OR
THE FIRST PART OF A
COMPLEAT
HISTORY
OF

The Commitment, Charge, Tryall, Condemnation,
Execution of **WILLIAM LAUD**
Late Arch-Bishop of **CANTERBURY**.

Containing the severall Orders, Articles, Proceedings in **PARLIAMENT** against him, from his first Accusation therein, till his Tryall: Together with the *Various Evidences* and *Proofs* produced against him at the **LORDS Bar**, in justification of the first branch of the **COMMONS Charge** against him; to wit, *His Trayterous Endeavours to Alter and Subvert Gods True Religion, by Law established among us; to introduce and set up Popish Superstition and Idolatry in lieu thereof, by insensible Degrees; and to Reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome, by sundry Jesuiticall Pollices, Practises: with his severall Answers to those Evidences, Proofs, and the COMMONS Reply thereunto.*

Wherein this Arch-Prelates manifold Trayterous Artifices to Usher in Popery by Degrees, are cleerly detected, and the *Ecclesiasticall History* of our Church-affaires, during his *Pontificall Domination*, faithfully presented to the publike View of the World.

By **WILLIAM PRYNNE**, of **Lincolns Inne**, Esquire;
Specially deputed to this publike Service, by the House of **Commons Order**; Dated 4 Martii. 1644.

PSAL. 7. 14, 15, 16.

Behold he travelleth with Iniquity, and hath conceived Mischiefe, and brought forth Falshood: He made a pit and digged it, and is fallen into the Pit that he digged: His Mischiefe shall return upon his own Head, and his Violent dealing shall come down upon his own Pate.

PSAL. 9. 16.

The Lord is known by the Judgement which he executeth; the Wicked is snared in the worke of his own hands.

LONDON,

Printed by John Macock, for Michael Spark senior, at the sign of the
Blue Bible in Green Arbour. 1646.

Die Martis 4^o Martii.

1644.

ORdered by the Commons Assembled in *Parliament*, that Master *Prynne* be desired to *Print* and publish all the Proceedings concerning the Archbishop of *Canterburies* Triall, with the approbation of the Committee that managed the Evidence at the said Tryall. And Master *Prynne* hath power to View and send for Writings, Papers, Orders, and Records, and to take Coppies thereof as he sees cause.

H. Elsynge Cler. Parl. D. Com.



TO

The Right Honourable, the *Lords* and *Commons*
IN PARLIAMENT Assembled.

OUR HONOURS earnest desires expressed in the premised Order, inevitably engaging me to compile and publish to the World, *A compleat History of the famous Tryall, of the late decapitated Archbishop of Canterbury*; I have, without other motives in Obedience thereunto (with as much Expedition as my many other distracting Occasions, and the Vastnesse of the Work would permit) finished the First Part thereof; (which I here humbly tender to Your Honourable Patronage and Acceptance) comprising, The severall Orders, Articles, and Parliamentary Proceedings against him, from his Originall Impeachment till his Triall; together with, the Commons Various Evidence; his severall Answers to it; and their Replies upon them, in maintenance of the First Generall Branch of their Charge of High Treason against him: to wit, His Trayterous Endeavours to alter, & subvert Gods true Religion by Law established among us; to introduce Popish Superstition and Idolatry in lieu thereof; and to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome, by sundry Jesuiticall Stratagems: The guilt of which black Execrable Charge (wherein he most of all protested, and endeavoured to clear his pretended Innocency, both during his Triall at the Bar, and at his Death on the Scaffold, as that which did most nearly concern him in his function as an Arch-Prelate, and in his Religion as a Protestant,) was so abundantly evidenced, so firmly fixed upon his white Rochet by a various multiplicity of unavoydable proofs, impregnable Demonstrations, (which all his Sophistry, Oratory, Subtilty, Protestations, could no wayes enervate or evade,) that it will stick fast upon him for Eternity, maugre all his own verball Apologies, during his life, or the Malignant Panegyricks, the scandalous Relations of any Anti-parliamentall, or Prelaticall Sycophants since his death: Who in open affront of Your most memorable Exemplary Justice, upon this Arch-Traytor, (the very Source and Compendium of all our late miseries) have proclaimed him to Posterity, in their late lying Legends of his death, *A most Glorious Martyr*, (as the Papists did his most Trayterous Predecessor, (a) Becket) and already canonized him for *A SAINT*: perchance, because beheaded on (b) Saint Williams day, the Popish Archbishop of Bourges in France; as great a disturber in his time, of that Kingdomes publike peace, and course of Justice; yea, as grand an Incendiary of the bloody wars against the Albigenis & French Protestants, as this Archbishop was of our Kingdoms tranquility, its publike Justice; and stirrer up of

(a) Joannis de Aton. Constit. fol. 149. 150.

Antiquitates Ecclesie Brit. and Godwin in his life, M. Fox Acts & Monuments, p. 105.

(b) Jan. 10. Les plus Grands du Berry rapportent au Roy, qu'il troublait le repos du public, & qu'il s'impairait contre toute la Justice de son domaine, &c. Il de publia la Bulle de censure par le Pape pour faire la guerre aux Albigeois avec tant de zele & de fruit, que plusieurs a sa parole s'y croiserent courageusement. La guerre eut une issue heureuse, car les Heretiques furent tellement deconstitues qu'ils ne purent depuis se remettre en campagne, &c. Ribadeniera Flores des Vies des Saints p. 124.

the War against the Scots; yet for all this enrolled in the *Red Calendar of Romish Saints*.

There have lately come unto my hands two Oxford Pamphlets; the one intituled: *A true Relation of the Death of the most Reverend Father in God, William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, upon Tower hill, January, 10. 1644.* (First Printed at Oxford, and since at Bristol, Anno 1644.) Which begins thus:

Note.

On Fryday, Jan. 10. THE REBELS MARTYRED the most Reverend Father in God, William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury upon Tower hill, after they had kept him prisoner above four years: And then relating his speech and Prayer on the Scaffold, it concludes in these words: Thus dyed the KINGS, and the CHURCHES MARTYR; a man of such Integrity, Learning, Devotion, and Courage, as had belived in the Primitive times, they would have given him another name: whom though the cheated multitude were taught to misconceive, (for these honoured him) yet impartiall posterity will know how to value him, when they hear the Rebels sentenced him the very same houre that they voted down the Liturgy of the Church of England; whose innocency cries to heaven for Vengeance, upon the heads of these destroyers, who pile MURDER upon Murder to fortifie their Covenant, that upon this generation may come all the RIGHTEOUS BLOOD, from him whose blood was first shed, to the pulling down this great Pillar of our Church, which if you consider, is THE MOST GROUNDLES, MALITIOUS, SOLEMNE STUDIED MURDER THAT EVER WAS COMMITTED IN THIS WRETCHED ISLAND.

Note.

The later Pamphlet Imprinted at Oxford, of the same Subject, dated as the former, (inscribed; *A briefe Relation of the Death, and Sufferings of the most Reverend and Renowned Prelate, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, with a more perfect Coppy of his Speech and other passages on the Scaffold, than hath been hitherto Imprinted;*) thus blazons this Arch-traytors Innocency, merits, sufferings. * He that had so long lived a Confessor (a Popish Confessor if he please to the Duke of Buckingham and others) could not but think it release of misery to be made a MARTYR. He ascended the Scaffold with so brave a courage, such a cheerfull countenance, as if he had mounted rather to behold a Triumph than to be made a Sacrifice, and came not there to dye, but to be translated; and to say truth, it was no Scaffold but a Throne; a Throne whereon he was shortly to receive a Crown, even the most glorious Crown of MARTYRDOME: After which he stiles him, *A glorious Martyr*; his blood, Innocent blood; yea, thus extols his Innocency, and Canonizeth him for a Saint in a Poeticall Elegie, especially in these ensuing lines.

* Page 14. 15.
25.

Through the hand
Of base detraction practise to defame
Thy spotlesse Virtues, yet impartiall fame
Shall do thee all just honour, and set forth
To all succeeding times thy matchlesse worth;

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No Annalls shall be writ, but what relate
 Thy happy influence, both on Church and State;
 Thy zeal to publike Order, thy great parts
 For all affairs of weight; thy love to Arts;
 And to our shame and his great glory tell,
 For whose dear sake, by whose vile hands he fell.
 A death so full of Merits, of such price,
 To God and man so sweet a sacrifice,
 As by good Church-Law may his name prefer,
 To a fixt Rubrick in the Calender.
 And let this silence the pure Sects complaint,
 If they make Martyrs, we may make a SAINT, &c.

Note.

And not onely these Anonymous Pamphleters, but King Charles himself, who not long before had given him an ample Pardon, as a Traytor, under his great Seal of England, forgetting what he had done herein, doth in his own * Letter to the Queen, dated Jan. 14. 1644. cry up this head-
 lesse Arch-bishop for a Martyr; yea, deems his blood so meritorious, so Innocent; that being totally the Parliaments, he beleeves it no presumption, hereafter to hope that Gods hand of Justice, (for the Parliaments just effu-
 sion of his blood) must be (thence-forth) heavier upon them and lighter upon him and his Anti-parliamentary Partie, looking now upon their cause having passed by their faults. If his blood so lately shed by the axe of Justice be already become so meritorious, as to ballance the scales of Gods Justice in this manner; we may justly fear it will in few years more grow into as great esteem at Court, as Thomas of Becketts his Tray-
 terly predecessors blood, did in former times among the Prelatical Po-
 pish party; who attributed more efficacy to it then to Christs, and therefore presumed most blasphemously to pray to Christ himselfe to save them, by his own, but this Arch-Traytors blood, in this distick.

* See the Kings Cab-
 net opened.

* Tu per Thomæ Sanguinem quem prote impendit
 Fac nos Christe scandere quo Thomas ascendit.

* Officium Bea-
 tæ Mariæ se-
 cundum Vsum
 Sarum, Parisiis
 1519. p. 12.
 Bishop Jewels
 Defence of the
 Apology, part
 2. c. 18. Di-
 vis. 1. p. 295.
 296.

But as the manifold glorious Victories, miraculous Successes of the Parliaments Forces since his Execution, have experimentally frustrated this his Majesties groundlesse Hope and Presumption, that Gods hand of Ju-
 stice would be heavier upon the Parliaments Party, but lighter upon him and his, by reason of his crying blood, it being never lifted up so extraordinarily, so visibly for the Parliament before, nor falling so heavily upon the King and his Partizans, as since his beheading, and the Kings overconfident relying on the Merits of the Blood of such a Traytor for successe in his warrs against the Parliament; So, I presume, the setting forth of this Hi-
 story of his Tryall, will soon Un-Martyr, Un-Saint, Uncrown this Arch-
 Imposter, by presenting him in his Proper Colours, stript of all Disguises, and render him so desperately criminall, so transcendently Trayterous in all respects, especially in point of undermining the Protestant Religi-
 on, wherein himself and his Parasites have endeavoured most of all to vin-
 dicate his Innocency, that all Generations will unanimously pronounce

him, the *Archeſt Enemy* to, the moſt active univerſall *Underminer* of the *Proteſtant Religion* eſtabliſhed among us, that ever breathed in *Engliſh* ayre; and readily acknowledge, that no *Eccleſiaſticall Annalls* ever recorded his *Paralell*, for multiplicity of desperate cunning *Jefuiticall Stratagems* ſecretly to ſubvert that *Orthodox Reformed Religion* which himſelfe pretended to profeſſe; nay, propagate and patronize.

It is far below the Magnanimity of my Spirit in the leaſt meaſure maliciously to blaſt the *Fame*, or revengefully to triumph over, to trample upon the *Aſhes* of a *Vanquiſhed Enemy*, whom I never dreaded, or ſlandered all his life, forgave and pittied both before and at his death; the *Memory* of whoſe *Capital crimes* ſhould have expired with his *breath*, and been eternally buried in oblivion with his *Corps*, by me, had not Your *Honors ſuperiour Commands* neceſſitated me to revive, record them to Poſterity ſince his death (as well as to give them in evidence at his *Tryall*,) for Vindication of Your *untainted Juſtice*, and the *Common Good*, to deter all others in future Ages from the like *Trayterous Practiſes*. If any therefore deem my *Expreſſions*, concerning him or his actions, over-laviſh, malicious, or revengefull, let them impartially compare them with his *Criminall Offences* here recorded, (which they hardly equalize, or fall far ſhort of) and then if they warrant not the *harſheſt Epithites*, the blackeſt *Characters* here beſtowed on him, let me eternally bear the blame and ſhame: but if they be ſcarce proportionate to his *Treaſons*, his grand *Miſdemeanors*, (which muſt be blazoned and ſet forth in language ſuitable to their *transcendent Hainouſneſſe*, not minced, not extenuated by over-diminutive expreſſions) I hope none will or can be ſo injurious, as to charge me with *Calumny*, much leſſe *Scurrility* or *Revenge*, who never yet particularly demanded, received the leaſt farthing Recompence from him or any of his, for all the *barbarous Cruelties*, *Oppreſſions*, *Imprifonments*, *great Loſſes*, *Damages* I ſuſtained, eight years ſpace together, onely for diſcovering, oppoſing, countermining (to the utmoſt of my ſkill and power) all *Popiſh Plots*, *Innovations*, *Proceedings* of this Arch-Prelate and his confederates to undermine our Religion, re-eſtabliſh Popery among us by degrees, and ſet up an *arbitrary Papall power*, the better to effect the ſame: the onely reall cauſe of all my former ſufferings.

Yet three things there are, I foreſee may poſſibly be objected againſt me by his complices, which need ſome Answer to prevent their cauſeleſſe Calumnies.

Object. 1.

The firſt is, That in this *History of his Tryall*, I have at large inſerted ſome particular papers, paſſages, (eſpecially in the Catalogue of the *Arminian, Popiſh Errours*, vented in, and of the clauſes againſt them purged out of late new Printed Books) which were not actually, or at leaſt fully read at the Lords Bar; Therefore I am guilty of partiality and unfaithfulneſſe in relating the Evidence given in againſt him at the Bar, by theſe additions to it.

Answer. 1.

To which I answer. Firſt, that all the Evidence, Paſſages here at large recited (with many more) were prepared and ready by me at the Bar; yea the effect of every Paper, paſſage here recorded, was in generall terms opened, preſſed at the tryall, though not all fully read and particularly urged
for

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for want of time: which I have here more largely inserted for clearing the truth, and satisfying the Reader, the most materiall passages being onely read at large, the rest of like nature but briefly referred to in generall to avoyd prolixity, and husband time.

Secondly, that I have largely recorded none of these Passages here by way of New *Additionall Evidence*, requiring answer, but onely for illustration or corroboration of the old, fully given in and read.

Thirdly, the Catalogue of new licensed Popish Doctrines, and of the Purgations of Passages against Popery, Arminianisme, arbytrary government, Prophanesse, &c. wherein most of the new Additions, not fully read, are inserted, make but one intire charge, not divers; and had but one generall Answer, defence given to them by the Arch-bishop; to wit, that they were not licensed nor purged out by himself, but only by his and the Bishop of *Londons* Chaplains, who must answer for them, and that they concerned not him: therefore these Additions making no new charge, and receiving all the selfe-same Answer & defence, no indifferent persons can justly taxe me with partiality or injustice for inserting them into this History, for the fuller discovery of his Popish intentions in this kinde, (which want of time prevented us to display so fully at the Bar, as was desired, where we had each particular ready in writing proved upon oath) it being not onely excusable, but justifiable, yea necessary in a History of this nature, which so much concernes Religion and the publick.

The second thing, which perchance will be alleadged against me, is; *Object. 2.* That I have not so fully, so punctually related the Arch-bishops severall Answers and Replies to all the particulars of his charge as he uttered them *viva voce* at the Bar in his particular and generall *Defences* (who spake as much for himselfe as the wit of man could invent, in so bad a cause) and that I have made some few Additions to the Commons sodain Replications to his Answers.

To this I answer: First, that I used all possible diligence, both by friendly intreaty and the power of Authority, to procure the Archbishops own Notes of his Answers and Defences to the Commons charge, or authentick Coppies of them, from Mr. *Dell* his Secretary and others; that so I might Print them *verbatim* to avoyd all calumnies; but I could obtain neither from them; *M Dell* protesting, that neither he, nor any other to his knowledge, had the originalls nor any coppies of them; and *that he beleev- ed, his Lord did burn all the Notes of his answers and defence before his death, of purpose to prevent their publication after it.* So that if I have casually omitted or mistaken any part of his *Answers* or *Defence*, himself or his own creatures must beare the blame, not I; who have as faithfully, as exactly as I could supplied this defect of his own Papers, out of the Notes of others and mine own fragill memory, relating all his Answers, Defences, as neer as possible in his own termes, and pressing them fully for his best advantage, without the least wilfull omission or diminution of any one particular of moment. *Ans. 1.*

Secondly, For the Commons subitane Replies to his Answers, I have rehearsed them as neer as I could in their own termes; and made no Additions thereunto, but onely of some *Authors testimonies* concerning the
unlawful-

unlawfulness of Images, Crucifixes, Altars, the placing and rayling in Altars and Lords Tables altarwise against the Eastwall, & the consecration of Churches and Chapples; wherein the Archbishop much abused his Auditory with empty flashes and confident pretences of antiquity, which Mr *Serjeant Wilde* at large refuted by the Testimony of *Fathers* & other orthodox Writers, and Mr *Nichols* too, as far as the shortnesse of time permitted; to the substance of whose replies in these particulars I have added very little, but only for learning sake and the fuller clearing of the truth.

Object. 3.

If any shall further object, that I have related his Charge intirely together in one continued *Discourse*, but his Answers & the Commons Replies thereto in fractions; not in one continued Discourse, as they were delivered each day severally at the Bar, and summed up at last in the Lords and Commons House.

Ans.

I answer, it is truth: and I did it for these Reasons. First, to avoyde Prolixity, & tedious Repetitions of the self same things: For had I recited his severall *Answers, Defences* & the Commons Replies to them as they were made at the Bar each day by themselves; and then repeated his generall Answers, Defences in the Lords and Commons House, and Mr *Brownes* Reply thereto distinctly by themselves, I should have repeated the selfe-same things, with very little variation, three or four times over to no purpose; whereas now I have contracted the summe of all his Answers, Defences to each particular Charge & Proof with the Commons Replies thereto into one, to eschew Prolixity and Tautologies: 2ly, I did it to prevent confusion; and for clearer Discovery of the truth, the pertinency of the evidence given in against him in each Particular: For had I contracted all his Answers, Defences into one, and represented them in one intire continued Discourse by themselves; and then have subjoyned the Commons Replies unto them intirely together, the Reader could never have clearly discovered the frivolousnes, falsenes, or impertinency of his severall Answers to each particular charge, or the strength of the Commons Replies thereto; nor yet so well have observed, to what particulars he gave answer, to what not; whereas now by this Perspicuous Method I have followed, in reciting his Particular Answers and Defence distinctly to each Branch of his Charge and the Evidence brought to prove it, and then annexing the Commons Replies thereunto; the Readers may with ease and delight (by comparing the Charge, Proofes, Answers, Defence and Replies together) most clearly discover the truth, weight of each Charge and Proof; the weaknesse, falsenesse, defects, and insufficiency of all his Answers; the satisfactorines of the Commons Replies, and his undoubted Guiltinesse of all the particulars charged on him. Thirdly, the Archbishop alledged sundry things in his particular Answers and Defences each day, which he omitted in his *generall Defences in both Houses*; and added some things in his *Generall Defences*, which he omitted in his particular; by reason whereof I was necessitated to collect all his scattered Answers, Defences to each particular Charge into one, for his better advantage, and the Commons Replies thereto. Which being thus compacted together, without interposition

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position of any heterogenius matter in their proper places, for the premised reasons necessitating me to this method; no rationall man can justly taxe me for it, as being no wayes injurious to the Archbishops cause, nor tending to his disadvantage.

These Objections from the Arch-bishops Prelaticall partie being removed, there are two things more, wherein Your *Honours* and the *world* may justly demand some satisfaction, to exempt me from all causelesse censures.

First, you may justly inquire the Reasons; why this *History of the Arch-bishops Tryall*, hath stuck so long in my hands before its publication, seeing it was expected many moneths since?

Secondly, why it comes forth by parcels onely, not compleat and intire, after so long an expectation of the whole tryall and proceedings?

To the former demand, I answer: First, that this task was by speciall Order, originally imposed upon those Members of the Commons House, that managed the Evidence, not on me: who totally declining it, some four Moneths after the Triall and above 2 Moneths after the Execution, this work was delegated by the Commons unto me; at which time most of the *Papers, Notes, Books, Evidences*, used at his tryall, were laid aside and dispersed into severall mens hands: whereby much time was spent before I could recollect and marshall them into Order, to digest this *History* out of them. Secondly, since the assignment of this task unto my care, I have been almost every day taken up with publike employments for the State, at the *Committee of Accounts*, and elsewhere, besides the daily avocations of my particular calling (my onely support since our unhappy Wars) so as I have had few vacant hours to compile it, but those I have borrowed from my naturall rest, whiles others have bin sleeping. Thirdly, I have since this undertaking, been necessitated to write & publish fundry other Impressions (uncapable of delay) in defence of the *Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction of Parliaments, Civill Magistrates*, and concerning *Ecclesiasticall Censures and Church-Government*, against *Independents, Anabaptists*, others; yea to Vindicate the *Parliaments just Proceedings*, with mine own Innocency, against the seditious *Anti-parliamentary Libels*, of that notorious impudent Libeller and Lyar, *L. Col. Lilburn*, who still * perseveres in his trespasses, to the dishonour and scandal of publike justice. All which considered, I suppose Your *Honours* and others will easily beleeve, I wanted no diligence, but leisure onely for the speedier accomplishment of this work: wherein notwithstanding I have not been negligent; witnesse my publication of the *Breviate of the Archbishops life*, and of *A necessary Introduction of his Tryall*, (amounting to a large Volume) sufficient to assoyle me from the least imputation of idlenesse or negligence in this very subject. Fourthly, Adde hereunto the voluminousnesse of this *First Part of the Archbishops Tryal* onely, with the variety of the matter, charges therein contained; the trouble I had in digesting; the Labour in compiling, writing, reviewing, fitting it for and Correcting, Revising it at the Presse, with the coldnesse

* See his late Libell intituled, *Innocency and Truth justified*.

coldnesse of this last winters Vacation when neither pen, nor Presse could worke, for sundry weekes together: and compare this with the former reasons (and the Printers slacknesse which hath delayed it very much) and then I doubt not but your *Honours* and all others will rather wonder, how I could possibly compleat this *Voluminous Part* so speedily, then question or quarrell with me, why it comes forth so slowly? it being work enough to have swallowed up all my time since the *Order*, had I had no other imployments to divert me.

Ans^w. 2.

To the second demand, I must returne this Answer: First, that I published this History thus in parcells, for want of time to compleat and print it all together in due season. Secondly, that the long expectation of this Tryall, and mens calling for it every day. induced me to satisfie their longing appetites, with these *First-fruits* of it, *concerning Religion*; (the thing most looked, most inquired after, both at home and abroad) till the full crop be ripened for the harvest, which will require some *warmer moneths* to concoct it, ere it can attain to maturity. Thirdly, The great Charge of the *Stationer* in Printing this first Part, (the voluminousnesse and price whereof hath, I fear, out-swelled most Chapments purses in these Indigent times) with the serious consideration of the incertainty of my life and future opportunity in these dayes of War and mortality to finish the remainder of this Worke (which God willing I intend to compleat and publish with all convenient speed) have induced me, rather to gratifie your *Honours* and the World with these *First-fruits* for the present, then to hazard the depriving you of it, or the whole History, if deferred till all were compleated.

Having answered these demands, I shall now crave liberty and your Noble Patience to raise some profitable Observations from the *Subject matter of this History*, not unworthy your *Honours* saddest thoughts.

If we consider the meane obscure Parentage of this *Arch-Prelate*, his grand Preferments, the great mischiefes he did in Church, State, and his Execution after all; it may suggest these profitable contemplations to our minds.

First, That God by his power and all-disposing providence can raise up Persons of the lowest place or Parentage, to the highest Pinacles of worldly Honour: according to that in the *1 Sam. 2. 8.* and *Psal. 118. 7, 8.* *He raiseth up the Poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the Beggar from the dunghill, to set them among the Princes, and make them inherite the Throne of glory.*

2. That God can make the most vile and despicable persons in the world, grand Pests or Punishments to whole Kingdomes, Nations, when he pleaseth; *Dan. 11. 21, 22. 1 Kings 11. 26. c. 12. 2. & c. c. 13. & 14.* even as he made *Frogs, Lice, Caterpillers* (the vilest creatures) a very fore plague to King *Pharaoh* and the whole *Kingdome of Egypt*, *Exod. c. 7. 8. and 9.*

3. That persons sodainly advanced from the lowest degree of men, to the highest pitch of honour, proove commonly the most insolent, violent, domineering, imperious, tyrannicall, and mischievous of all others

such preferments, being unable to weld or mannage the greatnesse of their fortune. See *Mat.* 24. 48. to the end, 2 *Chro.* 10. 8. to 16. *Eccles.* 10. 1. 6, 7. *Psal.* 73. 6. to 13. *Iob.* 21. 7. to 20.

Fourthly, That grand preferments without great grace to mannage, improve them to Gods glory, and the common good, are greater judgements than blessings, and for the most part, the immediate occasions of mens greatest ruin by their evill Councells, or ill managing of their greatnesse to the publike prejudice, *Pf.* 73. 3. to 21. *Iob.* 21. 7. &c. *Psal.* 37. 1. 2. *Ester.* c. 3. to 8.

Fifthly, That mischievous Councellours and wicked Instruments in Church, State; though never so great in power or Favour with their Princes for a season, seldome escape condigne exemplary punishment at the last: and that no greatnesse whatsoever is able finally to protect mischievous Grantees, from the hand of publike justice: *Ester* 7. 1 *Kings* 2. 28. to 35.

Let all great ones then seriously consider this, and remember *Canterbury*, lest they dye and fall like him.

If we again observe his Preferments, Actions, Proceedings and miserable end as a Clergy man, we may raise these profitable observations from this History of his Tryall, which all Prelates, Clergy men may do well to consider, as oft as they thinke of *Canterbury*.

First, that when Clergy men cast aside or neglect their callings, and turne meer Statesmen, they commonly prove the very worst and most oppressive Persons of all others. *Matth.* 5. 13. 2 *Theff.* 2. 3.

Secondly, That one over-potent Prelate backed with a Kings Royall power and favour, is able to unsettle Religion where it is best established, and embroyle, ruine the most flourishing Churches, Kingdomes in few yeares space. 2 *Theff.* 2. 4. 9, 10, 11, 12. *Revel.* 13. 2. to 18.

Thirdly, That there are no such desperate underminers, persecutors, suppressors of Gods true Religion, Saints, people, as over-potent wicked Prelates: And that dissembling Potent Protestant Prelates, Clergymen are greater Enemies to the Protestant Religion for the most part, then professed Papists: 2 *Theff.* 2. 4. 9, 10, 11, 12. *Revel.* 13. *Matth.* 24. 5. 11. 24. *Acts* 20. 22. 30. *Iohn* 6. 70, 71.

Fourthly, That the foulest Practises, Conspiracies against the Protestant Religion may be and usually are guiled over with the most specious pretences for its Advancement. And therefore it concernes us alwayes to weigh and judge of men by their Actions, not their Protestations: *Matth.* 7. 15. *Rev.* 13. 2. to 18.

Fifthly, That the most hopefull designs, the most successfull Plots, Proceedings against the true Religion and Saints of God, do alwayes prove abortive in conclusion; and that the prevailing contrivances, successes of many yeares travell in this kinde are usually, by a divine over-ruling providence, oft times, like so many Cobwebs, swept down, dashed in pieces, and wholly disappointed in a moment, when they are nearest accomplishment in all humane probability *Pf.* 73. 18, 19, 20. *Psal.* 21. 11, 12. *Gen.* 11. 3. &c. *Exod.* 14. 19 to 31. *Esay.* 8. 9. 10.

Sixtly, That God in his infinite wisdom and justice can turne all the Plots, Contrivances of wicked men to ruine his truth, Church, people,

ple, to be the proper immediate instruments of their contrivers ruine. (*He taketh the wise in their own craftinesse, &c.* Job. 5. 12, 13, 14.) and to the advancement of his Gospel, Cause, people, as he did in the cases of *Ioseph*, and *Mordecai*.

Seventhly, That great Ecclesiasticall or temporall Preferments and Court Favours, seldome make men better but worser then before: *Deut. 6. 10, 11. 12. c. 8. 10. 19. 2 Chron. 26. 16. c. 31. 25, 26.*

Eightly, That those who are Superstitious or Presumptuous in their life time, are seldome penitent, but for the most part obstinate, senselesse or desperate at their deaths; and have commonly a greater care to support their crackt credits, by justifying or denying their evill actions, then to save their souls, by confessing or bewailing their guilt.

This was the condition of this Arch-Prelate who lived to survive and behold the downfall of all his Popish Plots, Innovations, Superstitions, Canons, the High Commission and Prelacy it selfe, the grand Idolls he endeavoured to set up and perpetuate among us; Yet all the Superstitions, Idolatries, Romish Errors, Tyrannous oppressions he had maintained, practised in his life, he most obstinately justified, without the least remorse, or acknowledgment of guilt, of error, both at his Tryall and Death. Yea though he were so conscious to himselfe of all the crimes wherewith he was charged, that he procured a *Pardon* from *Oxford* under the *Kings* own hand and *great Seale*, soon after the beginning of his Tryall (which made him so bold, so peremptory at the Barr;) yet lest it should imply or argue a guiltinesse in him, he chose rather to conceal this *Pardon*, and stand upon his plenary justification, till after his condemnation, then produce or plead it; not sending it to your *Honors* till he was ordered to be hanged at *Tyburne*: upon which occasion he acquainted both *Houses* with it, to deprecate and exchange that punishment for a more *Honourable kind of execution* on the *Scaffold at Tower hill*, where his head was chopped off, instead of a Hanging at *Tyburne*. And although all ingenious men would have imagined, that the blood of the many Soules he had starved, seduced, destroyed all his time by suppressing preaching, suspending, silencing, censuring, banishing godly Ministers, Lecturers without any reall Cause, pressing the *Booke of Sports*, introducing Popish, Arminian Soul-destroying Errors, Superstitions, Innovations, Prophanations; with the blood of the bodies of divers thousands shed in *England, Scotland, Ireland*, by our unhappy Warrs (originally occasioned and stirred up by him) might have been prevalent enough to relent his Adamantine heart, and draw forth teares of repentance, of compunction from his eyes and soule, yet such was his desperate Obstinacy & Impenitency on the scaffold, that he never so much as confessed or bewayled at his death these bloody crimes, nor any of those *Trayterous Offences* for which he was justly condemned; but with a brow of brasse and heart of stone, impudently justified his Innocency, nay Crimes to the utmost, without demanding Pardon of them from God or Man, though he tookethis ensuing Pardon from the King (a sufficient evidence of his guilt) which I have *Verbatim* transcribed out of the Originall passed under the Great Seale at *Oxford*.

CHARLES

CHARLES R.

CAROLVS dei gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Rex fidei Defensor, &c. Omnibus ad quos præsentēs Literæ pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod Nos pietate mori, de gratia Nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia & mero motu Nostris, *Pardonavimus, remisimus & relaxavimus*, ac per præsentēs Nobis, Hæredibus & Successoribus Nostris pardonamus, remittimus & relaxamus *Willielmo Laud*, Clerico, *Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi*, seu quocunque alio nomine, cognomine, titulo, cognitione sive additione nominis, artis, loci, vel locorum præfatus *Williamus Laud* censeatur, vocetur, nuncupetur, sive cognoscatur, aut nuper aut ante hac censebatur, nuncupabatur, sive cognitus fuit, *Omnes & omnimodas PRODITIONES, tam majores quam minores, & criminalesæ Majestatis quæcunque; & omnes & omnimodas Misprisiones et concealamenta Proditionum quarumcunque, per præfatum Willielmum Laud solum, vel cum aliquo alio, sive aliquibus aliis, qualicunque aut ubicunque, aut in aliquo modo vel in tempore factis, perpetratas vel commissas, nec non omnes & omnimodas Felonias quascunque, tam per vel contra Communem Legem Regni Nostris, quam per vel contra quæcunque Statuta, Actus, Ordinationes sive Provisiones ejusdem Regni Nostris, et accessaria quarumcunque Feloniarum, & fugam & fugas superinde factas, nec non omnes & omnimodas Subversiones & enervationes Legum, et omnes & omnimodas Conspiraciones, Confederaciones, Consilia, Advisamenta, Offensas & alia malefacta quæcunque per præfatum Willielmum Laud solum, vel cum aliquo alio, sive aliquibus aliis in Subuersione aut enervatione Legum, aut assumendo Regalem Potestatem aut Authoritatē aliquam aut ubicunque; aut in aliquo modo aut tempore habita, facta, data, commissas aut perpetratas: nec non omnes & omnimodas Offensas, Crimina, Transgressiones & alia malefacta quæcunque de Præmunire, aut communiter vocata aut cognita per nomen de Præmunire, aut pro quo vel pro quibus judicium, excurio, pæna aut forisfactura in casu de Præmunire, sive per aliquod Statutum de Provisoriis factum & editum, reddenda, exequenda, infligenda aut incurrenda sunt aut essent, aut fuerint per præfatum Willielmum Laud solum, vel cum aliquo alio sive aliquibus aliis, ubicunque aut in aliquo modo aut tempore perpetrata, facta aut commissas, et accessaria prædictarum Offensarum, Criminum, Transgressionum et Malefactorum, & eorum alicujus & aliquorum; Nec non omnes & omnimodas Confederaciones, Conspiraciones illicitas, Convocationes & Assemblaciones illicitas, verborum prolationes, misprisiones, Jurisdictionum usurpaciones & exercitia illicita, legum fractiones, illicitas Juramentorum impositiones, & ministraciones, contemptus, negligentias, legum violationes, mala & illicita Consilia & advisamenta, & omnes alias offensas, crimina, malefacta & transgressiones quæcunque per quodcunque nomen aut per quæcunque nomina idem vel eadem appellata, vocata & nuncupata sunt, essent aut fuerint per præfatum Willielmum Laud solum, vel cum aliquo alio aut cum aliquibus aliis, qualicunque aut ubicunque, aut in aliquo modo aut in aliquo tempore habita, facta, perpetrata aut commissas; et omnia et singula eadem aut eorum aliquod vel aliqua tangentia vel concernentia, licet idem Willielmus Laud, de, aut pro præmissis, aut eorum aliquo vel aliquibus in Curia nostra Parlamenti, aut in aliqua alia Curia, sive aliquibus*

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*Curiis, aut coram aliquo iudice vel persona, aut aliquibus iudicibus aut personis, aut in aliquo modo aut aliqua via quibuscunque impetitus, iudicatus, reatus, appellatus, adjudicatus, condemnatus, utlagatus, convictus vel attingtus existet aut non existet, aut impetiri, iudicari, reari, appellari, adjudicari, condemnari, utlagari, convinci, aut attingi contigerit in futuro. Et omnes & singulas utlagarias in aut versus præfatum Willielmum Laud ratione vel occatione præmissorum vel eorum alicujus & aliquorum promulgatas aut promulgandas; Ac etiam omnia & singula iudicia, executiones, penas mortis, penas corporales, imprisonamenta, pœnalitates, forisfacturas, infamias, irregularitates, defectus seu inhabilitates quæcunque in aut versus præfatum Willielmum Laud ratione vel occatione præmissorum aut eorum aliquorum vel alicujus reddita, facta, habita, adjudicata, aut imposita, aut imposterum reddenda, fienda, habenda, adjudicanda, imponenda aut exequenda; Nec non omnes et omnimodas sectas, querelas, impetitiones & demandas quascunque quæ Nos versus præfatum Willielmum Laud pro præmissis, sive aliquo præmissorum habemus, habuimus, seu in futuro habere poterimus, aut Hæredes vel Successores Nostri versus ipsum pro præmissis vel aliquo præmissorum habere possint in futuro; Ac Sectam pacis Nostræ, quæ ad Nos versus præfatum Willielmum Laud spectat vel pertinet, sive pertinere poterit, ratione præmissorum sive eorum alicujus vel aliquorum; Et firmam Pacem eidem Willielmo Laud inde concedimus per præsentem. Pardonamus etiam, remittimus & relaxamus per præsentem pro Nobis Hæredibus & Successoribus nostris præfato Willielmo Laud, omnia et singula deperdita & forisfacturas quorumcunque bonorum et catallorum, terrarum, possessionum tenementorum & hereditamentorum suorum Nobis occasione præmissorum aut eorum alicujus qualicunque forisfacta, sive deperdita, in quorumcunque sive cujuscunque manibus aut possessionibus jam existent aut existere debent. Et eadem bona, catalla, terras, possessiones tenementa, et hereditamenta præfato Willielmo Laud damus & restitui-
mus per præsentem pro Nobis, Hæredibus et Successoribus Nostris; Habendum, tenendum, gaudendum & possidendum eidem Willielmo de dono Nostro absque Compoto, sive aliquo alio inde Nobis, Hæredibus sive Successoribus Nostris reddendo, solvendo, vel faciendo. Nolentes, quod idem Willielmus Laud per Nos, Justiciarios, Escheatores, Vicecomites aut alios Ballivos, seu Ministros nostros ratione vel occatione præmissorum sive eorum alicujus molestetur, vexetur, perturbetur, in aliquo seu gravetur. Et ulterius de vberiori gratia Nostra, ac ex certa scientia & merò motu Nostri volumus, et per præsentem pro Nobis, Hæredibus & Successoribus Nostris, concedimus, quod hæc Literæ nostræ Patentes, ac omnia & singula in eisdem contenta, bonæ, firmæ, validæ et in Lege effectuales stabunt et existent, et abhinc nullo modo vacuæ deven-
rint: Et quod allocabuntur omnibus Curiis Nostris, et alibi infra Regnum Nostrum Angliæ, absque aliquo brevi seu ulteriori mandato seu warranto, licet idem Willielmus Laud bonam & sufficientem securitatem de se bene gerendo, juxta formam & effectum cujusdam Actus in Parlamento Domini Edwardi tertii quondam Regis Angliæ, Progenitoris Nostri, anno Regni sui decimo tertio editi, non invenerit; dicto Actu de Anno decimo tertio regni dicti Edwardi tertii in aliquo Nonobstante. Et Non obstante Statutis in annis secundo, quarto, decimoquarto & Vicefimo septimo dicti Regis Edwardi tertii, & Statuto in anno decimo tertio Re-*
gis

gis Ricardi secundi Prædecessoris Nostri edito, aut aliquo alio Statuto, Actu, provisione aut restrictione in contrarium præmissorum, aut eorum alicui quovismodo Nonobstante. In cujus rei testimonium has literas Nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. Teste meipso APUD OXON, duodecimo die Aprilis, Anno Regni Nostri decimo nono.

By this Arch-Prelates embracing and the Kings granting of this large *Universal Pardon*, of all Treasons &c. himself his Prelaticall Partie, together with his Majesty and his Adherents of all sorts, are eternally concluded to plead his *Innocency*, proclaim him a *Martyr*, or Canonize him for a *meritorious Saint*, as they have done. Yea, his *Majesties Royall care* and serious endeavour to rescue such an *Arch Traytor* as He (impeached of *High Treason* and other *grand Crimes* by two whole Kingdomes) from the hands of common *Justice*, and the Supreme Judicatory in Parliament, by this Regall Charter of Pardon, when as he could not effect it by his Army Royall and force of Armes, discovers both His own unhappinesse and our Kingdomes too in this, that he hath hitherto affected not only *Treason*, but *Traytors* to our Church and State, more then his faithfulest *Parliament*, or most *loyall Subjects*: which dangerous Errour, I pray God his Majesty after all his various miscarriages, disappointments, losses, by such mischevous persons, may now at last discern, reject, and never henceforth favour any such *Traytors*, ill *Councillors*, *Prelates*, or *Archbishops* more, whose extirpation *root and branch*, your *Honours* have already voted. And that no doubt upon just reasons, since the very best and learnedest in all the whole pack of Prelates, even the Primate of *Armagh*, Bishop *Usher*, (of whom most men have hitherto had a very honorable opinion, though a great servant and Instrument of *Canterburies* in Ireland, as appears by sundry originall Letters to him under his hand) hath extreamly degenerated in his Christian zeale for the Protestant Religion, even in his own bleeding Country since he turned *Royalist and Cavalier*; as appears by this testimony under the hand-writing of that valiant Noble Knight Sir *Charles Coote*; which for Poor dying *Ireland*s sake (* to corroborate the late admirable discoveries from thence by the Popish Archbishop of *Tuams* Papers and others, surprised by this Sir *Charles*) I dare not conceal.

* See the Irish Cabinet.

I SIR Charles Coote do hereby testifie, that being at Oxford the last Summer as one of the Agents for the Protestants of Ireland, and finding the Irish Popish Agents then to be very prevalent there, and the Archbishop of Armagh to be often present at the Debates concerning the businesse of Ireland, and conceiving him to have some power with his Majesty, I addrested my selfe to the said Archbishop, and besought him, that he would interpose his power with his Majesty in the behalfe of the Protestants; for if the Irish Agents obtained their desires, the Protestants in Ireland were destroyed and Popery would be introduced: to which the Arch-Bishop replied; That was the intention, which he knew better then I did, and said, * WE MUST SUBMIT: Dated this 14. of Aprill. 1645. CHARLES COOTE.

* Note.

A very strange speech of a Saint-seeming Protestant Arch-Prelate. What? must we submit to the destruction of the Protestants in Ireland, and the introduction of Popery there, and not once oppose it? and will such an Arch-Prelate as he refuse to use his utmost interest in the Kings favour to withstand it, when desired? If this be the Doctrine of the zealous Lord Primate

Primate of Ireland, that we must submit to the introducing of Popery there, (the projected design of the Primate and Metropolitan of all England and Ireland too, the better to accomplish it in England, as we have here and elsewhere manifested) the God of heaven for ever deliver us from such an hypocriticall false Archiepiscopall generation of Vipers, whose heads and hopes of succession in both Kingdomes, we trust Your Honours have for ever cut off in the decapitation of this Archbishop of Canterbury, the very worst of all his Trayterous Predecessors, their crimes being all concentrated in him, whose famous Triall, Judgement, Execution, shall eternize Your memorable Justice to posterity, and deter all other ambitious pragmaticall Clergymen, from treading in his fatall foot-steps: the sign of the Arch-bishops head, when seriously beheld, being as good, a Memento for wicked Prelates, Councillors, to scare them from his trayterous practises, as the sight of a corrupt Judges skin in Herodotus, nayled to the Tribunall, was to his successors, to deter them from bribery and injustice.

If I have done any acceptable service for Your Honourable Assembly and the Church of God, in publishing these first Fruits of my Obedience to Your just Desires, the favourable Acceptance of whar I have already composed with much difficulty and lesse exactnesse then I desired, will be an encouragement to me (if God send life and leisure) to present Your Honours in due season with the remainder of this History. In the mean time I shall become a dayly Orator to the Throne of Grace, to make and continue Your Honourable Houses and Committees, a (f) mountain of holinesse, an habitation of Justice; to (g) execute the Justice of the Lord, (h) to do Justice to the afflicted and needy, in ridding them out of the hands of the wicked; and to distribute equall speedy judgement to all oppressed ones who complain unto, and on all Delinquents justly convicted before Your Honours, without any respect of persons, or byasse of interest or affections, according to the old inflexible rules of Law and Justice; that so no person whatsoever may have any occasion to take up the Prophets complaint against You, (as (i) some have causlessly done) That (k) Judgement is turned away backward, justice standeth a far off, and equity cannot enter, there is no judgement in their goings. (l) We looked for judgement but behold oppression; for righteousness but behold a cry: (m) Moreover we saw under the sun the place of judgement, that wickednesse was there; and the place of righteousness, that iniquity was there: (n) It was full of Judgement, righteousness lodged in it heretofore, but now murderers and oppressors: (o) Is there no Balm in Gilead? is there no Physitian there? why then is not the healing of the daughter of our people recovered? But that all such false clamours being wholly silenced by Your care and justice, our whole Nation may unanimously trumpet forth these worthy prayes of your Houses, Committees, that Justice and Judgment are the Habitation of Your Throne (as they are of Gods) and that, like good King David, you all (q) do execute justice and judgment to all the people; judging them with just judgment, without wresting, perverting justice or respect of persons, and that which is altogether just do you follow, Which will be Your Honours brightest Crown of glory, our Kingdomes greatest security, our peoples most desireable Felicity; yea, is and shall be the Vote, the Prayer of

Lincolns Inne,
April 20. 1646.

Your Honours most devoted Servant,
WILLIAM PRYNNE.

(f) Jer. 31.

23. c. 50. 7.

(g) Deut. 33.

21.

(h) Psal. 82. 3.

(i) John Lilburn

in his late Li-

bels; Englands

Birth-right,

with others.

(k) Isa. 59. 4.

9. 14.

(l) Isay 5. 7.

(m) Eccl 3. 16.

(n) Isa. 1. 21.

(o) Ier. 9. 22.

(p) Ier. 9. 22.

(q) 2 Sam. 8.

15.

(r) Deut. 16.

18. 19. 20.

To the Christian Reader.

Christian Reader, that experimentall Observation of the naturall Historian, (a) *Quo maior est animal, tanto d. utius formatur in utero, &c. Singulos gignunt Elephanti, Acanthis (avis minima) duodenis. Occissime pariunt qui plurimos gignunt:* may be a satisfactory Apology for the Slownesse, the Singlenesse of this long-expected Birth: Elephants are much longer forming, ripening in the Wombe, then Mice: and Cathedral Histories, as well as Churches, require more time to finish them, then Pettie Relations. We read John 2. 20. that the later Temple of Ierusalem was 46. yeares in building: yet this large folio Edifice hath been compiled, compleated within the compasse of so many Weekes, notwithstanding my many other dayly interruptions, Avocations, publike and private; in so much that none can justly tax me with Sloathfulness or Negligence in this publike Service; the toylesomnesse whereof hath deterred all others from undertaking it, and devolved it wholly upon me; who in regard of my few Vacant Minutes for such a vast Undertaking, must humbly crave thy pardon for all Defects, Errataes, Oversights either in the penning or printing.

(a) Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 10. c. 63.

In this part of the Archbishops Tryall thou maiest clearly discern, not onely his Popish Spirit, together with his Activity, and Jesuiticall Practises to undermine our established Religion, introduce Popery among us by degrees, and reduce us back to our ancient Vassallage to Rome: but likewise read over a true Ecclesiasticall History of our Church during all the time of his domination: and from the result of all; I shall desire thee, like the industrious sagacious Bee, which extracts honny out of poysonous Herbs, to collect some profitable Meditations for thy spirituall advantage: Some whereof I have already hinted in the Epistle Dedicatory, and shall here but lightly touch.

First, here thou mayest see, that of the Psalmist so experimentally verified, that thou mayest take up his very words Ps. 37. 35, 36, 38. *I have seen the Wicked in great power, and spreading himself like a green bay tree: Yet he passed away and loe he was not; yea I sought him but he could not be found. The transgressors shall be destroyed together, the end of the Wicked shall be cut off. And though for a time, they are not in trouble neither are they plagued like other men; Therefore pride compasseth them about as a chaine, violence covereth them as a garment &c.* Yet if thou observe their endes, thou must needs conclude with the same Psalmist Ps. 73. 18. 19 20, *Surely thou didst set them in slippery places, thou castedst them down into destruction: How are they brought into desolation, as in a moment? they are utterly consumed with Terrors: As a dreame when one awaketh, so O Lord, when thou awakest thou shalt despise their image.* That of Zophar being really verified in this Arch Prelate Job. 20. 5. to 10. *The triumphing of the Wicked is short, and the joy of an hypocrite but for a moment: Though his excellency mount unto the Heavens, and his head reach unto the clouds; Yet he shall perish for ever like his own dung; they which have seen him shall say, Where is he? He shall fly away as a dreame and shall not be found; The eye which saw him shall see him no more, neither shall his place any more behold him.*

Secondly,

THE EPISTLE.

Secondly, hence thou maieſt learne the truth of *Solomons* Obſervation, *Prov.* 21. 30. *There is no wiſdome, nor underſtanding, nor counſell againſt the Lord.* Certainly all ſuch wiſdome, counſell as this imployed againſt God, his Ordinances, Goſpell, people, though never ſo accurately managed, ſo politickly contrived, ſo powerfully backed, ſo ſucceſſefully advanced for a time, will in concluſion *be brought to nought, and made of none effect*, *Pſ.* 33. 10. *Acts* 5. 38. *Iſay* 19. 11, 12, 13. c. 8, 9, 10. *Job* 9. 4. Whereas the counſell, cauſe, and Church of God, maugre all oppoſition, ſhall ſtand for ever, and cannot be overthrowen. *Pſ.* 33. 11. *Acts* 5. 39. *Iſay* 46. 10.

Thirdly, Let all Gods people learne from hence, never to fear the force, threats or power of the greateſt Perſecutors breathing, ſince they are but mortall men, who ſhall themſelves be troden down and brought to Judgement in Gods due time: During my many yeares heavy preſſures under this Arch-Prelates Tyranny, my ſpirit was exceedingly elevated even to a magnanimous contempt, and holy ſlighting of all his overſwaying power, menaces, proceedings, as moſt deſpicable, with the conſideration of theſe two Scriptures, which were ever freſh in my thoughts. *Iſay* 51. 12, 13. *I, even I am he that comforteth you, who art thou that thou ſhouldeſt be afraid of a man that ſhall dye, or of the ſonne of man that ſhall be made as graſſe? And forgetteſt the Lord thy maker, Who ſtretched forth the Heavens, and laid the foundations of the Earth: and haſt feared continually every day, becauſe of the fury of the oppreſſour, as if he were ready to deſtroy; and where is the fury of the oppreſſour? And Pſ.* 92. 7, 8, 9. *When the wicked Spring as the graſſe, and all the Workers of iniquity do flouriſh: it is, that they ſhall be deſtroyed for ever. But thou O Lord art moſt high for evermore: For loe thine enemies, O Lord, loe thine enemies ſhall periſh: and all the Workers of iniquity ſhall be ſcattered.* Certainly he who beleeves theſe ſacred Texts, and meditates ſeriouſly on them, will never dread the potency, tyranny, or menaces of any mortall, in a good cauſe or quarrell.

Fourthly, Meditate from hence, the vanity, inſtability and danger of greatneſſe without goodneſſe: the impotency of the greateſt humane power, honour, favour, to exempt or ſecure evil Counſellors, or publike Malefactors from the ſword of Juſtice; The unhappy fatall ends of *Wicked Royall Favourites*, who by humouring their Princes in unjuſt oppreſſive courſes, uſually in the concluſion, do but deſtroy themſelves, and prejudice their Princes moſt of any, as this Arch-Prelate hath done: The certain ruine of all bloody Perſecutors of Gods people: together with the infinite wiſdome and power of Almighty God, who can wiſely order, overrule the miſchievous Plots, & malicious contrivances of his moſt deſperate Enemies to advance his own Honour, Cauſe, Goſpell, People; to effect the quite contrary to what they intended, and to bring about his own ends and their downfalls.

Many ſuch cordiall meditations, and ſweet contemplations will this Hiſtory afford thee for thy comfort, thy encouragement in thy conſtant Chriſtian profeſſion in times of greateſt danger and hottest perſecution. The good Lord ſo ſanctifie it and them to thy Soul, that this Archbiſhop, who by his Life and Doctrines wrought ſo much miſchiefe and ſorrow to our Church for a ſeaſon, but no preſent good at all; may bring much conſolation, Edification to it, and thee, by this his Triall and Death:

Farewell.



A COMPLEAT HISTORY OF

The Commitment, Charge, Tryall,
Condemnation and Execution of
WILLIAM LAUD,
late Arch-Bishop of *CANTERBURY*.



William Laud borne in [a] Reading of obscure Parents, having through flattery and other sinister meanes, by severall gradations insinuated himselfe into high favour at Court, and climbed up to divers Ecclesiasticall promotions in our Church, till at last he mounted to the very Pinnacle of his ambition, the *Archbishoprick of Canterbury* (whereby he became *Primate and Metropolitan of all England.*) and to a [b] *Patriarch-ship* or kinde of universal Pa-

(a) See the Breviate of his Life: p. 1. 2. 3.

b See his Conference with Fisher, p. 171. A necessary Introduction, to his Tryall p. 148. 149.

himselfe into all kind of secular Negotiations (inconsistent with his spirituall function) so farre as to sway all State, as well as Church-affaires, according to the pleasure of his owne exorbitant will; hereupon (unable to mannage so great an Authority with that moderation as befeemed a Person of his profession) he became so intollerably insolent, violent, extravagant in all his proceedings in Church and Republicke, that no Pope nor Prelate whatsoever, advanced from the lowest fortune to the hight of honour, more really verified, that *Adage of Claudian* the Poet (no not *William Longchampe* Bishop of *Ely*, to whom (c) *Roger Hoveden*, our Historian, particularly applied these lines of his long since.)

(c) *Annalium Pars posterior* p. 680.

C

Asperius

b Claudian in
Eutropium, l.
1. p. 67.

(b) *Asperius Humili nihil est cum surgit in altum.
Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timet: deservit in omnes.
Ut se posse putent, nec Bellua tetrior ulla
Quam servi rabies in libera colla furentis.
Agnoscat gemitus, et pana parcere nescit.*

c Rerum Ang.
licarum l. 4. c.
14.

In so much as that Character which (c) *Gottelmus Nubrigenfis* gives us of our proud Prelate Longchamp and his tyrannicall oppressive deportment in Church, in State, (by reason of his Ecclesiasticall and temporall united jurisdictions) in the Raige of King Richard the first, seemes purposely recorded to paint out the Cariage of this Arch-Prelate during all the yeares of his domineering Authority in the Raigne of Charles the first. *Ille sublato omni obstaculo, quo minus ambularet, in magnis & mirabilibus supra se, fretus DVPLICI id est APOSTOLICA SIMVL ET REGIA POSTESTATE, CLERO PARITER ET POPVLO ARROGANTISSIME PRÆSÏDEBAT*, Et sicut de quodam scriptum est, quod utraque manu utebatur pro dextera; sic et ille, ad faciliorem molitionum suarum efficaciam, utraq; potestate utebatur pro altera. Ad cogendos quippe vel exercendos potentes Laicos, si quid fortè ex seculari potentia minus poterat, Apostolica id ipsum potestatis censura supplebat. Si autem ex Clero forte quispiam voluntati ejus obfisteret, hunc procul dubio frustra pro se secundum Canones allegantem, seculari oppressum potentia, coercerat. Non erat qui se absconderet à calore ejus, cum et secularis in eo virgam, vel gladium Apostolica potestatis timeret; & ecclesiasticus nulla se ratione vel auctoritate contra eminentiam regiam tueri valeat. Denique ipsum illo tempore in Anglia, ET PLVS QVAM REGEM experti sunt LAICI, & PLVS QVAM SVMMVM PONTIFICEM CLERICI; utriusque vero, TYRANNVM INTOLERABLEM: Quippe DVPLICIS OCCASIONE POTESTATIS DVPLICEM INDVTVS TYRANNVM. *Solis complicibus et cooperatoribus suis innoxius, ceteris indifferenter, non tantum pecuniarum ambitu, verum etiam dominandi voluptate erat infestus. Fastus foretius in omnibus plusquam Regius erat, &c.* This Archbishop, having ingrossed not only all Ecclesiasticall power into his hands, as Primat & Metropolitan of al England & as an high Commissioner, but likewise all temporall jurisdiction as a Privy Councillor, an Assistant in the Star-Chamber, a Commissioner for the Treasury, for all kindes of Monopolies, projects to raise monies without a Parliament, and as the chiefe Royall Favourite at Court, & having most preferments, officers, Judges, (and by consequence most Courts of Justice, Civill, or Ecclesiasticall, at his devotion, did extreemly vex, persecute and trample upon both the Laity & Clergie that opposed any of his Innovations or Projects at his pleasure, and those whom he could not conquer by his Episcopall, hee would bee sure to overtop and crush by his temporall Authority; So as the Laity upon all occasions found him more then a King, and the Clergie more then a Pope, both of them (except his owne Creatures and Confederates only) an intollerable, yea double Tyrant by reason of his duplicated power, whereby thousands of Godly Christians and Ministers were enforced to flye the Realme to avoyd his fury, and hundreds in the Starre-Chamber, High Commission, and Councill-Chamber oppressed, close imprisoned, fined, banished, pillored, stigmatized, spoyled of their eares, freeholds, callings, liberties, deprived, degraded and quite undone by his oppression, hee being commonly more excessive, extravagant, violent, in his publike Censures, and Speeches, then any other whatsoever; having quite forgotten these Divine qualifications which the Apostle requireth in an EVANGELICAL BISHOP; (d) *A Bishop must bee blamelesse, as the Steward of God; not selfe-willed, not soone angry, no striker, not a brawler, not lifted up with pride; but, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate, gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekenesse instructing those that oppose themselves; And utterly abhorred*

(d) 1 Tim. 3.
Tit. 1. 7, 8.

horred that memorable precept of our most milde Saviour, as Apocryphall, or unmeet for his imitation: *Luke 6. 36. Bee you therefore mercifull, as your heavenly Father is mercifull.*

This ambitious * *Phaeton* having thus mounted himselfe aloft in *Phebus* Chariot did drive it on with such fury and violence, for sundry years that at last he set all our Churches and Realmes in a flaming fire, which could not bee quenched by any other meanes but by wresting the reines of Government out of his usurping hand, through the power and justice of our present Parliament (which he held fast for sundry yeares in despite of all former Parliamentary or popular oppositions) and precipitating him from his Chariot, with a breake-neck blow, by that *Axe of publike Justice*, which lately severed his head from his shoulders, in the view of thousands: with which spectacle of justice *Phebus* himselfe was so well pleased that his clouded rayes immediately brake out most gloriously upon the place of execution, and his radiant smiles expressed his well-pleasednes with this laudable Act of his execution, for the severall high Treasons and capitall Crimes not onely objected, but proved against him at his Tryall; the *History* whereof and all proceedings relating thereunto, I shall here represent unto the world with as much brevity and sincerity as possible; not in the selfe same manner and method (according to the order of the Articles) as the Commons proceeded against him at the bar, being more ~~confused~~ and intricate; but in that more methodicall way, as the first Breviate of the proofes against him was contrived, and his evidence repeated and summed up at last both in the Lords and Commons House by Master *Samuell Brown*, under those distinct generall heads, to which all his charge and the proofes thereof were reduced.

* *Quid Metamorph. l. 2.*

I shall begin *ab ovo*, with the very first proceedings against him in Parliament, next proceed in order to his Tryall, then to his Judgment and Execution.

On the * 16. of Decemr. 1640. Vpon the condemnation of the *New Canons in the House of Commons*, as being against the Kings Prerogative, the fundamentall Lawes of the Realme, the liberty and property of the Subject, and conteining diverse things tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence; The Arch-bishop of Canterbury was there accused to be the Author of the chiefe Actor in them, & impeached likewise of *High Treason*: whereupon a speciall Committee was appointed to inquire into all his actions, and prepare a charge against him; which I finde thus expressed in the Commons Journall.

* See the Breviate of his life, pag. 22. and Diurnall Occurrences, pag. 13. and 14. the Commons Journall.

16. December 1640.

THIS Committee is to prepare the severall Votes concerning the New-Canons and to make them ready for this House to present the same to the Lords, and to consider and examine who were the promoters of these new Canons, and who the principle Actors, and what execution hath been made upon them, and by whom; and to consider how farre the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, hath beene an Actor in all the proceedings of them, and further to examine how farre he hath beene an Actor in the great designe of the subversion of the Lawes of the Realme, and of the Religion, and to prepare and draw up a charge against him, and such others as shall appeare offenders in these particulars, and have power to send for parties, witnesses, Papers, Bookes, Records, and to doe any other act, which they in their judgements shall thinke fit to conduce to the businesse, and are to meete at foure a Clocke this afternoone in the Star-Chamber.

The very same morning in the Lords House, *Hee was accused by the Scottish Commissioners for an Incendiary betweene both Kingdomes*, who promised to draw up and exhibite a complaint in writing against him the next morning, which they accordingly performed. Whereupon at a Conference of both Houses the Scots charge against him (hereafter registred) was the same morning read by the Lord *Page*, and after that reported to the Commons House.

On Friday the 18. of the same December, the Arch-Bishop was impeached in the house of Commons of high Treason, and Voted by the whole house to be a Traytor, thus entred in their Journall.

18. December 1640.

REsolved upon the Question, that a Message shall be sent from this House to the Lords to accuse *William Laud* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* of High-Treason in the name of this House, and of all the Commons of *England*, and to desire that hee may bee forthwith sequestred from Parliament and be committed, and that within some convenient time, this House will resort to their Lordships with particular accusations and Articles against him.

Mr. Hollis is appointed to goe up to the Lords with this Message:

Vpon this his accusation, diverse notable Speeches were made against him in the Commons House; among others, one by Master *Grymstone*, published soone after in print, which I shall here subjoyne.



Master *Grymstones* Speech
IN
PARLIAMENT,
Vpon the Accusation and
Impeachment of *William Laud*,
Archbishop of Canterbury, of High
TREASON.

Mr. Speaker;



Here hath beene presented to the House, a most faithfull and exact Report of the conference wee had with the Lords Yesterday, together with the opinion of the Committees, that were employed in that service.

That they conceived it fit, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* should bee sequestred.

I must second the motion, and with the favour of the House, I shall bee bold to offer my reasons, why I conceive it most necessary, wee should proceed a little further, than the desire of a bare sequestration.

Master Speaker, long introductions are not sutable to weighty businesses, we are
false

false upon the great man, the Archbishop of Canterbury; Looke upon him as hee is in his Highnesse, and hee is the sty of all pestilent filth, that hath infected the State, and Government of the Church and Common wealth: looke upon him in his dependancies, and hee is the man, the onely man that hath raised and advanced all those (that together with himselfe) have beene the Authors and causers of all the ruines, miseries and calamities, we now groane under. NOTE:

Who is it but he onely, that hath brought the Earle of Strafford to all his great place and imployments, a fit instrument and spirit to act and execute all his bloody designs in these Kingdomes?

Who is it but he onely that brought in Secretary Windebanke into the place of Secretary and trust, the very Broker and Pander to the Whore of Babylon?

Who is it, Master Speaker, but hee onely that hath advanced all Popish Bishops? I shall name some of them, Bishop Manwaring, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Bishop of Oxford, and Bishop Wren, the least of all, but the most uncleane one.

These are men that should have fed Christs Flocke, but they are the Wolves that devoured them; the Sheepe should have fed upon the Mountaines, but the Mountaines have eaten up the Sheepe. It was the happinesse of the Church, when the scale of Gods House did cate up the Bishops, glorious and brave Martyrs, that went to the stake, in defence of the Protestant Religion; but the scale of these Bishops hath beene to cate up and persecute the Church.

Who is it Master Speaker, but the great Archbishop of Canterbury, that hath set at the Helme to guide and steere them to all the managing of their Projects that have beene set on foote in this Kingdome these tenne yeares last past, and rather than hee would stand out, hee hath most unworthily trucked and chaffered in the meanest of them? As for instance, that of Tobacco, wherein thousands of poore people have beene stripped and turned out of their Trades, for which they have served as Apprentises; wee all know hee was the Compounder, and contractor with them for the Licences, putting them to pay Fines, and Fee-Farme rents to use their Trades.

Certainely, Master Speaker, hee might have spent his time better (and more for his Grace, in the Pulpit; then thus sharking and raking in the Tobacco shoppe.

Mr. Speaker, we all know what he hath beene charged withall heere in this House, Crimes of a dangerous consequence, and of transcendent nature, no lesse than the subversion of the Government of this Kingdome, and the alteration of the Protestant Religion, and this not upon bare information onely, but much of it comes before us already, upon cleare and manifest proofes, and there is scarce any businesse, Grievance, or Complaint, come before us in this place, wherein we doe not finde him intermingled and as it were twisted into it, like a busie and angry waspe, his sting is in the taile of every thing.

We have this day heard the report of the Conference yesterday, and in it the Accusations which the Scottish Nation hath charged him with all: And we doe all know he is guilty of the same (if not more) in this Kingdome.

Mr. Speaker, he hath beene, and is the common enemy to all goodnes and good men, and it is not safe, that such a Viper shall be neere to his Majesties person, to distill his poyson into his sacred eares, nor is it safe for the Common wealth that hee should sit

in so eminent place of government being thus accused; We know what we did in the Earle of Straffords case. This man is the corrupt Fountaine that hath infected all the streames, and till the Fountaine be purged, we cannot expect to have any cleare Channels. I shall be bold therefore to offer my opinion, and if I erre, it is the error of my Iudgment, and not my want of zeale and affection to the publicke good.

I conceive it most necessary and fit, that we should now take up a Resolution to doe some what, to strike whilst the Iron is hot; And goe up to the Lords in the name of this House, and in the name of the Commons of England, and to accuse him of high Treason, and to desire their Lordships his person may be sequestred, and that in convenient time we may bring up the Charge.

After the House had this day voted the Arch Bishop a Traitor, Mr. Hollis the same day was sent up to the Lords to accuse him of High Treason, which he did immediatly, in the generall, without any particular charge, assuring the Lords, that in convenient time there should be a particular charge exhibited against him by the Commons to make good the accusation: Wherefore he desired the Lords, that the Arch Bishop might be sequestred from the House and committed; hereupon he was forthwith committed to the Gentleman Vsher, but yet permitted to goe in his company to Lambeth for some books to read in, and such Papers as pertained to his defence against the Scotts charge; And what papers of greatest consequence he then conveyed away thence, burned, or defaced, is worthy inquiry.

Master Hollis his report from the Lords I finde thus entred in the Commons Iournall.

18. December 1640.

Master Hollis reported, that according to the command of this House, hee had delivered to their Lordships the Message; that my Lord Keeper said, Their Lordships had considered of the Message, and accordingly they had sequestred the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury from Parliament, and had committed him in safe custody to the Gentleman Vsher of their House.

The Lords Order for his commitment is thus entered in their Iournall.

18. December 1640.

It is this day Ordered, that the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury (being accused of high Treason by the house of Commons in their owne names, and in the name of the whole Kingdome of England) be committed to the safe custody of the Gentleman Vsher attending this high Court, and that he be sequestred from the said House, untill his Grace shall cleare himselfe of the Accusations that shall be laid against him by the said House.

This proud imperious Arch-Prelate, who had close-imprisoned others for sundry yeares in remote Castles in forraigne Islands, meerely for opposing his Tyranny and Innovations, excluding not only their Friends, but Wives, Children from the least access unto their Prisons, or the Isles wherein they were exiled, for their comfort or reliefe; was yet so impatient of restraint himselfe, that immediatly after his Commitment to Master Maxwells house at Chearing Crosse, though he had convenient lodgings, more liberty by farre then he demerited, and all his friends free access to visit him, yet hee became an humble suiter to the House of Peers (even in the wet cold winter season, when a warme lodging in most mens judgment was more wholesome for him, then cold moist walkes, that he might have liberty to goe abroad with his Keeper to take the Ayre,

which

which liberty himselfe would never indulge to any Prisoner committed by him, for the least offence, especially under the Notion of a *Puritan*: O strange impatience, worthy admiration! that he who had close Imprisoned many Godly Christians, Ministers, in obscure holes and Dungeons, without the least pity or indulgence, divers yeares, even for well doing, or petty offences against himselfe, should not be able to endure a few weekes imprisonment, (when charged with high *Treason* it selfe, against the King and Kingdome,) without Petitioning for liberty to take the Ayre. A request so unreasonable, that no wise Man in his condition would have demanded it, and the Parliament in *Justice* or *Honour* could not condescend to it. But this suit of his being deemed unseasonable, was rejected.

And here behold the common *Genius* of Tyrannicall domineering spirits, none so inexorable, mercilesse, insensible of others unjust oppressions as they in the ruffe of their prosperity, none more degenerate, pusillanimous, querulous, impatient, or fordidly base then they in the stormes of adversity. Let this Arch-Prelates suddaine downe-fall from the Pinnacle of Honour, Power, into a restrained despicable condition, and his impatience under it, be a future admonition to all Lording Prelates, and Tyranizing Grandees, to carry themselves with all moderation in their places, and to learne this good lesson from an heathen *Poet*, which most men in the height of their felicity are over-apt to forget.

(f) *Desinat elatis quisquam considerare rebus,
Instabilesque Deos, et Lubrica Numina discat.
Illa manus, quæ sceptrâ sibi gestanda parabat,
Cuius se toties submitit ad oscula supplex
Nobilitas, digitos ductis inflectere nervis
Cogitur, &c.
Aspiciat, ne quis nimium sublata secundis
Colla gerat.*

f Clandian
in Rufinum l.
2. p.

What occurrences happened betweene the Archbishop's restraint and his commitment to the *Tower*, you may read in his Diary, and in the (g) *Breviat* of his life.

g Pag. 23. 24.

On the 22. of February 1640. the House of Commons Ordered, that to morrow morning, the Report concerning the Articles against the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, be first read if it be ready.

On February 23. they further Ordered Mr. Pym to make the report of the Articles against the Archbishop of Cant. the next morning.

February 24. Mr. Pym presented from the Committee appointed for that purpose the Articles against the Archbishop of Canterbury, The Title to the Articles, the Articles themselves, and the conclusion to them were all severally twice read, and all severally voted, and past upon the question, and afterwards by resolution upon the Question, it was ordered, that these Articles so read and voted should be ingrossed.

February

February 26. The Articles against the Archbishop of Canterbury which were formerly ordered to be ingrossed, were now read, and it was resolved upon the question, that the Articles thus ingrossed and read should be sent up to the Lords in maintenance of the Charge against the Archbishop of Canterbury, whereby he stands charged of high Treason, Mr. Pymme, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Maynard, went up with the Articles according to the former Order.

Vpon the reading of these Articles the Lords made this Order for his the Archbishops commitment to the Tower.

26. February 1640.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that the Lord Archbishop of Cant. his Grace, shal stand comitted to the Tower of London. But the pleasure of this house is, that he continue still in the safe custody of the Gentleman Vsher of this House till Munday the first of March 1640. and then that the Lieutenant receive his Grace into his safe Custody, until the pleasure of this House be further known, and in the meane time Mr. Maxwell is to be responsible for him, and not to permit him to goe abroad, and that the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earle of Strafford shall not come together.

Mr. Pym returnes and acquaints the House, that according to his Abilities he had performed their commands, and it was ordered, that thanks shold be given him for the good service he had therein done this House.

Thus the Commons Iournall relates the times and manner of these proceedings and Articles against Canterbury, unanimously voted by all when both Houses were fullest, with the concurring suffrages of all those Members who have since deserted the Parliament, and repaired, to Oxford, some of whom made bitter Invectives against him, whose mouths must be for ever stopped, by their own suffrages in full Parliament, from uttering any thing in Iustification of this Arch-Traitor, or in derogation of the Iudgment & execution passed against him upon the several Articles of his Impeachment, which I shall here Present you with altogether, beginning with the Originall Articles of the House of Commons, (carried up by Master Pym and others, whose speech at their delivery I have here annexed to them as they were printed by order of the house long since, next adioyning the Scottish Commissioners Charge against him, and then the Commons Additionall Articles.

Articles



ARTICLES OF The COMMONS Assembled in PARLIAMENT:

In maintenance of their Accusation against
WILLIAM LAUD,

Arch-Bishop of CANTERBURY: whereby he stands
Charged with High Treason, Presented and carryed up to the
LORDS, by Mr. John Pym, Febr. 26. 1640.

Mr. Pym comming to the Lords barre to present the Articles, spake as followeth.

My LORDS;

I Am commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses now assembled for the Commons in Parliament; to deliver to your Lordships these Articles, in maintenance of their Charge against the Archbishop of Canterbury. Their desire is, that first your Lordships would be pleased to heare the Articles read, and then I shall endeavour to present to you the sense of the Commons, concerning the nature of the Charge, and the order of their proceedings. Master Pym's Speech.

FIRST;



That he hath traiterously endeavoured to subvert the Fundamentall Lawes and government of this Kingdome of England, and in stead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary, and tyrannicall Government against law; and to that end, hath wickedly and traiterously advised His Majestie, that he might at his owne will and pleasure, leavie, and take money of his Subjects, without their consent in Parliament; and this hee affirmed was warrantable by the Law of God.

2. Hee hath for the better accomplishment of that his traitorous designe, advised and procured Sermons, and other discourses to be preached, printed, and published, in

which the Authoritie of Parliaments, and the force of the Lawes of this Kingdome, have beene denied; and absolute and unlimited power over the persons and estates of His Majesties subjects maintained and defended, not onely in the King, but in himselfe, and other Bishops, against the Law: And he hath beene a great protector, favourer, and promoter of the publishers of such false and pernicious opinions.

D

3. Hee

3. Hee hath by Letters, Messages, Threats, and promises, and by diverse other wayes to Judges, and other Ministers of justice, interrupted and perverted, and at other times by meanes aforesaid, hath endeavoured to interrupt, and pervert the course of Justice in His Majesties Courts at *Westminster*, and other Courts, to the subversion of the Lawes of this Kingdome, whereby sundry of His Majesties Subjects have been stopt in their just suits, deprived of their lawfull rights, and subjected to his tyrannicall will to their ruine, and destruction.

4. That the said *Archbishop* hath traiterously and corruptly sold justice to those who have had causes depending before him, by colour of his Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, as Archbishop, High Commissioner, Referee, or otherwise, and hath taken unlawfull gifts, and bribes of His Majesties Subjects, (and hath as much as in him lies) endeavoured to corrupt the other Courts of justice, by advising and procuring His Majestie to sell places of Judicature, and other Offices contrary to the Laws and Statutes in that behalfe.

5. He hath traiterously caused a booke of Canons to be composed, and published without any lawfull warrant, and authoritie in that behalfe; in which pretended Canons, many matters are contained contrary to the Kings Prerogative, to the fundamentall Lawes, and Statutes of this Realme, to the right of Parliament, to the propriety, and libertie of the Subject, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence, and to the establishment of a vast, unlawfull, and presumptuous power in himselfe, and his successors: many of which Canons, by the practise of the said Archbishop, were surreptitiously passed in the late Convocation, without due consideration and debate: others by feare and compulsion were subscribed by the Prelates, and Clerkes there assembled, which had never beene voted, and passed in the Convocation, as they ought to have beene. And the said Archbishop hath contrived and endeavoured to assure and confirme the unlawfull and exorbitant power, which he hath usurped and exercised over His Majesties Subjects, by a wicked and ungodly oath in one of the said pretended Canons, injoynd to be taken by all the Clergie, and many of the Laitie of this Kingdome.

6. He hath trayterously assumed to himselfe a papall and tyrannicall power, both in Ecclesiasticall and Temporall matters, over his Majesties Subjects in this Realme of England, and in other places, to the disherison of the Crowne, dishonour of His Majestie, and derogation of his supreme authoritie in Ecclesiasticall matters; And the said Archbishop claimes the Kings Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, as incident to his Episcopall Office, and Archiepiscopall in this Kingdome, and doth deny the same to bee derived from the Crowne of England, which he hath accordingly exercised, to the high contempt of his Royall Majestie, and to the destruction of divers of the Kings liege people, in their persons, and estates.

7. That he hath traiterously indeavoured to alter and subvert Gods true Religion, by Law established in this Realme, and in stead thereof to set up Popish superstition, and Idolatrie. And to that end, hath declared and maintained in Speeches, and printed books, diverse popish doctrines, and opinions contrary to the Articles of Religion established by Law. Hee hath urged and injoynd diverse popish, and superstitious Ceremonies without any warrant of Law, and hath cruelly persecuted those who have opposed the same, by corporall punishments, and imprisonments; and most unjustly vexed others, who refused to conforme thereunto, by Ecclesiasticall censures of Excommunication, Suspension, Deprivation and Degradation, contrary to the Lawes of this Kingdome.

8. That for the better advancing of his traiterous purpose and designe, he did abuse the great power, and trust His Majestie reposed in him, and did intrude upon the places of diverse great Officers, and upon the right of other His Majesties Subjects, whereby he did procure to himselfe the nomination of sundry persons to Ecclesiasticall Dignities, Promotions, and benefices, belonging to His Majestie, and divers of the Nobilitie, Clergie, and others; and hath taken upon him the commendation of Chaplaines to the King; by which meanes he hath preferred to His Majesties

ties service, and to other great promotions in the Church, such as have been Popishly affected, or otherwise unsound, and corrupt both in doctrine and manners.

9. Hee hath for the same trayterous, and wicked intent, chosen and imployed, such men to be his owne Domestickall Chaplaines, whom he knew to be notoriously disaffected to the reformed Religion, grossly addicted to popish superstition, and erroneous, and unsound both in judgement and practise, and to them or some of them hath he committed the Licensing of Bookes to be printed, by which meanes divers false and superstitious bookes have beene published, to the great scandall of Religion, and to the seducing of many His Majesties Subjects.

10. Hee hath traiterously and wickedly endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome; and for the effecting thereof hath consorted, and confederated with diverse Popish Priests, and Jesuites; and hath kept secret intelligence with the Pope of Rome, and by himselfe, his Agents and instruments, treated with such as have from thence received authoritie, and instruction, hee hath permitted, and countenanced a Popish Hierarchie, or Ecclesiasticall government to be established in this Kingdome: by all which trayterous and malicious practises this Church and Kingdome hath beene exceedingly indangered, and like to fall under the Tyrannie of the Roman See.

11. He in his owne person, and his Suffragans, Visitors, Surrogates, Chancellors and other Officers, by his command, have caused divers learned, pious, and Orthodox Ministers of Gods Word to be silenced, suspended, deprived, degraded, excommunicated, and otherwise grieved, without any just and lawfull cause: and by diverse other meanes he hath hindered the preaching of Gods Word, caused divers of His Majesties loyall Subjects to forsake the Kingdome, and increased, and cherished Ignorance, and profanenesse amongst the people, that so hee might the better facilitate the way to the effecting of his owne wicked and traiterous designe, of altering, and corrupting the true religion here established.

12. He hath traiterously endeavoured to cause division, and discord betwixt the Church of England, and other reformed Churches; and to that end hath suppressed, and abrogated the Priviledges, and Immunities, which have beene by His Majestie and his Royall Ancesters granted to the Dutch, and French Churches, in this kingdome: And divers other wayes hath expressed his malice, and disaffection to these Churches, that so by such disunion, the Papists might have more advantage for the overthrow, and extirpation of both.

13. Hee hath maliciously and traiterously plotted, and endeavoured to stirre up warre and enmity betwixt his Majesties two Kingdomes of England and Scotland, and to that purpose hath laboured to introduce into the Kingdome of Scotland, divers Innovations both in Religion, and Government, all or the most part of them tending to Popery, and superstition, to the great grievance, and discontent of his Majesties Subjects of that Nation: and for their refusing to submit to such Innovations, hee did trayterously advise his Majesty to subdue them by force of Armes, and by his owne Authority and Power contrary to Law, did procure sundry of his Majesties Subjects & enforced the Clergie of this Kingdome to contribute towards the maintenance of * that war: And when his Majesty with much wisdom & Justice had made a Pacification betwixt the two Kingdomes, the said Archbishop did presumptuously censure that pacification, as dishonourable to his Majesty, and by his counsellors and endeavours, so incensed his Majesty against his said Subjects of Scotland, that he did thereupon (by advice of the said Archbishop) enter into an offensive warre against them, to the great hazard of his Majesties person, and his Subjects of both Kingdomes.

14. That to preserve himselfe from being questioned for these, and other his trayterous courses, he hath laboured to subvert the rights of Parliament, and the ancient course of Parliamentary proceeding, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliaments.

By which words, counsels and actions, he hath traiterously, and contrary to his

See the Charge of the Scottish Commissioners against Canterbury.

* Which Doctor Pierce Bishop of Bath and Wells in his speech to his Clergy to set on this contribution, stiled *Bellum Episcopale*; adding, that what ever his Majesty had expressed in his Declarations to be the cause of this warre, yet in truth this warre is FOR vs, Bishops.

allegiance laboured to alienate the hearts of the Kings liege people from his Majesty, and to set a division betweene them, and to ruine and destroy his Majesties Kingdomes; for which they doe impeach him of High Treason, against our Sovereigne Lord the King, his Crowne and Dignity.

The said Commons do further averre, that the said *William Archbishop of Canterbury*, during the times that the crimes aforementioned were done and committed hath beene a Bishop or Archbishop of this Realme of England, one of the Kings Commissioners for Ecclesiasticall matters; and one of his Majesties most honourable Privie Councillor, and hath taken an oath for his faithfull discharge of the said Office of Councillor, and hath likewise taken an oath of supremacy and Allegiance.

And the said Commons by protestation, saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter, any other accusation or impeachment against the said Archbishop, and also of replying to the Answers, that the said Archbishop shall make unto the said Articles, or to any of them, and of offering further proofe also of the Premises or any of them, or of any other impeachment, or accusation that shall be exhibited by them, as the cause shall, according to the course of Parliament, require, do pray, that the said Archbishop may be put to answer to all and every the premises, and that such proceedings, examination tryall, and Judgment may be upon every of them had and used, as is agreeable to Law and Justice.

The Articles being read Mr. P Y M M E proceeded in his Speech as followeth.

My Lords,

There is an expresseion in the Scripture, which I will not presume either to understand, or to interpret; yet to a vulgar eye it seemes to have an aspect something futable to the Person and Cause before you: It is a description of the evill Spirits, wherein they are said to be *spirituall wickednesses in high places*. Crimes acted by the spirituall faculties of the Soule, the Will and the Understanding, exercised about spirituall matters, concerning Gods Worship and the Salvation of Man; seconded with power, authority, learning, and many other advantages, do make the party who commits them, very futable to that description, *Spirituall wickednesses in high places*.

These crimes (My Lords) are various in their Nature, heynous in their quality, and universall in their extent. If you examine them *Theologically*, as they stand in opposition to the truth of God, they will be found to be against the rule of Faith, against the power of godlinesse, against the meanes of Salvation.

If you examine them *Morally*, as they stand in opposition to the light of Nature, to right reason, and the principles of humane society, you will then perceive pride without any moderation: such a Pride as that is which *exalts it selfe above all that is called God*. Malice without any provocation; Malice against vertue, against innocencie, against piety, injustice without any meanes of restitution, even such injustice as doth robbe the present times of their possessions; the future, of their possibilities.

If they be examined (My Lords) by Legall Rules in a *Civill* way, as they stand in opposition to the Publique Good, and to the Lawes of the Land; Hee will be found to be a Traytor against his Majesties Crown, an Incendiary against the Peace of the State; he will be found to be the highest, the boldest, the most impudent Oppressour, that ever was; an Oppressor both of King and People.

This Charge (my Lords) is distributed and conveyed into 14. severall Articles, as you have heard; and those Articles are only generall: It being the intention of the House of Commons (which they have commanded me to declare) to make them more certaine and particuler by preparatory Examinations to be taken with the helpe of your Lordships house, as in the Case of my Lord of *Strafford*.

I shall now runne through them with a light touch, only marking in every of them some speciall point of venome, virulency and malignity.

1. The first Article (my Lords) doth containe his endeavour to introduce into this Kingdome

Kingdome an Arbitrary power of Government, without any limitations or Rules of Law. This (my Lords) is against the safety of the Kings Person, the honour of his Crowne, and most destructive to his people.

Those Causes which are most perfect have not only a power to produce effects, but to conserve and cherish them. The Seminary vertue, and the Nutritive vertue in vegetables, do produce from the same principles. It was the defect of justice, the restraining of oppression and violence that first brought Government into the World, and set up Kings, the most excellent way of Government. And by the maintenance of justice all kinds of Government receive a sure foundation and establishment. It is this that hath in it an ability to preserve, and secure the Royall power of Kings, yea, to adorne and encrease it.

2. In the second Article, your Lordships may observe, absolute and unlimited power, defended by Preaching, by Sermons, and other discourses, printed and published upon that subject. And truly (my Lords) it seemes to be a prodigious crime, that the truth of God, and his holy Law should be perverted to defend the lawlesse of men. That the holy and sacred function of the Ministry, which was ordained for instruction of mens soules in the wayes of God, should be so abused, that the Ministers are become the Trumpets of Sedition, the promoters and defenders of violence and oppression.

3. In the third Article (my Lords) you have the Judges, who under his Majesty are the dispersers and distributors of Justice, frequently corrupted by feare, and solicitation; you have the course of Justice in the execution of it, shamefully obstructed. And if a wilfull Act of injustice in a Iudge be so high a crime in the estimate of the Law, as to deserve death, under what burthen of guilt doth this man lye, who hath been the cause of great numbers of such voluntary and wilfull acts of injustice?

4. In the fourth Article, hee will be found in his owne person to have sold justice in Causes depending before him. And by his wicked councill endeavouring to make his Majesty a Merchant of the same commodity, only with this difference, that the King by taking money for places of judicature, should sell it in grosse; whereas the Archbishop sold it by retaile.

5. In the fift Article there appeares a power usurped of making Canons, of laying obligations on the Subjects in the nature of Law, and this power abused to the making of such Canons as are in the matter of them very pernicious, being directly contrary to the prerogative of the King, and the liberty of the people. In the manner of pressing of them, may be found fraud and shuffling, in the conclusion violence and constraint; men being forced by terrour and threatening to subscribe to all: which power thus wickedly gotten, they labour to establish by perjury, injoyning such an Oath for the maintenance of it, as can neither be taken nor kept with a good conscience.

6. In the sixth Article, you have the King robbed of his Supremacy: you have a Papall power exercised over his Majesties Subjects in their consciences and in their persons: You have Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction claimed by an Incident right, which the Law declares to proceed from the Crowne.

And herein your Lordships may observe that those who labour in civill matters to set up the King above the Lawes of the Kingdome, doe yet in Ecclesiasticall matters endeavour to set up themselves above the King. This was first procured by the Arch-bishop to be extrajudicially declared by the Judges and then to be published in a Proclamation. In doing whereof he hath made the Kings Throne but a footstool for his owne and their pride.

7. You have (my Lords) in the seventh Article, Religion undermined and subverted: you have Popery cherished and defended: you have this seconded with power and violence, by severe punishment upon those which have opposed this mischievous intention: and by the subtil and eager prosecution of these men, hath the power of Ecclesiasticall Commissioners, of the Starre-Chamber and Councell Table beene often made subservient to his wicked designe.

My Lords,

8. You may observe in the eighth Article, great care taken to get into his owne hand the power of nominating to Ecclesiasticall Livings and promotions: you have as much mischeivous, as much wicked care taken in the disposing of these preferments, to the hinderance and corruption of Religion. And by this meanes (my Lords) the Kings sacred Majestie, instead of Sermons, fit for spirituall instructours, hath often had invectives against his people, incouragement to injustice, or to the overthrow of the Lawes. Such Chaplaines have beene brought into his service, as have as much as may be, laboured to corrupt his owne household, and beene eminent examples of corruption to others, which hath so farre prevailed, as that it hath exceedingly tainted the Vniversities, and beene generally disperst to all the chiefe Cities, the greatest Townes and Auditories of the Kingdome. The grievous effects whereof is most manifest to the Commons House, there being divers hundred complaints there depending in the House against scandalous Ministers, and yet (I believe) the hundred part of them is not yet brought in.

9. The ninth Article sets out the like care to have Chaplaines of his owne, that might bee promoters of this wicked and trayterous designe: Men of corrupt judgments, of corrupt practice, extreemely addicted to superstition: and to such mens cares hath beene committed the Licencing of Bookes to the Presse; by meanes whereof many have beene published that are full of falshood, of scandals; such as have beene more worthy to be burnt by the hand of the Hangman in Smithfield (as I thinke one of them was) than to be admitted to come into the hands of the Kings people.

10. In the tenth Article it will appeare, how he having made these approaches to Popery, comes now to close and joyne more neerely with it; he confederates with Priests and Jesuites. He, by his instruments negotiates with the Pope at Rome, and hath correspondence with them that he authorized from Rome here. He hath permitted a Roman Hierarchie to be set up in this Kingdome. And though he hath bin so carefull that a poore man could not goe to the neighbour Parish to heare a Sermon, when he had none at home, could not have a Sermon repeated, nor prayer used in his own Family; but he was a fit subject for the High Commission Court; yet the other hath beene done in all parts of the Realme and no notice taken of it, by any Ecclesiasticall Judges or Courts.

My Lords;

11. You may perceive preaching suppressed in the eleventh, divers godly and Orthodox Ministers oppressed in their persons and Estates; you have the Kings loyall subjects banished out of the Kingdome, not as *Elimelecke* to seeke for bread in forraigne Countries, by reason of the great scarcity which was in *Israel*; but travelling abroad for the bread of life, because they could not have it at home, by reason of the spirituall Famine of Gods Word, caused by this man and his partakers. And by this meanes you have had the trade, the Manufactory, the industry of many thousands of his Majesties subjects, carried out of the Land.

It is a miserable abuse of the spirituall Keyes to shut up the doores of heaven, and to open the gates of Hell, to let in prophanenesse, ignorance, superstition, and error. I shall neede say no more: These things are evident, and abundantly knowne to all.

12. In the twelfth Article (my Lords) you have a division endeavoured betweene this and the forraigne reformed Churches. The Church of Christ is one body, and the Members of Christ have a mutuall relation, as members of the same body, Vnity with Gods true Church every where is not only the beauty, but the strength of Religion: of which beauty and strength he hath sought to deprive this Church by his manifold attempts to breake this union. To which purpose hee hath suppressed the priviledges granted to the Dutch and French Churches. He hath denied them to be of the same Faith and Religion with us, and many other wayes hath he declared his malice to those Churches.

13. In the thirteenth Article, as he hath sought to make an Ecclesiasticall division or religious difference betweene us and forraine Nations, so he hath sought to make a Civill difference betweene us and his Majesties subjects of the Kingdome of *Scotland*. And theis he hath promoted by many innovations, there prest, by himselfe and his owne authority, when they were uncapable of such alterations, He advised his Majesty to use violence. He hath made private and publique Collections towards the maintenance of the Warre, which he might justly call his owne warre. And with an impudent boldnesse, hath struck Tallies in the Exchequer for divers summes of money procured by himselfe, *Pro defensione Regni*; when by his Counsels the King was drawne to undertake not a Defensive, but an Offensive Warre.

14. He hath lastly, thought to secure himselfe and his party by seeking to undermine Parliaments, and thereby hath laboured to bereave this Kingdome of the Legislative power, which can only be used in Parliaments: and that we should be left a Kingdome without that which indeed makes and constitutes a Kingdome; and is the only Meanes to preserve and restore it from distempers and decays. He hath hereby endeavoured to bereave us of the highest Judicatory, such a Judicatory, as is necessary and essentiall to our government. Some Cases of Treason, and others concerning the Prerogative of the Crowne, and liberty of the People. It is the supreme Judicatory to which all difficult Cases resort from other Courts. He hath sought to deprive the King of the Love and Counsell of his People, of that assistance which he might have from them, and likewise to deprive the People of that reliefe of grievances which they most humbly expect from his Majestie.

My Lords,

The Parliament is the Cabinet wherein the chiefest Jewells both of the Crowne and Kingdome are deposited. The great Prerogative of the King, and libertie of the People are most effectually exercised and maintained by Parliaments. Here (my Lords) you cannot passe by this occasion of great thanks to God and His Majesty for passing the Bill, whereby the frequent course of Parliaments is established; which I assure my selfe, he will by experience finde to bee a strong foundation both of his honour, and of his Crowne.

This is all (my Lords) I have to say to the particulars of the Charge. The Commons desire your Lordships that they may have the same way of Examination that they had in the case of the Earle of *Strafford*: That is, to examine members of all kindes, of your Lordships House and their owne, and others, as they shall see cause. And those examinations to be kept secret and private, that they may with more advantage be made use of when the matter comes to tryall.

They have declared that they reserve to themselves the power of making Additionall Articles, by which they intend to reduce his Charge to be more particular and certaine, in respect of the severall times, occasion, and other circumstances of the offences therein Charged. And that your Lordships would bee pleased to put this cause in such a quicke way of proceeding, that these great and dangerous crimes together with the offenders may be brought to a just judgment.

The Charge of the Scottish Commissioners against the Prelate of Canterburie.

NOvations in Religion, which are Vniversally acknowledged to bee the maine cause of commotions in Kingdomes and states, and are knowne to be the true cause of our present troubles, were many and great, beside the bookes of Ordination, and Homilies, 1. Some particular alterations in matters of Religion, pressed upon us without order and against Law, contrary to the forme established in our Kirk. 2. A new booke of Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall. 3. A Liturgie or booke of Common-Prayer, which did also carrie with them many dangerous errors in matters of Doctrine. Of all which we challenge the Prelate of *Canterburie*, as the prime cause on earth.

And first, that this Prelate was the Author and urger of some particular changes, which

which made great disturbance amongst us, we make manifest: 1. By fourteene letters subscribed, *William Cant.* in the space of two yeares, to one of our pretended Bishops, *Bannatine*, wherein he often enjoyneth him and other pretended Bishops, to appeare in the Chappell in their Whites, contrary to the custome of our Kirke, and to his promise made to the pretended Bishop of *Edenburgh*, at the Coronation, that none of them after that time, should be pressed to weare these garments there, by moving him against his will to put them on for that time, wherein he directeth him to give order for saying the English Service in the Chappell twice a day, for his neglect, shewing him that he was disappointed of the Bishopricke of *Edenburgh*, promising him upon the greater care of these novations, advancement to a better Bishopricke, taxing him for his boldnesse in preaching the sound Doctrine of the reformed Kirkes, against Master *Mitchell*, who had taught the errours of *Arminius* in the point of the extent of the merit of Christ, bidding him send up a list of the names of Councillours and Senatours of the Colledge of Justice, who did not communicate in the Chappell in a forme which was not received in our Kirke, commending him when he found him obsequious to these his commands, telling him that he had moved the King the second time for the punishment of such as had not received in the Chappell: and wherein he upbraideth him bitterly, that in his first Synod at *Aberdeen*, he had only disputed against our Custome of *Scotland*, of fasting sometimes on the Lords Day, and presumptuously censuring our Kirke, that in this wee were opposite to Christianitie it selfe; and that amongst us there were no Canons at all. More of this stuffe may be seene in the Letters themselves.

Secondly, by two papers of *memoirs* and instructions from the pretended Bishop of *Saint Androis*, to the pretended Bishop of *Rosse*, comming to this Prelate, for ordering the affaires of the Kirke, and Kingdome of *Scotland*, as not only to obtaine Warrants, to order the Exchequer, the Privie Counsell, the great Commission of Surrenders, the mater of *Balmerino's* processe, as might please our Prelates, but warrants also for sitting of the High Commission Court once a weeke in *Edenburgh*, and to gaine from the Noblemen, for the benefit of Prelates, and their adherents, the Abbacies of *Kelfo*, *Arbroith*, *St. Androis*, and *Lindors*, and in the smallest matters to receive his Commands, as for taking downe Galleries, and stone-walls, in the Kirks of *Edenburgh* and *Saint Androis*, for no other end but to make way for Altars, and adoration towards the East: which besides other evils, made no small noyse, and disturbance amongst the people deprived hereby of their ordinary accommodation for publike worship.

The second Novation which troubled our peace, was a booke of Canons, and constitutions Ecclesiasticall, obtruded upon our Kirke, found by our Generall Assembly to be devised for establishing a tyrannicall power, in the persons of our Prelates, over the Worship of God, over the Consciences, Liberties, and goods of the People, and for abolishing the whole discipline and government of our Kirke, by generall and provinciall Assemblies, Presbyteries, and Kirke Sessions, which was settled by Law and in continuall practise since the time of Reformation; that *Canterburie* was Master of this Worke is manifest.

By a Book of Canons sent to him, written upon the one side only, with the other side blank, for corrections additions, and putting all in better Order at his pleasure, which accordingly was done, as may appeare by interlinings, marginalls, and filling up of the blanke page with directions sent to our Prelates; and that it was done by no other than *Canterbury*, is evident by his Magisteriall way of prescribing, and by a new copy of these Canons all written with *Saint Androis* owne hand, precisely to a Letter, according to the former cattigations sent backe for procuring the Kings warrant unto it, which accordingly was obtained, but with an addition of some other Canons, and a Paper of some other corrections: According to which the Booke of Canons thus composed, was published in Print, the inspection of the Bookes, Instructions; and his Letters of joy, for the successe of the worke and of others Letters of the Prelate of *London*, and the Lord *Sterling*, to the same purpose,

all which we are ready to exhibite, will put the matter out of all debate.

Besides this generall, there be some things more speciall worthy to be adverted unto, for discovering his Spirit. *1811*. The fourth Canon of Cap. 8. Forasmuch as no Reformation in Doctrine or Discipline can be made perfect at once in any Church; therefore it shall, and may be lawfull for the Church of Scotland at any time to make remonstrance to his Majesty, or his successors, &c. Because this Canon holdeth the doore open to more Innovations, he writeth to the Prelate of Rosse his privy Agent in all this Worke, of his great gladnesse, that this Canon did stand behinde the Curtaine, and his great desire, that this Canon may be Printed fully, as one that was to be most usefull. Secondly, The title prefixed to these Canons by our Prelates, Canons agreed upon to be proponed to the severall Synods of the Kirke of Scotland, is thus changed by Canterbury; Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall, &c. ordained to be observed by the Clergy. He will not have Canons come from the Authority of Synods; but from the power of Prelates, or from the Kings Prerogative. Thirdly, the formidable Canon, Cap. 13. threatening no lesse than Excommunication against all such persons, who-soever shall open their mouthes against any of these Bookes, proceeded not from our Prelates, nor is to be found in the Copy sent from them, but is a thunder-bolt forged in Canterburies owne fire. Our Prelates in divers places witnesse their dislike of Papists. A Minister shall be deposed, if he be found negligent to convert Papists, Chap. 18. 15. The adoration of the Bread is a superstition to be condemned, Cap. 6. 6. They call the absolute necessity of Baptisme an error of Popery, Cap. 6. 2. But in Canterburies Edition, the name of Papists and Popery is not so much as mentioned. 5. Our Prelates have not the boldnesse to trouble us in their Canons, with Altars, Fonts, Chancels, reading of a long Liturgy before Sermon, &c. But Canterbury is, punctuall, and peremptory in all these. Although the words of the tenth Canon Chap. 3. be faire, yet the wicked intentions of Canterbury and Rosse, may be seene in the poynt of justification of a sinner before God, by comparing the Canon as it came from the Prelates, and as it was returned from Canterbury, and Printed; our Prelates say thus: *It is manifest, that the superstition of former ages, hath turned into a great prophaneesse, and that people are growne cold for the most part in doing any good, thinking there is no place to good workes, because they are excluded from justification. Therefore shall all Ministere, as their Text giveth occasion, urge the necessity of good workes, as they would be saved, and remember that they are Via Regni, the way to the Kingdome of Heaven, though not causa regnandi, how be it they be not the cause of Salvation.* Here Rosse giveth his judgement, that he would have this Canon simply commanding good workes, to be Preached, and no mention made, what place they have, or have not in justification. Vpon this motion, so agreeable to Canterburies mind, the Canon is set downe as it standeth, without the distinction of *Via Regni*, or *causa Regnandi*, or any word sounding that way, urging only the necessity of good workes. 7. By comparing Canterbury 9. Cap. 18. As it was sent in writing from our Prelates, and as it is Printed at Canterburies command, may be also manifest, that he went about to establish Auricular confession, and Popish Absolution. 8. Our Prelates were not acquainted with Canons for afflicting of Arbitrary penalties: But in Canterburies Booke wheresoever there is no penalty expressly set downe, it is provided that it shall be arbitrary, as the ordinary shall thinke fittest. By these and many other the like, it is apparent, that tyranicall power he went about to establish in the hands, of our Prelates, over the worship, and the soules and goods of men, overturning from the foundation, the whole order of our Kirke, what seeds of Popery he did sow in our Kirke, and how large an entry hee did make for the grossest novations afterward, which hath beene a maine cause of all their combustion.

The third and great novation was the Booke of Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacraments, and other parts of Divine service, brought in without warrant from our Kirke, to be universally received, as the onely forme of divine Service, under all highest paines both civill and Ecclesiasticall; which is found by our nationall assembly, besides the Popish freme, and formes in divine worship, to containe many Po-

popish errors, and ceremonies, and the seeds of manifold and grosse superstitions, and Idolatries; and to be repugnant to the Doctrine, Discipline, and order of our reformation, to the confession of Faith, constitutions of generall Assemblies, and Acts of Parliament, establishing the true Religion: that this also was *Canterburies* worke we make manifest.

By the memories, and instruction sent unto him from our Prelates; wherein they gave a speciall account of the diligence they had used, to doe all which herein they were enjoyned, by the approbation of the Service Booke sent to them; and of all the marginall correction, wherein it varieth from the *English* Booke, shewing their desire to have some few things changed in it, which notwithstanding was not granted: This we finde written by Saint *Androis* owne hand, and subscribed by him, and nine other of our Prelates.

By *Canterburies* owne Letters, witnesses of his joy, when the Booke was ready for the Presse, of his prayers that God would speed the worke, of the hope to see that service set up in *Scotland*, of his diligence to send for the Printer, and directing him to prepare a blacke letter, and to send it to his servants at *Edenburgh*, for Printing this booke. Of his approbation of his proofes sent from the Presse. Of his feare of delay, in bringing the worke speedily to an end, for the great good, (not of that Church, but of the Church. Of his entouraging *Rosse*, who was entrusted with the Presse, to goe on in this peece of Service without feare of Enemies, All which may be seene in the Autographs; and by letters sent from the Prelate of *London*, to *Rosse*, wherein as he rejoyceth at the sight of the *Scottish* Canons; which although they should make some noyse at the beginning, yet they would be more for the good of the Kirke, than the Canons of *Edenburgh*, for the good of the Kingdome. So concerning the Liturgy he sheweth, that *Rosse* had sent to him, to have an explanation from *Canterbury*, of some passage of the Service Booke, and that the Presse behoved to stand till the explanation come to *Edenburgh*, which therefore he had in hast, obtained from his Grace, and sent the dispatch away by *Canterburies* owne conveyance.

But the Booke it selfe, as it standeth interlined, margined, and patcht up, is much more than all that is exprest in his Letters, and the changes and supplements themselves, taken from the Masse Booke, and other Romish Ritualls by which he maketh it to vary from the Booke of *England*, and are pregnant testimonies of his Popish spirit, and wicked intentions which he would have put in execution upon us, then can be denyed. The large declaration professeth, that all the variation of our Booke, from the Booke of *England*, that ever the King understood, was in such things as the *Scottish* humour would better comply with, than with that which stood in the *English* service. These Popish innovations therefore have beene surreptitiously inserted by him without the Kings knowledge, and against his purpose. Our *Scottish* Prelates doe petition that, something may be abated of the *English* ceremonies, as the Crosse in Baptisme, the Ring in marriage, and some other things. But *Canterburie* will not only have these kept, but a great many more, and worse superadded, which was nothing else, but the adding of fwell to the fire. To expresse and discover all, would require a whole booke; we shall only touch some few in the matter of the Communion.

This Booke inverteth the order of the Communion in the Booke of *England*, as may be seene by the numbers, setting downe the orders of this new Communion, 1. 5. 2. 6. 7. 3. 4. 8. 9. 10. 15. Of the divers secret reasons of this change, we mention one onely; In joyning the spirituall praise and thanksgiving, which is in the Booke of *England*, pertinentely after the Communion, with the Prayer of Consecration before the Communion, and that under the name of Memoriall, or Oblation, for no other end, but that the memoriall and Sacrifice of Praise mentioned in it, may be understood according to the Popish meaning. *Bellar. de Missa, lib. 2. cap. 21.* Not of the spirituall sacrifice, but of the oblation of the body of the Lord.

It seemeth to be no great matter, that without warrant of the Booke of *England*, the Presbyter going from the North-end of the Table, shall stand during the time of consecration, at such a part of the Table, where he may with the more ease and decency use

use both hands; yet being tryed, it importeth much, as, that he must stand with his hinder parts to the People, representing (saith *Durand*) that which the Lord said of *Moses*, *Thou shalt see my hinder parts*. He must have the use of both his hands, not for any thing he hath to doe about the Bread and Wine, for that may be done at the North end of the Table, and be better seene of the people: but (as we are taught by the Rationalists) that he may by stretching forth his Armes, to represent the extension of Christ on the Crosse, and that he may the more conveniently lift up the Bread and Wine above his head, to be seene and adored of the people: who in the Rubricke of the generall confession, a little before, are directed to kneele humbly on their knees, that the Priests elevation so magnified in the Masse, and the peoples adoration may goe together. That in this posture, speaking with a low voyce, and muttering (for sometimes he is commanded to speake with a loud voyce, and distinctly) he be not heard by the people which is no lesse a mocking of God, and his people, then if the words were spoken in an unknowne language. As there is no word of all this in the *English Service*; so doth the Booke in King *Edwards* time, give to every Presbyter his liberty of gesture, which yet gave such offence to *Bucer*, (the censurer of the Booke and even in *Cassanders* owne judgment, a man of great moderation in matters of this kind) that he calleth them, *Nunquam satis execrandos Missæ gestus*, and would have them to be abhorred because they confirme to the simple and superstitious *ter impiam & exitialem Missæ fiduciam*.

The corporall presence of Christs body in the Sacrament, is also to be found here: for the words of the Masse-booke serving to this purpose, which are sharply censured by *Bucer* in King *Edwards* Liturgy, and are not to be found in the Booke of *England* are taken in here; Almighty God is incalled, that of his Almighty Goodnesse he may vouchsafe so to blesse and sanctifie with his Word and Spirit, these gifts of Bread and Wine, that they may bee unto us the body and blood of Christ.

The change here is made a worke of Gods Omnipotency: the words of the Masse, *ut fiant nobis*, are translated in King *Edwards* Booke, *That they be unto us*, which are againe turned into Latine by *Alesius*, *Vt fiant nobis*. On the other part, the expressions of the Booke of *England*, at the delivery of the Elements of feeding on Christ by faith, and of Eating and drinking in remembrance that Christ dyed for thee, are utterly deleared. Many evidences there be in this part of the Communion, of the bodily Presence of Christ, very agreeable to the Doctrines taught by his Sectaries, which this paper cannot containe. They teach us that Christ is received in the Sacrament, *Corpore*, both objective and subjective, *Corpus Christi est objectum quod recipitur, & corpus nostrum subjectum quo recipitur*.

The Booke of *England* abolisheth all that may import the oblation of any unbloody Sacrifice, but here we have besides the preparatory oblation of the Elements, which is neither to be found in the Booke of *England* now, nor in King *Edwards* Booke of old the oblation of the body and blood of Christ, which *Bellarmino* calleth, *Sacrificium Laudis, quia Deus per illud magnopere laudatur*. This also agreeth well with their late doctrine. We are ready when, it shall be judged convenient, and we shall be desired, to discover much more matters of this kind, as grounds laid for *missa sicca*, or the halfe Messe, the privat Messe without the people, of communicating in one kinde, of the consumption by the Priest, and consummation of the Sacrifice, of receiving the Sacrament in the mouth, and not in the hand, &c.

Our supplications were many against these Bookes, but *Canterbury* procured them to be answered with terrible Proclamations. We were constrained to use the remedy of Protestation; but for our Protestations, and other lawfull meanes, which we used for our deliverance, *Canterbury* procured us to be declared Rebels and Traitors, in all Parish Kirkes of *England*: when we were seeking to possesse our Religion in peace, against these devices, and novations, *Canterbury* kindleth warre against us. In all these it is knowne that he was, although not the sole, yet the principall Agent and adviser.

When by the Pacification at *Barnicke*, both Kingdomes looked for Peace and
H 2
quietnesse,

quietnesse, hee spared not openly in the hearing of many, often before the King, and privately at the Councell Table, and the Privy Jointo, to speake of us as Rebels and Traitors, and to speake against the Pacification as dishonourable, and meere to be broken. Neither did his malignancy and bitterness ever suffer him to rest, till a new war was entred upon, and all things prepared for our destruction.

By him was it that our Covenant, approven by Nationall Assemblies, subscribed by His Majesties Commissioner, and by the Lords of his Majesties Councell, and by them commanded to be subscribed by all the Subjects of the Kingdome, as a Testimony of our duty to God, and the King, by him was it still called ungodly, damnable, Treasonable; by him were Oaths invented, and pressed upon diverse of our poore Country men, upon the paine of imprisonment, and many miseries, which were unwarrantable by Law, and contrary to their Nationall Oath.

When our Commissioners did appeare to render the reasons of our demands, hee spared not in the presence of the King, and Committee, to raile against our Nationall Assembly, as not daring to appeare before the World, and Kirkes abroad; where himselfe and his actions were able to endure tryall; and against our just and necessary defence as the most malicious and Treasonable Contempt of Monarchicall Government that any bygone age heard of: His hand also was at the Warrant for the restraint and imprisonment of Our Commissioners, sent from the Parliament, warranted by the King, and seeking the peace of the Kingdomes.

When we had by our Declarations, Remonstrances, and Representations, manifested the truth of our intentions, and lawfulness of our actions, to all the good Subjects of the Kingdome of *England*, when the late Parliament could not be moved to assist, or enter in Warre against us, maintaining our Religion, and Liberties, *Canterbury* did not only advise the breaking up of that high and honourable Court, to the great griefe and hazard of the Kingdome, but (which is without example) did sit still in the Convocation, and make Canons and Constitutions against us, and our just and necessary defence; ordaining under all highest paines, that hereafter the Clergie shall preach foure times in the yeare, such doctrine as is contrary not onely to our proceedings, but to the doctrine and proceedings of other Reformed Kirkes, to the judgment of all sound Divines, and Politiques, and tending to the utter slavery and ruining of all Estates and Kingdomes, and to the dishonour of Kings and Monarchs. And as if this had not beene sufficient, he procured six Subsidies to be lifted of the Clergie, under paine of deprivation to all that should refuse. And which is yet worse, and above which Malice it selfe cannot ascend, by his meanes a Prayer is framed, Printed, and sent through all Paroches of *England*, to be said in all Churches in time of Divine Service, next after the Prayer for the Queen, and Royall Progeny, against our Nation by name of *trayterous Subjects, having cast off all Obedience to Our Annoynted Sovereigne, and coming in all rebellious manner to invade England*, that shame may cover our faces, as Enemies to God and the King.

Whosoever shall impartially examine what hath proceeded from himselfe, in these Books of Canons and common Prayer, what Doctrine hath beene published and printed these yeares by-past in *England*, by his Disciples and Emisaries, what grosse Popery in the most materiall points we have found, and are ready to shew in the posthume writings of the Prelate at *Edenburgh*, and *Dublane*, his owne creatures, his neereft familiars, and most willing instruments to advance his counsells, and projects, shall perceive, that his intentions were deepe and large against all the reformed Kirkes, and Reformation of Religion, which in his Majesties dominions was passing, and by this time had rendred up the Ghost, if God had not in a wonderfull way of mercy prevented us; And that if the Pope himselfe had beene in his place, he could not have beene more Popish, nor could he more zealously have negotiated for *Rome*, against the Reformed Kirkes, to reduce them to the Heresies in doctrine; the Superstitions and Idolatry in worship, and the tyranny in Government, which are in that See, and for which the Reformed Kirkes did separate from it, and come forth of *Babell*. From him certainly hath issued all this deluge, which almost hath overturned all. We are there-

fore confident that your Lordships will by your meanes deale effectually with the Parliament, that this great firebrand be presently removed from his Majesties presence, and that he may be put to tryall, and put to his deserved censure, according to the Lawes of the Kingdome; which shall be good service to God, honour to the King and Parliament, terrour to the wicked, and comfort to all good men, and to us in speciall, who by his meanes principally, have beene put to so many and grievous afflictions, wherein we had perished, if God had not beene with us.

Wee doe indeed confesse that the Prelates of *England* have beene of very different humours, some of them of a more moderate temper, some of them more, and some of them lesse inclinable to Popery: yet what knowne truth, and constant experience hath made undenyable, we must at this opportunity professe, that from the first time of Reformation of the Kirke of *Scotland*, not only after the comming of *King James* of happy memory into *England*, but before the Prelates of *England* have bin by all means uncessantly working the overthrow of our discipline and Government. And it hath come to passe of late, that the Prelates of *England* having prevailed, and brought us to subjection in the point of Government, and finding their long waited for opportunity and a rare congruities of many spirits and powers, ready to co-operate for their ends, have made a strong assault upon the whole externall worship, and doctrine of our Kirk. By which their doing they did not aime to make us conforme to *England*, but to make *Scotland* first (whose weaknesse in resisting they had before experienced, in the Novations of Government, and of some points of worship) and thereafter *England* conform to *Rome*, even in these matters, wherein *England* had separated from *Rome*, ever since the time of Reformation. An evill therefore which hath issued, not so much from the personall disposition of the Prelates themselves, as from the innate quality and nature of their Office, and Prelaticall Hierarchie, which did bring forth the Pope in Ancient times, and never ceaseth till it bringeth forth popish Doctrine and worship, where it is once rooted, and the Principles thereof fomented and constantly followed. And from that antipathy and inconsistency of the two formes of Ecclesiasticall Government, which they conceived, and not without cause, that one Island united also under one head, and Monarch, was not able to beare: the one being the same in all the parts and powers, which it was in times of Popery, and now is in the Roman Church: The other being the forme of Government, received, maintained and practised by all the Reformed Kirks, wherein by their owne testimonies, and confessions, the Kirks of *Scotland* had amongst them no small eminencie. This also we represent to Your Lordships most serious consideration, that not only the fire-brands may be removed, but that the fire may be provided against, that there be no more combustion after this.

This charge of the Scots against the Arch-Bishop was ushered in with this *Introduction*, in the Scottish Treatie, which clearly manifests him to be excepted by name out of the *Act of Pacification*, and *Oblivion*; by the fourth clause thereof.

*An Introduction to the accusation against Canterbury, and the Lieutenant.
of I R E L A N D.*

Seeing His Majestie hath beene Graciously pleased concerning our fourth demand to declare, that all his subjects shall be lyable to the tryall and sentence of the Parliament respective; And seeing the Incendiaries are of two sorts, either of the English, or Scottish Nation, to bee tryed here or there, of the Scottish wee shall speake afterward, And for the present we shall deliver to your Lordships, the grounds of our complaint against the Prelate of *Canterbury*, and the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whom the Kingdome of *Scotland* have conceived and expressed to have beene prime Incendiaries, that they may be fully presented to your Lordships, to the Kings Majesty and to the Parliament, without prejudice alwayes unto us to adde hereafter what we shall find necessarie. And although we do not presently verifie every point therein

therein, yet our present proofs of some principall points & our probable pretensions of the rest, which are annexed therewith, are sufficient ground, *cum constet de incendio*, to one Nation, to desire another to put them, *per viam transitionis*, to a tryall, and to examine all the Councillors, and others here, who may be conceived to have bene eye or eare witnesses, of any of the Councells, speeches or Actions lyable to the Charge, and so siving unnecessarie charges and travell to the subjects to direct Commissions and all other Warrants, requisite to such as his Majesty and the Parliament shall think fit, for examining all such persons, as may be apprehended to have knowledge of any of these Councells, Speeches or Actions, which are alleaged to have bene in Ireland, and that upon such Interrogatories as we shall give unto the Parliament & shall be pleased to adde for triall. All which we earnestly crave of his Majesty, and the Parliament, as we desire that his Majesty may be pleased to send Warrant to the Committee of at *Essex*: like, or to the Sherifes of Shires for examining witness anent the oath pressed upon any of our Country men, and other wrongs contained in the complaint if they be not sufficiently proved here. 14. December. 1640.

After these Originall Articles exhibited against the Archbishop, both by the Scottish Commissioners and House of Commons to the House of Peeres, the Archbishop delaying to plead unto them; and the Parliament being taken up with many emergent weighty affaires for their owne and the Kingdomes necessary preservation, by reason of the unnaturall bloody Rebellion in Ireland, and Warres in England so replotted, and raised by the popish party, the proceedings against him were respited neare two yeares space: And then the Commons intending to bring him to a speedy triall, exhibited these ensuing, Additionall Articles against him, not much different from the Originall, except in some particulars.



Further Articles of Impeachment by the Commons assembled in Parliament against William Laud Archbishop of CANTERBURY, of high Treason and divers high Crimes and Misdemeanours, as followeth.

1. **T**hat the said Archbishop of Canterbury, to introduce an Arbitrary Government within this Realme, and to destroy Parliaments, in the third and fourth yeares of his Majesties reigne that now is, a Parliament being then called, and sitting at Westminster, traiterously and maliciously caused the said Parliament to be dissolved, to the great grievance of his Majesties subjects, and prejudice of this Commonwealth: And soone after the dissolution thereof gave divers Propositions under his hand, to George then Duke of Buckingham, casting therein many false aspersions upon the said Parliament, calling it a factious Parliament, and falsely affirming, that it had cast many scandalls upon his Majesty, and had used him like a child in his minority, styling them Puritans, and commending the Papists for harmlesse and peaceable subjects.

2. That within the space of ten yeares last past, the said Archbishop hath treacherously endeavoured to subvert the fundamentall Lawes of this Realme; and to that end hath in like manner endeavoured, to advance the power of the Councill Table, the Canons of the Church, and the Kings Prerogative, above the Lawes and Statutes of the Realme. And for manifestation thereof, about six yeares last past, being then a Privy Councillor to his Majesty, and sitting at the Councill Table, he said, that as long as he sat there, they should know, that an Order of that Board should be of equall force with a law or Act of Parliament. And at another time used these words, That he hoped ere long that the Canons of the Church, and the Kings Prerogative, should be of as great power as an Act of Parliament. And at another time said, that those that would not yeeld to the Kings power, hee would crush them to peeces.

3. That

3. That the said Archbishop, to advance the Canons of the Church, and power Ecclesiasticall above the law of the Land, and to pervert and hinder the course of Justice, hath at divers times within the said time, by his letters, and other undue meanes and solicitations, used to Iudges, opposed and stopped the granting of his Majesties Writs of Prohibition, where the same ought to have beene granted, for stay of proceedings in the Ecclesiasticall Court, whereby justice hath beene delayed and hindered, and the Iudges diverted from doing their duties.

4. That for the end and purpose aforesaid, about seaven yeares last past, a Iudgment being given in his Majesties Court of Kings Bench against one Burley a Person, being a man of bad life and conversation, in an Information upon the Statute of 21. Hen. 8. for wilfull Non-residency, the said Archbishop by solicitations and other undue meanes used to the Iudges of that Court, caused Execution upon the said Iudgment to be stayed: and being moved therein, and made acquainted with the bad life and conversation of the said Person, he said, that he had spoken to the Judges for him, and that he would never suffer a Iudgment to passe against any Clergy-man by nihil dicit.

5. That the said Archbishop, about eight yeares last past, being then also a privy Councillor to his Majesty, for the end and purpose aforesaid, caused Sir Iohn Corbet of Stoak in the County of Salop Baronet, then a Iustice of peace of the said County, to be committed to the Prison of the Fleet, where he continued Prisoner for the space of halfe a yeare, or more for no other cause, but for calling for the Petition of Right, & causing it to be read at the Sessions of the peace for that County, upon a just and necessary occasion. And during the time of his said imprisonment the said Archbishop, without any colour of right, by a writing under the Seale of his Archbishopricke, granted a way parcell of the Glebe land of the Church of Adderly in the said County, whereof the said Sir Iohn Corbet was then patron, unto Robert Viscount Kilmurrey, without the consent of the said Sir Iohn, or then the incumbent of the said Church, which said Viscount Kilmurrey built a Chappel upon the said parcell of Glebe land, to the great prejudice of the said Sir Iohn Corbet, which hath caused great suits and dissensions betwene them. And whereas the said Sir Iohn Corbet had a Iudgment against Sir James Stonehouse Knight, in an action of Waste, in his Majesties Court of Common Pleas at Westminster, which was afterwards affirmed in a writ of Error in the Kings Bench, and Execution thereupon awarded: yet the said Sir Iohn, by meanes of the said Archbishop could not have the effect thereof, but was committed to Prison by the said Archbishop and others at the Councill Table, untill he had submitted himselfe unto the order of the said Table, whereby he lost the benefit of the said Iudgment and Execution.

6. That whereas divers gifts and dispositions of divers summes of money were heretofore made by divers charitable and well disposed persons for the buying in of divers Impropriations for the maintenance of preaching the word of God in severall Churches, the said Archbishop about eight yeares last past, wilfully and maliciously caused the said gifts, feoffements and conveyances made to the uses aforesaid, to be overthrowne in his Majesties Court of Exchequer, contrary to Law, as things dangerous to the Church and State, under the specious pretence of buying in Appropriations: whereby that pious worke was suppressed and trodden downe, to the great dishonour of God, and scandal of Religion.

7. That the said Archbishop at severall times, within these ten yeares last past, at Westminster and else where within this Realme, contrary to the knowne Lawes of this Land, hath endeavoured to advance Popery and Superstition within the Realme: And for that end and purpose hath wittingly and willingly received, harboured and relieved divers popish Priests and Iesuits, namely one called Sancta Clara, alias Dampport, a dangerous Person, and Franciscan Fryer, who having written a Popish and seditious Booke, intituled Deus natura gratia, wherein the thirty nine Articles of the Church of England, established by Act of Parliament, were much traduced and scandalized: The said Archbishop had divers conferences with him, while he was in writing the said Booke; and did also provide maintenance and entertainment for one Mounseur St. Giles a Popish Priest at Oxford, knowing him to be a Popish Priest.

8. That the said Archbishop, about foure yeares last past, at Westminster aforesaid said that

that there must be a blow given to the Church; such as hath not been yet given, before it could be brought to conformity; declaring thereby his intention to bee, to shake and alter the true Protestant Religion established in the Church of England.

9. That in, or about the month of May, 1641. presently after the dissolution of the last Parliament, the said Archbishop for the ends and purposes aforesaid, caused a Synod or Convocation of the Clergie, to be held for the severall Provinces of Canterbury and Yorke; wherein were made and established by his meanes and procurement, diverse Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall; contrary to the Lawes of this Realme, the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, the Liberty and propriety of the Subject, tending also to sedition, and of dangerous consequence: And amongst other things, the said Archbishop caused a most dangerous and illegall Oath to be therein made and contrived, the tenor whereof followeth in these words. That I A. B. doe sweare that I do approve the Doctrine and Discipline or Government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation; And that I will not endeavour by my selfe or any other, directly or indirectly to bring in any Popish Doctrine, contrary to that which is so established: Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deanes, and Arch-Deacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand: Nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the Sea of Rome. And all these things I doe plainly and sincerely acknowledge and sweare, according to the plaine and common sense, and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mentall evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I do heartily, willing and truly, upon the faith of a Christian: So helpe mee God in Jesus Christ. Which Oath the said Archbishop himselfe did take, and caused diverse other Ministers of the Church to take the same, upon paine of suspension and deprivation of their livings, and other severe penalties: And did also cause Godfrey, then Bishop of Gloucester, to be committed to prison for refusing to subscribe to the said Canons, and to take the said Oath: and afterward, the said Bishop submitting himselfe to take the said Oath, he was set at liberty.

10. That a little before the calling of the last Parliament, Anno 1640. a Vote being then passed, and a resolution taken at the Councell Table, by the advice of the said Archbishop, for assisting of the King in extraordinary wayes, if the said Parliament should prove peevish, and refuse to supply His Majestie: the said Archbishop wickedly and maliciously advised His Majestie to dissolve the said Parliament, and accordingly the same was dissolved: And presently after, the said Archbishop told his Majesty, that now he was absolved from all rules of Government, and left free to use extraordinary wayes for his supply.

For all which matters and things the said Commons assembled in Parliament, in the name of themselves and of all the Commons of England doe impeach the said Archbishop of Canterbury of high Treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours tending to the subversion of our Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, and to the utter ruine of this Church and Common-Wealth.

And the said Commons, by Protestation saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter, any further, or other accusation or impeachment against the said Wil. Laud Archbishop of Canterburie, and also of replying to the answer that he shall make unto the said Articles, or any of them: Or offering prooffe of the premisses, or any other impeachments or accusations that shall be exhibited by them, as the cause shall (according to the course of Parliaments) require; do pray that he, the said Wil. Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, may be called to answer the said severall crimes and misdemeanours, and receive such condigne punishment as the same shall deserve: and that such further proceedings may bee upon every of them had, and used against him as is agreeable to Law and Justice.

Greg.

These additionall Articles were sent up from the Commons to the Lords House by Master Serjeant Wilde the 23. of October. 1643. Whereupon the Lords made this ensuing Order.

Die Luna 23. Octob. 1643.

Ordere*d, &c.* That the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury shall put in his Answer in writing into this House by the thirtieth day of this instant October, unto the particular Articles in maintenance of their former impeachment of High Treason and diverse High Crimes and misdemeanours brought up from the House of Commons against him and remaining now before the Lords in Parliament.

The Arch-bishop being served with this Order the same day, the next morning sent this Petition (written with his owne hand) to the Lords.

To the Honourable the Lords assembled in the High Court
of PARLIAMENT.

The humble Petition of William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury.

Humbly Sheweth;

That he hath received your Lordships Order of October 23. 1643. with a Coppie of the Articles charged against him, and requiring him to make answer.

Most humbly prayeth that according to an Order of that Honourable House, he may have Councell assigned him, and that Master Hearne, and Master Chute may bee his Councell, and have free liberty to come unto him, and that he may have some money out of his estate to fee his Councell, and defray his other charges, he having bene for this last whole yeare very burdensome to his friends. And further that he may have all his papers and bookes, most of which belong to his defence, which Master Prynne tooke from him by Order from the Lords, delivered unto him, that he may be able to answer for himselfe. That also he may have time and means to send for his witnesses, which can hardly be done in the time limited. And that he may have his servants about him to send about his necessary occasions. And lastly, that he may have * longer time the Articles being large and many, And he shall ever pray, &c.

NOTE.

William Cant.

Which Petition being read in the Lords House, October 24. 1643. thereupon this Order was framed.

Die Martis 24. October 1643.

VPon the reading of the Petition of the Lord Arch-Bishop of CANTERBURY, this day in the House. It is Ordered, &c. That time is given him * untill munday the sixth of November next for the putting in his answer in writing * into this House unto particular Articles brought up from the House of Commons * in maintenance of their former impeachment of High Treason, and diverse high * Crimes and misdemeanours against him. That Master Heron, and Master Chute * are hereby assigned of Councell for the drawing up of his Answer, who are to bee * permitted to have free access in and out to him. That this House doth hereby * recommend to the Committee of Sequestrations, that the said Lord Arch-Bishop * shall have such meanes afforded him out of his estate, as will enable him to pay his * Councell, and defray his other charges. That when his Lordship shall set down par- * ticularly what papers & writings are necessary for his defence that should be resto- * red unto him, their Lordships will take it into consideration, That upon his Lord- * ships nominating who shall be his Solicitor, the Lords will returne their answer. * And for the witnesses when a day shall be appointed for his Lordships tryall, this * House will give such directions therein as shall be just.

F

* Die

* *Die Sabbati 28. October. 1643.*

Ordered, &c. That Master *Hales* is hereby appointed to be of Councell with the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with his other Councell already appointed for the drawing of his answer to the charge of the House of Commons against him. And that Master *W. Dell*, Master *Richard Cobb*, and Master *George Smith*, his Lordships servants, shall have liberty to attend the said Archbishops severall affaires and be permitted to come in and out unto him as there shall be occasion. After which *October 31.* hee exhibited this Petition to the Lords.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Assembled in PARLIAMENT.

The Humble Petition of William, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Most humbly Seweth;

THat Your Petitioner having presented against him by the honourable House of Commons to Your Lordships an impeachment, Intituled, farther Articles of impeachment, by the Commons assembled in Parliament, of high Treason and divers high crimes and misdemeanours, to which by your Honorable Order of the twentie fourth of *October*, annexed, he is directed to put in his answer in writing by *Munday* the sixth of *November*; and hath thereby Councell assigned him to draw up the same;

That Your Petitioner's Councell upon reading of the Articles, finding that as well in the frame as the conclusion thereof, the matters of Crime and misdemeanours, are so interwoven with references to the matters thereby charged as Treason, as they cannot take upon them to distinguish them, and conceiving it not to have bin your Lordships intention by their assignments they should advise an answer to any part of the impeachment charged against your Petitioner as Treason; doe forbear to advise your Petitioner's answer to the said Articles without some declaration first had, which of the said Articles are intended to be a charge of high Treason, and which of them of Crimes and misdemeanours, without which your Petitioner, is like to be deprived of the assistance of Councell granted by your Lordships Order.

Your Petitioner humbly beseecheth Your Lordships in this so heavy a charge upon him, from so great and Honourable a body in such a straight of time, that it may be declared, which of the said Articles are intended to be charges of Crimes and misdemeanours only, in which Your Petitioner may have the assistance of His Councell assigned him to advise him in his Answer thereunto; And that your Lordships will be further Honourably pleased to

* *inlarge your Petitioner in the time allotted for his Answer,*
And Your Petitioner shall pray, &c.
William Cant.

* NOTE.

Vpon which Petition this Order was formed.

* *Die Martis 31. October.*

Ordered, &c. That the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* shall have time to put in his answer to the impeachment of the House of Commons untill *Munday* the thirteenth of *October* next, And that this House doth forbear to declare any opinion concerning the severall Articles of the said Impeachment, But leaves it to his Councell, to doe and advise, as his Councell shall thinke most fitting.

Day being given him by this Order to put in his answer till the 13th. of *November* following, this Order was made in pursuance thereof.

Die

Die Veneris 10. November. 1643.

Ordered that the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, or his Deputie shall bring in safety the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury before their Lordships on Munday the 13th. of this instant November, by ten of the Clock in the morning, to put in his Answer into the House to the impeachment of the House Commons remaining now before the Lords in Parliament, and this to be a sufficient warrant, in that behalfe.

To the Gentleman Vsher. &c.

On the 13. of November, the Archbishop appearing at the Lords Barre in person, put in this following Answer to the Additionall Articles exhibited against him.

The humble Answer of William Archbishop of Cant. to the further Articles of Impeachment of high Treason and divers high Crimes and misdemeanours exhibited against him by the Honourable House of Commons, according to direction of an Order of this Honourable House of the 13. of October last.

All advantages of exception to the said Articles of Impeachment to this Defendant, saved and reserved, this Defendant humbly saith that he is not guilty of all or any the matters by the said Impeachment charged, in such manner and forme as the same are by the said Articles of impeachment charged.

Vpon his motion the same day to the Lords, this order was made in favour of him.

Die Lune 13. Novemb. 1643.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Councell shall provide themselves to advise him in point of Law, in all the Articles of the whole Charge; And for the matter of Fact, when the Cause comes to be presented by the House of Commons, as there shall be need, their Lordships will give further directions in due time.

On the 11. of December, 1643. The House of Commons being desirous to bring the Archbishop to a speedy tryall, made this ensuing Order.

11 December 1643.

Ordered, that the Committee for the Tryall of the Archbishop of Canterbury doe meete this afternoone at 2. of the Clock in the Star Chamber, to prepare the evidence against the Archbishop of Cant. and to summon such witnesses as are needfull, and prepare the businesse fit for Tryall, and to acquaint the House when they are ready, and this they are to doe with all the convenient speed they can, and have power to send for parties, witnesses, Papers, Records, &c. And the care thereof, is particularly committed unto Serjeant Wild. Here upon the Committee met sundry times to prepare their evidence.

3. January following, the Lords intending to expedite the Archbishops Tryall, according to the Commons desire, made this Order.

Die Mercurii, 3. Jan. 1643.

It is this day Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that this House will proceed against William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury upon the Impeachment brought up from the House of Commons for High Crimes and misdemeanours on Munday morning next at ten of the Clock, being the eight of this instant January, 1643 At which time the said Archbishop is to prepare himselfe for his defence.

To the Gentleman Vsher attending this House or his Deputie, to be delivered to the Lieutenant of the Tower, or his deputie, for the Archbishop.

F 2

Whereupon

Whereupon the Lords the same day sent downe this Message to the Commons, thus entred in their Journall.

3. January 1643.

A Message sent from the Lords by Sir Robert Rich, and Mr. Page; The Lords commanded us to put you in minde, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* hath put in his Plea to the Impeachment of this House sent up to the Lords sometimes since, which they desire you to take into consideration, what is fit to be done in it.

5. January, The House of Commons desired the Lords to appoint a Committee to examine some witnesses upon Oath against the Arch-bishop, in the presence of the Committee of the Commons; which being granted, the Commons made this Order.

5. Jan. 1643.

Ordered, that the Committee of this House formerly appointed for the business of the Archbishop of *Cant.* shall be the Committee in the presence of whom the witnesses in the case of the Bishop of *Cant.* are to be examined upon Oath by the Committee of Lords.

On the 6. of January the Archbishop preferred this Petition to the Lords for the deferring of his Tryall, to some longer time, written with Mr. *Dells* hand, and subscribed with his owne.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Assembled in the high Court of Parliament.

The humble Petition of *William Laud* Arch-bishop of *Cant.* Prisoner in the Tower.

Humbly sheweth.

That your Petitioner having received your Lordships command by your honourable Order of the 3. of this instant January, annexed; to attend and Answer the Impeachment against your Petitioner, from the honourable House of Commons on Munday the eight of this instant January, which is but five dayes distance, and at a time, when 2. of his, 3. Councill assigned are out of Towne, and your Petitioners witnesses, residing in severall remote places cannot be summoned in so short a time, nor willing happily to come upon their summons with out warrant from your Lordships.

NOTE.

Your Petitioners most humble suit to your Lordships is, that you will honourably vouchsafe him some more convenient time to send for his Councill, and witnesses to testifie in the matters of fact Charged against him, and withall to grant the Petitioner your honourable Order, to command the witnesses summoned to attend at the time by your Lordships to be appointed: which his humble request, your Petitioner had sooner presented to your Lordships, but that no sitting hath beene (as your Petitioner is Informed) untill this day, since your honourable order, in this behalfe made knowne to him.

And your Petitioner shall pray, &c

W. Cant.

Vpon reading whereof, the Lords made this Order in his favour, to out him of all excuses, and prevent all clamors of a surprisall.

Sabbath. 6. Jan. 1643.

Whereas the House formerly appointed Munday being the 8th. of this instant January 1643. to proceed against *William Laud* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, upon the impeachments brought up against him from the House of Commons for High Treason, and high Crimes and misdemeanours; Vpon reading the Petition of the said Archbishop, it is this day ordered by the Lords in Parliament, to the end

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the Councill and Witneses of the said Archbishop may have competent time to attend the hearing of the Cause, that this House will respite the proceedings against the said Archbishop upon the said impeachments untill Tuesday the 16. of this instant *January*, 1643, at ten of the Clock in the morning; at which time the said Archbishop is peremptorily appointed to provide his Witneses, and prepare his defence unto the said impeachments.

To the Gentleman Vsher, &c.

In pursuance whereof this Ordet was afterwards made and entred.

Die Lune 15. Ian. 1643.

It is this day Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that the Lieutenant of the Tower of London or his Deputie shall bring in safely the Archbishop of Cant before their Lordships on Tuesday the 16. of this instant *January* by one of the Clock in the afternoone. At which time this house will proceed against the said Archbishop, upon the impeachments brought up from the House of Commons against him for high Treason, and high Crimes and misdeameanours, and this to be a sufficient Warrant in that behalfe.

To the Gentleman Vsher, &c.

The next day the Archbishop being brought to the Lords House at the time appointed; about 3. of the Clock that afternoone, the Lords sent downe this Message to the House of Commons; thus entered in their Iournall.

16. January 1643.

A Message from the Lords by Sir *Robert Rich*, and Mr. *Page* to acquaint the House, that they are ready to heare the Charge upon the impeachment against the Bishop of *Canterbury*.

Vpon this Message the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to mannage the evidence against him, went up to the Lords House, and then the Archbishop being brought to the Barre, after he had there kneeled a little space, was commanded to stand up: which ceremony ended, Mr. *Maynard*, one of the Committee, desired the Lords: that the originall & additionall Articles of impeachment against the Archbishop might be read: Which being read accordingly by the Clerke, he then prayed, that the Archbishops severall Answers, to these Articles might likewise be read; whereupon the Speaker of the Lords House commanding them to be read, the Clerk read only his forementioned Answer to the Additionall Articles, but noe answer at all to the Originall, there being never any Answer put in unto them; the Archbishop having not in al the time of his restraint from the 26. of *Feb.* 1640. till that houre; so much as tendered or put in any Answer to his Originall Articles (which was his owne meere default) and never so much as once Petitioned in all that space to be brought to his Tryall, notwithstanding his frequent complaints of his long Imprisonment, & the delay of his hearing, occasioned by his owne neglect, and by his Petitioning for longer time when the Commons hastned his Tryall.

Hereupon Mr. *Maynard* spake to the Lords to this effect.

My Lords, it now appears to your Lordships, how unwilling the Archbishop is (out of a consciensnesse of his owne guilt) to come to his Tryall, that in all this space from his first impeachment, he hath not so much as put in any Answer to the Originall Articles, though he had long since Concell assigned him for that purpose: My Lords, this is none of the Commons fault, but his owne; for your Lordships well know, that the Commons can take no notice what is done in the House of Peeres in a Parliamentary way, but by a Messag from your Lordships, who after our Article exhibited, were so cal upon the Archbishop for an answer to them; & your Lordships sending us severall Messages heretofore that the Archbishop had put in his Answer to the Article, & that you were ready to heare our Charge against him, and appointing this day for his Tryall, the Commons thereupon con-

ceived that he had formerly put in his Plea & answer, in due forme to all their Articles, but the contrary now appearing both to your Lordships and us, it is impossible for us to proceed at this time in his tryall, there being no issue Ioynd upon the Originall Articles for want of an answer to them, & to proceed upon the Additionall: before any answer given, to the originalls will be very preposterous: Wherefore we humbly pray your Lordships to Order, that the Archbishop may forthwith put in his Answer, both to the Originall, and Additionall Articles by the advice of his Councell, or otherwise, in such sort as he will stand to it; and then we shall without any delay joyne issue with him, proceed on in his Tryall, and evidence against him when your Lordships shall appoint.

The Archbishop having little to reply hereunto; desired the Lords, that he might advise with his Councell, whether the Articles were certaine and particular enough to be answered unto; and that if their Lordships should over-rule him to put in his Answer to them, he might have convenient time to do it.

Vpon this all being commanded to withdraw, the Lords after some short debate among themselves, and upon reading the Archbishops Petition to have Mr. Gerrard of Grayes-Inne assigned for his Councell, to joyne with those formerly assigned him, made this ensuing Order.

Die Martis 16. Ian. 1643.

Vpon the reading the Petition of William Archbishop of Cant. It is this day Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that Mr. Richard Gerrard of Grayes-Inne, be added to the former Councell Assigned to the said Archbishop, to be likewise of his Councell.

It is this day Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that William Arch-bishop of Cant. shall put in his Answer in writing into this House, to the first and further Articles of Impeachment brought up from the House of Commons against him by Munday morning next peremptorily, and that the same Councell formerly Assigned him shall be of Councell with him.

On the 19. of January, the Archbishop sent this Petition to the Lords.

To the Right Honourable the Lords assembled

in PARLIAMENT.

The humble Petition of William, Archbishop of Cant; Prisoner in the Tower.

Sheweth,

That whereas your Petitioner having formerly answered the particular Articles exhibited against him by the Honourable House of Commons, and now by your Lordships Order of the 16th. of this instant, is commanded to put in his Answer to the first and further Articles of Impeachment brought up against him by Munday morning next, for doing whereof his former Councell is assigned him.

That your Petitioner having advised with his Councell concerning the first Articles, which were exhibited now almost three years since, finding upon perusall and debate of the same, that the said former Articles are such, that no answer can be made thereunto, nor your Petitioner in any wise enabled to prepare for his defence to the same, as they now stand.

That for as much as the said Articles of Impeachment import no lesse then a Charge of High treason, and for as much as your Petitioner is by his Councell informed that es-

pecially

pecially in Cases of life, the Defendant is allowed to offer to the Court where the same depends his exceptions by his Conncell before any Plea pleaded.

Your Petitioner most humbly beseecheth your Lordships, to appoint a day for the hearing of your Petitioners Council concerning the same

And your Petitioner shall pray, &c.

VV. CANT.

Die Sabbati 20. Jan. 1643.

It is this day Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, or his Deputie shall bring in safely William Archbishop of Cant. before their Lordships on Munday the 22th. of this instant January by ten of the clock in the morning, to put in his answer to the Articles of Impeachment brought up from the House of Commons against him according to the former Order of this House, of the 16. of this Instant January.

To the Gentleman Vsher, &c.

On the 22. of January the Archbishop personally appearing at the Lords Barre according to the former Orders, did then put in this following Answer both to the Commons Originall and Additionall Articles.

The Answer of the Archbishop of Cant. to the first and further Articles of the House of Commons delivered in the 22th. January, 1643.

The humble Answer of William Archbishop of Cant. to the first, and further Articles of Impeachment, brought up by the Honourable House of Commons against him, and by Order of the right honourable the Lords in Parliament of the 16. of this Instant directed to be put in.

As to the 13. Article of the said first Articles and the matters therein Charged, & all matters or things in the same or any of the rest of the said Articles contained, which concern any Act of Hostility, whether between the King & his Subjects, or between Subject & Subject, or which may be conceived to arise upon the coming of any English Army against Scotland, or the coming of the Scottish Army into England, or upon any Action, attempt, assistance, Council or devise having relation therunto, and falling out by the occasion of the late troubles proceeding the late Conclusion of the Treaty, and returne of the Scottish Army into Scotland, this Defendant saith, that it is enacted by an Act made during the sitting of this present Parliament, that the same, and whatsoever hath ensued thereupon, whether trenching upon the Lawes and Liberties of the Church and Kingdome, or upon his Majesties Honour and Authority, in no time hereafter may be called in Question or resented as a wrong, Nationall or Personall, and that no mention be made thereof in time coming, neither in Judgement nor out of Judgement, but that it be held and reputed as though never such things had beene thought or wrought, as by the said Act may more at large appeare, with this, that this Defendant doth averre, that he is none of the persons excepted by the said Act, or the said offences charged upon this Defendant any of the offences excepted by the said Act.

And as to all the rest of the said first and further Articles, this Defendant, saving to himselfe all advantages of exception to the said Articles, humbly saith, he is not Guilty of all or any the matters by the said Articles charged, in such manner and forme as the same are by the said Articles charged against him.

VV. Cant.

The same day I find this entry in the Commons Iournall; to wit, on the 22. Jan. 1643.

The Lords by Sir Robert Rich and Mr. Page, sent downe the Answer of William Archbishop of Cant. to the first and further Articles of impeachment brought up by this House against him, which was read and ordered to be referred to the Commit-

mittee appointed to manage the evidence against the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and accordingly delivered to *Serjeant Wilde*.

After this the House of Commons to expedite his Tryall on the
22. February 1643.

Ordred, that the Committee appointed to mannage the evidence at the Tryall of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, doe peremptorily meete this after-
noone, at three of the Clocke in the Court of Wards, upon the distribution of the parts of the evidence.

The Commons and Lords being all ready for his Tryall, and having given him as much convenient time to prepare himselfe and his witnesse as he could desire, to prevent all clamours of the Prelaticall and *Canterburian* party, began now to thinke of a peremptory day for his Tryall; and thereupon I finde this Order entred in the Commons Journall.

4. Marcii 1643.

A Message to be sent to the Lords, to desire them to appoint a day for the Tryall of the Bishop of *Canterbury*: Master *Serjeant Wilde*, went up to the Lords to appoint a day for the Tryall of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*: *Serjeant Wilde* brings answer, that the Lords have appointed to morrow senight for the tryall of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*.

For which purpose the Lords made this following Order.

Die Luna 4. Marcii 1644.

Ordered, that the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* shall appeare before their Lordships on Tuesday the 12th of this instant *March* at nine of the Clock in the morning, At which time this House will proceed against the Arch-Bishop, upon the first and further Articles of Impeachment brought up from the house of Commons against him, for high Treason, and high Crimes and misdemeanours; whereof the said Arch-Bishop is hereby to take notice and provide himselfe accordingly.

After this the Arch-Bishop Petitioning the Commons House, that Sir *Henry Mildmay* a Member thereof might bee examined as a witnesse for him at his tryall, this Order was thereupon conceived.

9. Marcii 1644.

The humble Petition of *William* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, desiring that Sir *Henry Mildmay* may be examined as a witnesse, in his businesse, he being to come to his tryal on Tuesday next, was this day read, And it is Ordered according to his Petition, that he shall be examined as a witnesse at the tryall of the said Bishop accordingly. It was likewise then ordered that diverse Members of the House of Commons shall be examined as witnesse against him, And that the Lords be moved by *Serjeant Wilde*, that some Members and Attendants of the Lords House be examined at the Arch-Bishops Tryall. And that it be referred to the Committee of Sequestrations, to consider of some convenient recompence, for such Clerks, Solicitors and others as have been or shall bee employed in the transcribing of breviats and other services done by them to the Committee for the Bishop of *Canterbury* his tryall.

On the 12. of *March* his Tryall, according to the former Order, was entred upon, of which I shall give you this summary account.

Never was there in any age such a deliberate, solemne, patient, impartiall hearing of any case in the High Court of Parliament (nor in any Court of Justice else in our own or any other Kingdom whatsoever) as there was of this Archbishops; The first day of his Tryall began the twelfth of *March*, 1643. wherein the whole time was spent in reading the Articles of Impeachment, his answers to them, and introductory

ductory Speeches to the charge and evidence against him, made by Serjeant *Wilde*, and the Arch-bishop himselfe: The first part of the evidence upon the 1, 2, 3, 4. Originall, and 2, 3, 4, 10. Additionall Articles, was managed by *John Maynard* Esquire, one of the Commons House, wherein foure whole dayes (namely *March 13. 16. 18. Anno 1643. and March 28. 1644.*) were spent; the forenoons of them in the evidence and proofs, the after-noon in the Arch-bishops Answers, and Master *Maynards* replies unto them. The second part of the evidence, was prosecuted by *Robert Nicholas* Esquire, a Member of the House of Commons; which took up three whole dayes, viz. *Aprill 16. and May 4. 16.* morning and evening in proof of the fifth and sixth Originall, and ninth Additionall Articles; and in the Answers and replies upon them. The third part touching Religion, (contained in the 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, Originall, and 6, and 7, Additionall Articles) was carried on and managed by *John Wilde* Serjeant at Law, of the Commons House, for 4 whole dayes, (to wit, *May 20, 27. June 6. 11.*) and then by reason of Mr. *Serjeants* sicknesse and infirmity, pursued by Master *Nicholas* 5 intire dayes more, (viz. *June 17. 20, 27. July 20, 24.*) The fourth and last part of the evidence, (in proof of the 14 Originall and 1 and 10 Additionall Articles) was given in by Master *Nicholas*, on the 29. of *July*, and concluded the same day. So as the very evidence it self (which was excellently well pressed by these learned Gentlemen) took up seventeen whole days, morning and evening: besides 12 dayes attendance more, whereon other pressing publick affaires enforced the Lords to adjourn the tryall, when both the Committee of Commons were ready with their witnesses, and the Arch-bishop present with his Councell, ready to receive his charge.

After all the evidence answers and replies thereto fully given, the Arch-bishop had liberty granted to make a Recapitulation of his whol defence before the Lords, which accordingly performed on the second of *September 1644.* To which *Samuel Brown* Esquire, a member of the House of Commons, replied, on the 11. of *September*, summing up the principall parts of the evidence given against him at the Lords Bar. On the 11. of *Octob. 1644.* the Arch-Bishops Councell were heard at the Lords Bar, on this point of Law, to which they were formerly directed to speak; *Whether in all or any of the Articles charged against him, there were any Treason contained?* Which Mr. *John Hern* onely argued as the mouth of the rest of his Councell. Soon after the Commons having drawn an Ordinance of Attainder of high Treason against the Arch-bishop, upon the Evidence given in against him: on the second of *Novemb.* following the Arch-bishop (after its second reading) was brought to the Commons Bar, where Mr. *Sam. Brown* in his presence summed up the evidence given in against him before the Lords: to which the Archbishop by order gave his answer *Viva voce* at the Commons Bar, *Nov. 11th:* whereunto Mr. *Brown* replied, the 13th. of the same *Novemb.* after which the very same day the Ordinance for his attainder of High Treason passed the Commons House, without any dissenting voyce but one, and that not upon the matter of his charge High Treason, of which all Voted him guilty, but manner of proceeding onely. This Ordinance being transmitted to the House of Peeres, because some of the Lords were not present at all the evidence given in against him during his long Tryall, thereupon *Decemb. 4. 1644.* they Ordered, *That all Books, Writings, Docquets, and evidences concerning the Arch-bishop of Canterbury his tryall before the Lords in Parliament, should be brought in to the Clerk of the Parliament by 9 of the Clock in the morning, on Saturday next:* which being done accordingly, the Lords among themselves, seriously re-examined all the heads and principall parts of the evidence formerly urged against him at the Bar, debating, weighing, and then voting each particular as they went; after this most serious review, their Lordships upon most mature deliberation voted him guilty of all the Articles and matters of fact charge against him, and also that of High Treason to (notwithstanding the argument of the Archbishops Councell) upon a conference with the House of Commons, which satisfied them in the point of Law. Whereupon they passed the Ordinance for his Attainder of high Treason; by vertue whereof he was soon after executed, whereof more fully in its due place. Thus you have the summe of the Lords and Commons

most deliberate, fair, moderate just, (though tedious) proceedings against this *Arch-Traytor*, (not to be presided in any preceding Age, nor fit to be imitated for the future in regard of length and expence of time) against which calumny and malice it selfe can take no just exceptions on his behalfe; the rather, because himselfe would have tried, condemned, executed above an hundred *Puritans* in halfe the time wherein he was but trying, without the least mercy or moderation, had they beene brought before his Tribunall, for farre more pettie Treasons then those of which hee was attainted and vored guilty, upon most full and pregnant evidence. Having given the world this brieve account of the fairenes and deliberatenesse of his Tryall so long delayed, partly by his own neglect in not pleading to his Articles of impeachment, and not once petitioning to be brought to Tryall during all the time of his restraint; partly by his owne forementioned Petitions to the Lords for longer time, when the Commons pressed to expedite his hearing; partly by the death of Mr *John Pym*, and some other Members of the Commons House, who were trusted to prepare and mannage the evidence against him, part whereof miscarried by their decease; but principally by reason of the great intervening urgent affaires, distractions, and bloody Wars in the Kingdomes of *Ireland* and *England*, occasioned by his Majesties deserting the Parliament, and this Arch-Prelates plots to set up Popery; not through any neglect or default in the Lords or Commons: We shall next endeavour to yeeld you a full, satisfactory, true account of the proceedings and evidence given in against him at his Tryall, which will really render him the Archeest Traytor, the most pestilent Malefactor in all kindes of Villany, Tyranny, Oppression, Mischiefe, that was ever arraigned, condemned in any Parliament; *Pierce Gravestons*, *Archbishop Arundles*, *Cardinall Wolfes*, *Empsons*, *Dudlies*, and the Earle of *Straffords* Treasons, Conspiracies, Oppressions and grand Misdemeanours, layd together, being far inferiour to his, both in heinousnesse, multiplicity, and variety, as shall be undeniably demonstrated to all the world, by substantiall proofes.

On Thursday the 12. of *March*, 1643. (the day designed for the comencement of this great Tryall) about three of the Clocke in the afternoon, the *Arch-bishop* was brought Prisoner by the Lieutenant of the *Tower of London*, and Usher of the blacke Rod, to the Bar in the Lords House: where, after he had kneeled down on his knees for a litle space, the Lord *Gray of Warke*, then Speaker of that honourable House, commanded him to rise up; which done, the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to mannage the evidence at his Tryall demanded, that the severall Articles of their Impeachment against him might be read: whereupon one of the Clrkes of the Lords House, read both the Originall and Additionall Articles fore-mentioned; and after that his Answer, Plea, and Demurrer to them.

All which being read, the Archbishop then desired the Lords, that the House of Commons might give in all their Charge and Evidence to all the Articles against him together, before he should be put to give his Answer to any particular Charge, because he was ancient, his memory very short, and the Articles Generall; and that he might answer all his Charge together, not each dayes Evidence by Peece-meale.

To which Master *Maynard*, in the behalfe of the Commons, answered: 1. That if the Archbishops memory were so bad as he pretended, it would be far worse for him to charge it with answering many particulars and the whole evidence against him together, then to answer every particular Charge each day, as it should be given in against him whiles it was fresh in memory. 2ly. That it might and would be a great inconvenience to have witnesses crosse-examined, upon other dayes then those, whereon they gave in their testimony against the Prisoner. 3ly. That the Lords themselves would finde it difficult to passe their judgements upon all the Charge together without hearing his punctuall answer to every particular proof as it should be given in evidence, whiles it was fresh in their memories. 4ly. Because else all the witnesses, which were very many, must of necessity attend, and be kept in Town from the first to the last day of his Tryall; which would be a very great Charge and inconvenience. 5ly. In the Earle of *Straffords* case, this very Parliament, he was put to answer every day, to the particular Evidence given against him on the same day; Upon wch reasons the House of Peers ordered, that the Archbishop should make his particular Answer to every

every particular Charge on the same day it was given in against him.

Then the Archbishop desired, that the House of Commons would sever the Articles which were Treason, from those other Articles which were matters of crime, and Misdemeanour only, but not Treason; that so he might know which of them were Treason and which not.

To which Master *Maynard* answered, That this they might not doe, because they were now onely to try the matters of fact, not Law, and because all the Articles taken together not each or any particular Article by it self made up the Treason, wherewith he was charged; to wit, his endeavours to subvert and destroy Religion, the fundamentall Lawes of the Land, and government of the Realme, and to bring in Popery, and an arbitrary tyrannicall Government against Law.

After which Master *Serjeant Wilde* (by way of Introduction to the Archbishops charge) with abundance of elegancy and zeale, related the Heads of his Offences to the House of Peeres in these ensuing straines.

My LORDS;

His great cause of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, after a long and painefull travaile, is now come to the Birth: of which it may be truly said, as it was in a like case: *Repertum est hodierno die facinus, quod nec Poëta fingere, nec Histrio sonare, nec Mimicus imitare potuerit.*

For if all the oppressions, all the pernicious practises and machinations, which have beene in each time to ruinate our Religion, Lawes and Liberties were lost; I thinke here they might bee found and drawne out againe to the life. So that your Lordships who have beene the great Assertors of our Liberties, and stood so fast to the rules and principles of your Noble Progenitors (which others have ignobly deserted) may after a long conflict with so many great and matchlesse difficulties, say now as a great Commander once did upon an extraordinary danger, *Tandem par animo meo periculum video.* Here is a cause proportionable to your selves, apt and proper for the justice and power of this honourable Court.

Had they beene faults of common frailty, error or incogitancy, which this man hath committed, wee should gladly have stepped backe, and cast a Cloake over them; but being so wilfull, so universall, so destructive to the Lawes of God and man, so comprehensive of all the evils and miseries which now we suffer; the sin would lye upon our owne heads, if wee should not call for justice: which that it hath beene so long uncalled for, (not deferred or delayed) I suppose no man will thinke strange who considers the present distractions, the death and dispersion of our witnesses, the losse of some of our Members who have beene employed and taken paines in this businesse; the multitude of diversions which we have had, and have daily, occasioned by the Acts and influences of this Meteor.

But the truth survives, and matter enough survives, so copious and so full of variety, that if all the particulars should be examined, for his three yeares imprisonment which he complains off there would be three yeares time of tryall and hearing of the heavy charge that lyes against him. A charge of High Treason: Treason in all and every part: Treason in the highest pitch and altitude: for what greater Treason can there be, then to betray the whole Realme, and to subvert the very foundations, leaving nothing for posterity, but a curse upon him that shall goe about to build againe?

That which of it selfe is so haynous, is much more enhanced and aggravated by the quality of the person: A Church-man; a great Prelate; a man in great trust, place and Authority in Church and Common-wealth.

A man indued with so great gifts of nature, and so many of grace and favour from His Majesty, and for all these to be perverted to a contrary end, even to the destruction of the publike and the ruine of the Wombe that bare him, how deepe a dye, doe these impose upon this foule crime?

How Church-men in all ages (as hath beene often observed) should come to bee

the Archeest Seedlmen of mischiets, and principall Actors in all the great distractions and alterations that have hapned, is a destinie that may seeme strange. But the reason is, (*ex bono Theologo, malus Medicus*) their intermedling with temporall things, and matters hererogeneall to their calling; wherein God is pleased to smite them with blindnesse, and to infatuate their Councell; whereof a perfect patterne wee have in this great Prelate; who by abusing his profession, and making the businesse of State the customary subject of all his endeavours, became the Author of all the illegall and Tyrannicall proceedings in the *Starre-Chamber*, *High Commission Court*, and other Courts; of all the Innovations in Doctrine and Discipline, of the suppressing of godly Ministers and preaching; of the advancing of others, who were the promoters of *Poperie* and *Arbitrary power*, and indeed of all the confusions and distractions in Church and State, whereby Religion hath beene jussled out, *Lawes* and *Parliaments* trodden downe with contempt.

For matter of Religion, surely those times were happy when by the magnanimity of Princes, and the wisdom and piety of our Predecessors, that Antichristian Yoke of *Poperie* was shaken off.

And now after so many bloody Massacres in *France*, such fiery persecutions here in *Queene Maries* dayes, so many treacherous conspiracies in time of *Queen Elizabeth*, that execrable and horrid *Powder-Plot* in the late time of *King James*, such streames and Rivers of blood in *Germany* and *Ireland*, and other parts of the Christian world ever since, by those restless and cruell fire-brands of all mischiefe, for any man now to goe about to rebuild these walls of *Jericho*, and to reduce us to those rotten principells of Error and Darknesse, how can it be expected better, then that the people should be even ready to stone him, as they did him that did but Act the part of *Bellerophon* in *Rome*? But to avoyde this danger, he conveyes in this poyson in a gilded Pill, with baits and pretences of *Reconciliation*; a pleasing snare, *Laqueus Diaboli ad miserorum animas ad infernum detrudendas*.

A beade Roll of particulars might be recited, wherein this Reconcilement was to be wrought in points of *Free-will*, *Merits*, *Justification*, *Univerfall grace*, *Purgatory*, and in effect, all the rest.

To draw on these, there must be an introducing of *Popish Ceremonies* in all the particulars contained in the *Mass-Bookes*, and *Pontificalls* themselves: and to make way for these, the *Booke of Sports* must bee published and pressed beyond the Kings intention or Declaration, which was but a civill Command: but hee joynes Ecclesiasticall penalties, even the sharpest; suspension, deprivation and the like, these executed on diverse good and godly men with a high hand; Thus a liberty proclaimed not to *Captives*, but to profane *Caitifes*; this day set a part by God, *ab aeterno*, exposed and prostituted to all loosenesse and irreligion, and that by a Law: This Lambe taken out of his bosome.

Iehosaphat sends Priests & Levites into all the Cities & Tribes to instruct them; This Prelate sends *Declarations* and *Injunctions* to corrupt them, and to extinguish the Lamp and light of Religion: in the former Acts he destroyes the Protestant, in this Religion it selfe: In the one, he leaves *Superstition*; in the other, nothing but *Atheisme*, and *Profanenesse*: in the one he destroyes *Presbyteros*, as did *Dioclesian*, in the other *Presbyterium*, as did the *Apostate Julian*; Yet to shew his love to Religion, (the Popes only) he holds correspondency with those of *Rome*, *Cardinall Barbarino*, *Panzani*, *Con Rosetti*, the Popes *Nuntios*, *Sir Toby Mathewes*, *Saint Clara*, *Saint Gyles*, the most dangerous and desperate *Jesuites*, and many others *eiusdem farinae*. And by all these steps and rounds he makes a Ladder for himselfe to cline up to the *Papall dignity*, in example of *Anselme*, whom (though famous, for his *Contumacy* and *Rebellion*) yet he calls him, *His worthy Predecessor*, (as was *Becket* also,) and is contented to take upon him the Plenitude of power, the title of holinesse, of *Arch-Angell* of this Church, the lineall Successor of *Gregory* the first (rather of *Gregory* the seventh,) and for all this was well worthy to have those two great officers made him, recorded in his owne *Memorials*, by these that had ability to performe it.

it, viz. A Cardinalls Capp; but such was his modesty to forbear it, because though Rome be a true visible Church in his opinion, yet something dwelt with him, that hindered it, for a time, to wit, I suppose, his dwelling here.

For his attempts against the Laws, the Subjects birth-right, and the rights of Parliaments, their chiefe support, and refuge, how little regard he had to them, how much he did dispise and abhor them, making it his Ambition to preferre the contemners and abusers of them and to set up his own *Canons* and *Constitutions* above them, imposing of unjust and unlawful Oathes, Exactions, Monopolies, all sorts of oppressions, stopping of Prohibitions & course of Justice, rescinding of Acts of Parliament, advancing of Proclamations, and all kinde of Arbitrary power above the Lawes of God or man, is fully expressed in the Articles, and will more fully, appeare in the evidence. To conclude, *Naaman* was a great man, but he was a *Leaper*. This mans Leaprofity hath so infected all, as there remaines no other cure but the sword of Justice; which we doubt not but your Lordship will so apply, that the Commonwealth shall yet live againe and flourish.

When *Serjeant Wilde*, had concluded his speech, the Archbishop humbly desired the Lords, that he might have liberty to speake a few words, to wipe of that dirt which had injuriously bin cast upon him, that so he might not depart thence so foule a person as he had been rendered to their Lordships by the Articles. Which liberty being granted, he made a long premeditated *Oration*, which hee held written in his hand. A true extract whereof (communicated by him in writing to divers of his friends) you have heere subjoynd.

My Lords;

MY being in this place in this condition, recalls to my memory that wch I long since read in *Seneca*, *Tormentum est, etiamsi absolutus quis fuerit, causam dicere* (6 de Benef. c. 28.) Tis not a grieve, only, no; tis no lesse than a torment for an ingenuous man to plead Capitally or Criminally, though it should so fall out that he be absolved. The great truth of this I finde at present in my selfe; and so much the more, because I am a Christian; and not that onely, but in *Holy-orders*; and not so only, but by Gods Grace and goodnes preferred to the greatest place this Church affords; and yet brought *Causam dicere*, to plead for my selfe at this great Barre.

And whatsoever the world think of me (and they have bin taught to think much more ill of me, then, I humbly thank Christ for it, I was ever acquainted with,) yet, my Lords, this I finde, *Tormentum est*, tis no lesse than a torment to me, to appeare in this place.

Nay my Lords, give me leave to speake plain truth; No sentence that can justly passe upon me (and other I will never feare from your Lordships) can go so neere me, as *Causam dicere*, to plead for my selfe upon this occasion, and in this place.

For as for the Sentence, be it what it shall, I thanke God for it; I am for it at Saint Pauls ward (Acts 25. 11.) If I have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to dye: For I thanke God, I have so lived, as that I am neither afraid to dye, nor ashamed to live. But seeing the Malignity which hath been raised against me by some men, I have carried my very life in my hands these divers yeares past. But yet, my Lords, if there be none of these things whereof they accuse me, though I may not in this Case, and from this Barre appeale unto Caesar, yet to your Lordships Justice and Integrity, I both may, and do; not doubting, but that God of his goodnesse will preserve my innocency.

And as *Iob* in the midst of his affliction said to his mistaken Friends, so shall I to my Accusers; God forbid I should justifie you; till I die I will not remove my Integrity from me, I will hold it fast and not let it go, my heart shall not reproach me as long as I live, *Iob* 22. 5.

My Lords, the Charge against me is brought up in ten Articles, but the maine heads are two: An endeavour to subvert the Lawes of the Land, and the Religion esta-

‘*blished*; Six Articles, (the five, first and the last) concerne the *Lawes*, and the other
 ‘4. *Religion*.

‘For the *Lawes*, first, I thinke I may safely say, I have beene, to my understanding, as strict an observer of them all the dayes of my life, so farre as they concerne me, as any man hath; and since I came into place, I have followed them, and byn as much guided by them as any man that sate where I had the honour to sitte. And of this I am sory I have lost the testimony of the *Lord Keeper Coventry*, and other Persons of Honour since dead.

‘And the Councell which attended at the Councell Board can witnesse, some of them here present, that in all references to the *Board*, or debates arising at the *Board*, I was for that part of the cause, where I found Law to be: and if the Councell desired to have the cause left to the Law, well I might move in some cases, *Charity* or *Conscience* to them; but I left them to the Law, if thither they would goe; And how such a carriage as this through the whole course of my life in private and publique, can stand, with an intention to overthrow the *Lawes*, I cannot yet see.

‘Nay more, I have ever beene of opinion, *That Lawes binde the conscience*, and have accordingly made conscience of observing them: and this doctrine I have constantly preached as occasion hath beene offered me; and how is it possible, I should seek to overthrow those *Lawes* which I held my selfe bound in conscience to keep and observe?

‘As for *Religion* I was borne and bred up in and under the *Church of England* as it stands established by Law; I have, by Gods blessing, growne up in it to the yeares which are now upon me, and to the place of preferment which I now beare.

‘I have ever since I have understood ought in my profession, kept one constant tenor in this my profession, with out variation or shifting from one opinion to another, for any worldly ends: And if my conscience would have suffered me to doe so, I could easily have slid through all the difficulties which I have prest upon me in this kinde, But of all diseases I have ever held, a *Palsy in Religion* most dangerous, well knowing and remembring that disease often ends in a dead *Palsy*.

‘Ever since I came in place, I have laboured nothing more, then that the externall publique worship of God (so much slighted in divers parts of this Kingdome) might be preserved: & that with as much decency & uniformity as might be: for I evidently saw, that the publique neglect of Gods service in the outward face of it, and the nasty lyeing of many places dedicated to that service, had almost cast a dampe upon the true and inward worship of God, which while we live in the body needs externall helps, and all little enough to keepe it in any vigor. And this I did to the uttermost of my knowledge, according both to Law and Canon, and with the consent and likeing of the people; nor did any command issue out from mee against the one, or without the other.

‘Further my *Lords*, give me leave, I beseech you, to acquaint you with this also, that I have as little acquaintance with *Recusants*, as I beleeve any man of my place of *England* hath, or ever had sithence the *Reformation*; and for my kindred, no one of them was ever a *Recusant*, but Sir *William Web*, grandchild to my Vnkle, Sir *William Web*, sometimes Lord Major of *London*, and since which some of his Children I reduced back againe to the *Church of England*.

‘On this, one thing more I humbly desire may be thought on, That I am fallen into a great deale of obloquie in matter of *Religion*, and that so farre (as appears by the Articles against me) that I have endeavored to advance and bring in *Popery*: Perhaps my *Lords*, I am not ignorant what party of men have raised these scandalls upon me, nor for what end, nor perhaps by whom set on; but howsoever, I would faine have a good reason given me, if my conscience stood that way, and that with my conscience I could subscribe to the *Church of Rome*, what should have kept me heere before my imprisonment to indure the libelling, and the slander, and the base usage that hath beene put upon me, and these to end in this question for my life? I say, I would know a good reason for this.

First, my *Lords*, is it because of any pledges I have in the world to sway me against my conscience? No sure, for I have neither * Wife nor Children to cry out upon me to stay with them; And if I had, I hope the calling of my conscience should be heard above them.

Is it because I was loth to leave the honour and profit of the place I was risen too? Surely no, for I desire your Lordships and all the world should know, I do much scorn the one and the other, in comparison of my conscience. Besides, it cannot be imagined by any man, but that if I should have gone * over to them, I should not have wanted both *honour* and *profit*; and suppose not so great as this I have here, yet sure would my conscience have served my self of either, lesse with my conscience would have prevailed with me, more than greater against my conscience.

Is it, because I lived here at ease, and was loth to venture the losse of that? not so neither; for whatsoever the world may be pleased to think of me, I have led a very * painfull life, and such as I would have been content to change, had I well known how; and would my conscience have served me that way, I am sure I might have lived at far more ease, and either have avoyded the barbarous Libelling and other bitter grievous scornes which have been put upon me, or at least been out of the hearing of them.

Not to trouble your Lordships too long, I am so innocent in the businesse of Religion, so free from all practise, or so much as thought of practise for any alteration unto Popery, or any blemishing the true Protestant Religion established in England, as I was when my * mother first bore me into the world; And let nothing be spoken but truth, and I do here challenge whatsoever is between Heaven or Hell, that can be said against me in point of my Religion, in which I have ever hated dissimulation. And had I not hated it, perhaps I might have been better for worldly safety then now I am: but it can no way become a Christian Bishop to halt with God.

Lastly, if I had any purpose to blast the true Religion established in the Church of England, and to introduce Popery, sure I took a wrong way to it; for, my Lords, I have staid more * going to Rome and reduced more that were already gone, then, I believe any Bishop or Divine in this Kingdome hath done; and some of them, men of great abilities, and some persons of great place; and is this the way to introduce Popery? My Lords, if I had blemished the true Protestant Religion, how could I have brought these men to it? And if I had promised to introduce Popery, I would never have reduced these men from it.

And that it may appear unto Your Lordships how many, and of what condition the persons are, which by Gods blessing upon my labours, I have settled in the true Protestant Religion established in England: I shall briefly name some of them, though I cannot do it in order of time, as I converted them.

Henry Berkinstead of Trinity Colledge Oxon, seduced by a Jesuite and brought to London. (The Lords and others conceiving him to be Berchinhead the Author of all the Libellous Popish Oxford Aulicusses, against the Parliament, at the naming of him smiled: which the Archbishop perceiving, said, My Lords I mean not Berchinhead the Author of Oxford Aulicus, but another.)

Two Daughters of Sir Richard Lechford, in Surry, sent towards a *N V N- N E R I E*.

Two Schollers of Saint Johns Colledge Cambridge, Toppin and Ashton; who had got the French Ambassadors passe, and after this I allowed means to Toppin, and then procured him a fellowship in Saint Johns: And he is at this present as hopefull a young man as any of his time, and a Divine.

Sir William Webbe, my kinsman, and two of his Daughters; And his son I took from him, and his Father being utterly decayed, I bred him at my own charge, and he is a very good Protestant.

A Gentleman brought to me by Master Chesford, his Majesties servant, but I cannot recall his name.

The Lord * Mayo of Ireland, brought to me also by Master Chesford.

* Therefore the fitter to make a Popish Priest, Prelate, Cardinal.

* He knew he could not have done them half the service by going over from hence to Rome as by staying here to promote their designs; and that made him stay.

* In secular employments inconsistent with, not in preaching and paines in his Calling. Note this impudent affectation here abundantly refuted.

* Belike he was born a Popeling.

* It was onely by bringing Rome home to them; or meeting them more then halfe way in their journey thither.

* A great Actor in the late Irish Rebellion against the Protestants.

* All know
what a good
Protestant he
lived and died.

The Right Honourable the Lord * *Duke of Buckingham*, almost quite gone between the Lady his Mother, and Sister.

The Lady *Marquesse Hamilton*; was settled by my direction, and she dyed very religiously and a Protestant.

Master *Digby*, who was a Priest.

Master *James*, a Gentleman brought to mee by a Minister in *Buckinghamshire*, as I remember.

Doctor *Heart* the *Civilian*, my neighbours sonne at *Fulham*.

Master *Christopher Seaburne*, a Gentleman of an ancient family in *Herefordshire*.

The Right Honourable the Countesse of *Buckingham*.

Sir *William Spencer* of *Parnton*.

Master * *Shillingworth*.

* Both desperate
Apostate
Papists.

* Mr *Chainels*
Sermon at his
Funerall, in-
forme us, how
good a Prote-
stant he lived
and dyed.

The sonnes and heires of Master *Winchcombe*, and Master *Wollescott*, whom I sent with their friends liking to *Wadham Colledge, Oxford*; and received a Certificate Anno 1638. of their continuing in conformity to the Church of *England*. Nor did ever any one of these named relapse againe, but only the Countesse of *Buckingham*, and Sir *William Spencer*; it being only in Gods power, not mine, to preserve them from relapse.

And now let any *Clergy man* of *England* come forth, and give a better account of his zeale to the Church.

This speech being ended, all were commanded to withdraw: In the withdrawing Master *Hugh Peters*, who stood near the Archbishop, demanded of him, whether he was not ashamed to make such a bold challenge in so honourable an Auditory, as he had made in the close of his Speech, In bidding any *Clergy man* of the Church of *England* to come forth, and give a better account of his zeal to the Church, and conversion of *Papists* to our Religion then he had done? Adding, that himself the unworthiest of many hundred Ministers in *England* was there ready to answer his challenge, and to produce a Catalogue not of 22. but of above 120. *Papists*, which he (through Gods blessing) had converted to our Religion, and brought home to God besides, making them other manner of Converts then any in his recited *Bead-Rol*, who were made neither good Protestants, nor good Christians by him: Adding, that he and many other Ministers in *England* were able to produce hundreds of reall Converts to Christ, for every of his pretended ones, some whereof by his own confession soon turned Apostates, and the rest but little better. At which speech of his, the Archbishop seemed much offended, and some of his friends there present taxing Master *Peters* as an unmannerly sawcy fellow for using such language to him in this his afflicted condition, desired him to trouble his Grace no further with such rude discourse; whereupon they parted without more words.

If we survey this Oration of the Arch-bishop with an impartiall eye, we may discover abundance of shamelesse Impudency, and Pharisaicall selfe-justification, beyond all bounds of Modesty, or Verity, broached in it; so apparently contradicted by his manifold, unjust oppressive violent actions, and Popish Innovations of all sorts, visible to the eyes of all men, and so diametrically refuted by the subsequent evidence produced against him during his seventeen dayes tryall, that had not his brow been made of brasse, and his face of Adamant, he could not have justified so many grosse untruths of him selfe, before such an honourable publike Auditory, and the supream Judicatory of the Realme, with so much shamelesse impudency as hee did: But tis the common practise of obdurate sinners, and cauterized Delinquents.

Fortem animum prestant rebus quas turpiter audent.

Like the adulterous Woman, Pro. 30. 20. Who eateth and wipeth her mouth, and saith, I HAVE DONE NO WICKEDNES.

This Evening, the Lords Ordered the Arch-bishop to appear at their Bar the next morning by 9 of the Clocke, at which time they would proceed in his Tryall; Whereupon all departing for that time appeared the next day at the appointed houre in the Lords House, where the Commons entring upon their evidence, proved the Articles in their Order. I shall present you with the summe and severall branches of his charge; and then prosecute them in the ensuing method.

The



The Generall Charge against the Archbishop, with the severall branches thereof.

THe Charge against this Atch-Malefactor, consisting of many various particular Crimes of high nature, is reducible to one generall head, to wit, *High Treason against the King and Kingdome*, thus expressed in the 1. Originall, and 2. Additionall Articles.

That he hath Trayterously endeavoured to subvert the fundamentall Lawes and Government of the Kingdome of England, and instead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyranicall Government.

This Generall is distributed into foure Specificall branches in the Articles of his Impeachment, under which all the particular Capitall Offences, and grand Misdemeanours given in evidence against him, at his Tryall, are comprehensible.

1. His Trayterous endeavours and practises to alter and subvert Gods true Religion by Law established in this Realme, and instead thereof, to set up Popish Superstition and Idolatry, and reconcile us to the Church of Rome, the particulars whereof are specified in the 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. Originall, and 6. 7. 8. 9. Additionall Articles.

2. His Trayterous usurpation of a Papall and Tyranicall power in the Church of England, in all Ecclesiasticall affaires, in prejudice, and derogation of his Majesties Royall Prerogative and the Subjects liberties: comprised in the sixt originall Article.

3. His Trayterous attempts and endeavours to subvert the fundamentall temporall Lawes, Government and Liberties of the Realme and Subjects of England, and instead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyranicall Government against the Law and Subjects liberties; expressed in the 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 13. Originall, and 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 10. Additionall Articles.

4. His Trayterous endeavours to subvert the rights of Parliament, and auncient Course of Parliamentary proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliaments; contained in the 14. Originall, and 1. 9. 10. Additionall Articles.



The first Specificall branch of the Charge against the Archbishop, touching his Trayterous endeavours to alter and subvert Gods true Religion by Law established among us, to intro-

duce Popish Superstition and Idolatry in lieu thereof, and to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome, by severall steps and practises; with the copious evidences produced to manifest the same at his Tryall.

THE true Religion by Law established, being that which is most pretious, claiming proceedency of all other sublunary things in respect of its owne intrinsicall Excellency, that which is nearest and dearest to every conscientious Christian; the undermining and alterations whereof doth most concern and reflect upon the Archbishop in respect of his calling, as a Minister, of his Ecclesiasticall dignity, as an Archbishop of Canterbury, & Primare and Metropolitan of all England, and of the speciall trust reposed in him by his Majesty (who wholly committed the care of Religion, of all Church affaires within his Dominions

minions to this Arch-Prelates Care, manning,) and his Charge concerning the Alteration and subversion of it, being that which he most of all openly protested against, both in the beginning, proceeding, conclusion of his long Tryall, and on the very Scaffold at his death, we shall begin with the Commons evidence given in against him concerning his endeavours, practises to alter and subvert the same, and introduce Popish superstition and Idolatry into our Church. Wherein notwithstanding all his specious pretences, confident Protestations, reiterated deep Affeuerations of his Innocency, & of his cordiall syncerity to the true Protestant Religion, (wherewith he hath deceived many over-credulous people) we doubt not but upon the perusal of the various evidences against him in this particular, he will appeare the most desperat, cunning, violent, palpable underminer, corrupter, alterer, subverter of the true reformed Religion by Law established in our Churches, of one who professed himselfe a reall Protestant, and zealous maintainer of the same, that ever was yet heard of in the Christian world.

*Cambdens
Britannias p.
229.

**Prisca parem nescit, equalem postera nullum
Exhibitura dies.*

He alone by his policies and power corrupting, undermining our Religion, advancing Popery more in the few yeares of his Predominency, then the Pope with all his Confederates both at home and abroad could doe in almost fourescore yeares before, by all their Plots and Potency, as shall be irrefragably demonstrated by his Actions, which cry louder and give in stronger evidence against him, then all his fraudulent verball protestations, or printed funerall Orations can doe for him.

His Charge concerning the Alteration and subversion of Religion, laid downe in the Articles, consists of these two generall Members.

Artic Orig. 7. First, ** That he hath Trayterously endeavoured to subvert Gods true Religion by
Additionall. 7. Law Established in this Realme, and instead thereof to set up Popish Superstition and
Idolatry.*

*Artic Orig. 210. Secondly, ** That he hath Trayterously and wickedly endeavoured to reconcile the
Church of England with the Church of Rome.*

The latter of these is but the issue of the former, the first in projection, but the last in execution, and the prooffe of the one, an indubitable evidence of the other; which shall be prosecuted in their Order.

The evidence to prove the first generall branch of his Charge, concerning the alteration, subversion of Religion.

THe Archbishop in his Speech in Justification of his Innocency and sincerity in matters of Religion, made at the Lords Barre at the entrance of his Tryall, most peremptorily, challenged all that was betwene Heaven and Hell justly to tax him in any one particular, favoring either of Popish superstition or Idolatry; But on the contrary, the Committee of the House of Commons might more justly have challenged him in their entring upon his Charge, to nominate any person, whether Prelate, Minister, or Laick in any age, professing himselfe a Protestant, who during his aboad on earth twixt Heaven and Hell, was so guilty, so peccant in this nature as they should undeniably manifest him to be: wherefore if they allotted him any place at or after his death, but Hell it selfe, it must be either a Popish Purgatory, or such a middle place as some Papists assigne to that Newter Erasmus, betwixt Heaven and Hell, perchance some lofty Gibbet or Pinnacle in the Ayre, whereon his Head and Quarters might be hanged up for a lasting Monument of his Treason in this kind: which they manifested him to be guilty of by these ensuing particular evidences.

First, by his endeavours to set up and introduce all kind of Popish superstitious Idolatrous ornaments, furniture, ceremonies in our church formerly cast out of it upon the reformation: In pursuitt whereof, they first trailed this Romish Fox to his own Kennel at Lambeth, where having unkenneled they chased him from thence by his hot Popish sent, to the Kings own royall Chapel at Whitehal & Westminster Abby, from thence

to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; from thence to Canterbury, Winchester, and most other Cathedralls in England; and from them to our Parish Churches and Chapels, all which he miserably defiled, corrupted with Popish superstitious Crucifixes, Altars, Bowings, Ceremonies, Tapers, Copes, and other Innovations.

1. To begin with his owne Kennel at Lambeth: We shall first lead you by the hand into his publike Chapell there, a place devoted to Gods worship, and evidence what Popish Superstitious, Pictures, Vtensils, Veltments, Ceremonies, Innovations he there introduced, and constantly practised since his instalment in the Archbishopricke of Canterburie never heard off in any his Predecessors dayes since the beginning of reformation in King Edward the 6th. and Queene Elizabeths reignes.

First, we shall manifest what Idolatrous, superstitious Popish Pictures were there newly repaired, furnished, erected by him in this Chappell, to the great scandal of our Religion, and encouragement of Papists in their Idolatry, contrary to our Statutes, Articles of Religion, Homilies, Injunctions, * Writers, & the established Doctrine of our Church, wherein the matter of fact stands thus: In the beginning of Reformation by vertue of the Statute of 3. and 4. Ed. 6. c. 10. for the abolishing, defacing, and putting away of divers Bookes and Images then standing in any Church or Chapell; of the severall Homilies against the Perill of Idolatry, then published by Authority, & of Queen Elizabeths subsequent Injunctions (given by her as well to the Clergy as Laity of this Realme, by the advise of her most honourable Councell in the first yeare of her Raigne, for the advancement of the honour of Almighty God, and suppression of superstition throughout her Realmes, Injunctions, 2. 3. 23. 25. and Articles of inquiry thereon: Artic. 2. 45. which enjoined, All Pictures, Paintings, Images, and other monuments of Idolatry, and superstition to be utterly extinct, removed, abolished and destroyed, so that there remaine no memory of the same in Walls, Glasse windows, or else where within any Churches or Houses: the Idolatrous superstitious Pictures set up in times of Popery in the Glasse windows of the Chapell at Lambeth house, were among others defaced, demolished in such sort, that nought but a few broken imperfect fragments of them remained, peeced up with white incoherent Glasse, and so continued altogether unrepaired unfurnished, and utterly neglected, till this superstitious Arch Prelate was translated to the See of Canterbury after the death of Dr. Georg Abbot, as was attested by Sir Nathaniel Brent, Vicar Generall, Dr. Daniel Featly household Chaplin to Archbishop Abbot, and Mr. Pryn, who had beene oft in that Chappell, & exactly viewed it in Abbots dayes and since: But no sooner was the Prisoner at the Bar, W. Laud translated from London to Lambeth, but with all expedition & care to his great cost (as appears by the Glasiers Bills) he caused these demolished superstitious Pictures in the Glasse windows to be repaired, furnished, beautified, and made more compleat and accurate with new painted Glasse, then ever before, setting them up againe in fresh lively colours, according to the very Patterne in the great Roman Missall, or Masse Book (which he had diligently noted with his own hand almost in every Page) so as no Chappell in Rome could be more Idolatrous, Popish, superstitious in regard of such offensive Pictures, then his at Lambeth, the particulars whereof, after (a late double serious view) were thus attested before the Lords upon Oath, by Mr. William Pryn, Mr. Penber (the Glasier who helped to repaire and set them up) Mr. Dell the Archbishops owne secretary: Mr. Browne (his Joyner) Sir Nathaniel Brent, and Dr. Featly.

That in the East Window of the Archbishops Chappell at Lambeth just over the high Altar (there newly erected) consisting of five severall Panes, there was in the middle pane in painted Glasse, a large Crucifix, or Picture of our Saviour Christ hanging on the Crosse, under which were the Pictures of a Scul, & of dead mens bones, with a Basket full of Tooles, Nails, and Round about the Crucifix were the High Priests with their Officers an horsebacke, and some Souldiers with others who crucified Christ, & the 2. thieves standing on foot; which portrature was taken out of the very expresse patterne thereof in the Archbishops owne Roman Missall.

His Popish & superstitious Innovations in Lambeth Chappell.

* Bishop Jewels his defence of the Apology of the Church of England. 5. Part c. 5. Disuif. 1. to 3. p. 551. &c. Reply to Harding Artic. 14. p. 496. to 518. Thomas Becons Reliques of Rome & Catechisme on the second commandment. Mr. Fox Acts & Monuments vol. 1. p. 167. 168. 255. vol. 2. p. 388. 389. 394. 658. 669. 409. 410. vol. 3. p. 992. to 993. with infinite others.

printed Salamantica 1589. p. 304. Vnder this Pane there were these latin verses in the Glasse:

*Ecce Pater Mystes, ubi Natus victima tristis,
Certaque morborum Serpens Medicina Dolorum;
Designant Iesum mundi pro crimine casum.*

In the two next panes, were the two *Theeves* hanging on two Crosses on either side of the Crucifix; standing in the midst: Vnder one was written in the Glasse; *Domine memento mei*, 1634. Vnder the other: *Descendat de Cruce*, 1634. signifying the year when the Window was repaired; to wit, the very first year after his translation from *London* to *Canterbury*: In the two outtermost panes of this Window, there were the pictures of *Abraham* offering up his Sonne *Isaac*, and of the *Brazen Serpent* elevated on a Pole in the *Wildernesse*.

In the uppermost Window on the South-side of the Chappell, consisting of three panes of painted Glasse newly repaired, there was the picture of *Christ* rising out of his grave, in the middle Pane, directly taken out of the portraiture of it in his fore-mentioned *Roman Missall*, p. 326. with the Picture of *Ionah*, comming forth of the Whales belly, and of *Sampson* carrying away the Gates of *Gaza*, in the other Panes.

In the second Window on the South side having three panes, there was in the middlemost of them, the Picture of *Christ*, in fresh glorious Colours, ascending up into Heaven, with his Disciples and others kneeling downe on their knees and praying to him: the patterne whereof was borrowed from this *Missale Romanum*, pag. 352. where you may view it to the life. In the two other panes was the picture of *Enoch* translated, and of *Elias* ascending up into Heaven in a fiery Chariot.

In the third Window on the South side, consisting of three panes, in the middlemost was a glorious radiant Picture of the *Holy Ghost* in forme of a Dove descending on the Apostles in cloven tongues; the exact Iuxa whereof you may view at your leisure in his foresaid *Roman Missall*, pag. 360. whence he tooke this patterne. In the other two adjoyning Panes were the Pictures of *Gods* giving the Law to *Moses* in *Mount Sinai*; and of fire descending from Heaven, at the prayer of *Elisha*.

In the fourth Southerne Window of three Panes, standing without the Skreene of the Chappell (for no seates of Civill Inducature, and so not Christs tribunall, but only Ecclesiasticall baudy Courts by this Arch-Prelates Canons must bee kept within the body of any Church, under paine of an High-Commission Censure) was the Picture of *Christ*, with his twelve Apostles, sitting on his judgment seate, and judging the world, with sundry persons kneeling and adoring before him, as the Papists use to paint the same; under which there were these latine verses written.

*Munde miser, plora, Iudex est Christus, odora,
Serve Dei gaude, Christo sub Iudice plande.*

In the two outward panes were the Picture of *King Salomon* in his throne, deciding the controversie betweene the two Harlots, who was the true Mother of the living Child; and of *David* passing sentence against the *Amalekite*, who brought him tidings that he had slaine *King Saul*.

In the uppermost window on the North side of the Chappell, having three Panes, there was the Picture of *Christ* raising up *Lazarus* out of his Grave, and of *God Himselfe* raining downe *Manna* from Heaven: Extracted out of the Popish Booke of Pictures found in the Arch-Bishops private study, intituled, *Imagines Vita, Passionis & Mortis, D. N. Iesu Christi*, Printed by *Boetius a Bolswert*: Anno 1623. With the Picture and story of *Elias* raising the *Widdowes*, and *Elisha* the *Shunamites* Son.

In the second North Window, was the Picture of the *Virgin Mary*, with *Christ* a sucking Babe in her Armes, and the *Wise-men* comming to and adoring *Christ*; borrowed from the *Roman Missall*, pag. 39. under which was this Inscription in the Glasse, *Omnes genetes quascunque fecisti venient & adorabant*: In the outward panes were

were the Portraictures of the Queene of Sheba comming to visit Solomon, and of the Tribes of Israell comming up to Hebron to Crowne David King with the Picture of Christ administering his last Supper to his Disciples, (which portraiture was derived from the Roman Missall, p. 181.) And the picture of an old man, with a glory round about his head, representing God the Father, striking Miriam with Leprosie.

In the third North window, there was the History of the Annuntiation, gloriously painted, the Picture of the Virgin Mary, and of the Holy Ghost, overshadowing her, and she Angell saluting her, together with the History and Picture of the birth of Christ, both taken out of the Roman Missall, pag. 16. 36, 39. Wherein were likewise the Pictures of the burning-bush, and of Gedeons Fleece. All these Idolatrous superstitious Popish Pictures, (lately broken and defaced by the Souldiers placed in Garrison in Lambeth House by reason of the great scandall they gave unto them,) were thus repaired and set up as new by the Arch-Bishops owne speciall direction, at his proper charges, in his Chappell at Lambeth in the Yeare 1634. as appeares by the Glasiers Bills found in his owne Study at Lambeth, indorsed with the word, *Paid*. Master Pember the Glasier deposed, that the Archbishop caused his Master to re-paire the said Chappell Windowes, and set up all those Pictures, paying him for that worke: Mr. Dell the Archbishops Secretary attested, that the Archbishop thought fit to re-paire them, they being formerly defaced, and thereupon gave order for their reparation; And the Archbish. himselve in answering this charge, confessed & justified the fact; alleaging, that the Chappell at his comming to Lambeth lay so nastily, and the Windowes were so peece'd, and quite out of Order and reparation, that it grieved his very heart to see it in such a condition, so as he could not resort unto it to worship God with any comfort; whereupon hee gave Order for repairing, renewing these Glasse windowes, and out of his fragments of the old painted Glasse remaining in them, (not by the help of the Pictures in his printed Masse-Booke) he made a shift as well as he could, to make up the stories and representations formerly defaced, without any addition, but only of New-Glasse in lein of the old that was demolished.

Besides, Browne his Joyner being examined at the Lords Barre against his will, confessed upon his Oath, that in the Chappell at Croyden, there was an old broken Crucifix in the Window, which he by the Archbishops direction caused to bee repaired, and made compleate; which Picture was there remaining very lately; for which worke Master Pryn found the Glasiers Bill discharged by the Archbishop himselve among other of his Papers.

Now that this Archbishop being by his place Primate and Metropolitan of all Engl. principally intrusted with the care of Religion, who should of all other men be most vigilant against all Popish Idolatrous Innovations, even in his owne principall Chappell at Lambeth, (whether many of the Nobility, Judges, Clergy, and persons of all sorts, as well strangers as Natives, usually resorted, and where most of our New Bishops were commonly Consecrated,) should thus studiously and professedly re-paire, adore, and set up a fresh those Idolatrous, Superstitious, Blasphemous Romish Pictures, which were by vertue of our Statutes, Homilies, Injunctions purposely defaced and broken down, as Monuments of Popish Superstition & Idolatry, contrary to the Word of God, and the established Doctrine of our Church in the very beginning of Reformation, which had thus continued defaced during all his Protestant Predecessors times without the least renovation, restauration, and that by the helpe and president of the very Masse-Booke, making the Pictures in it the very Patterne to shape his Chappell windowes by, (even after sundry complaints against such practises in and by sundry late Parliaments, and one Remonstrance in Parliament of this kinde against himselve, Anno 1628.) in open affront of our Lawes, Homilies, Articles, Injunctions, Parliaments, Writers, to the great encouragement of Papists, the infinite scandall of all sincere Protestants, and ill example of diverse others, both Clergy and Laity, (who generally imitated his example in repairing or new erecting in their Churches, Chappells, Colledges, Houses, the like unlawfull Popish Idolatrous Images,) it can doubtlesse proceed from no

other roote; but a rotten Idolatrous Romish heart, and Traiterous endeavour to alter or subvert our established Protestant Religion in a more audacious open way, then ever any Protestant Prelate before him durst attempt.

But was this all the Popish superstition and furniture in this Archbishops Chappell? Truly no; all other parts of it must bee suitable to the windowes, else there would neither be uniformity nor decency in it, according to his corrupt opinion; Wherefore,

2ly. As he new-moulded his Chappell Windowes; so he likewise altered the ancient Communion Table standing with the ends East and West, some distance from the Wall Table-wise, even from the beginning of Reformation till his coming to the Arch-Bishopricke without any Rayle about it, into a New Altar placed Altar-wise against the Wall, with the ends North and South, hedged in with a new costly Raile. Attested by Doctor Featly, Sir Nathaniell Brent, and Master Pryor.

3ly. Upon this new Altar he had much superstitious Romish furniture never used in his Predecessors dayes, as namely, two great Silver Candlestickes, with Tapers in them; besides Basons and other Silver Vessels, (with a costly Common Prayer-Booke, standing on the Altar, which as some say had a Crucifixe on the bosses) with the Picture of Christ receiving his last Supper with his Disciples in a peece of Arras, hanging just behind the midlt of the Altar, and a Crucifix in the Window directly over it; expressly taken out of the very *Ceremoniale Romanum* (found in the Archbishops study, who was very well versed in it.) reformed by Pope Clement the 8. Parisijs 1633. l. ii. c. 12. p. 69, 60. which prescribes thus, *Supra vero in planitie Altaris adsunt Candelabra argentea, si haberi possunt, sin minus ex Aurichalco, aut Capro aurato pulchre fabricata, &c. Et super illis Cerei albi, in quorum medio locabitur Crux ex eodem Metallo, & opere prealta, ita ut pes Crucis aequet altitudinem vicinorum candelabrorum, & Crux ipsa tota Candelabris supereminet cum imagine sanctissimi Crucifixi, versa ad anteriorem Altaris faciem. Quod si Altare parieti adhareat, applicari poterit ipsi Parieti supra Altare pannus aliquis ceteris nobilior & speciosior, ubi intexta sint DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI, aut gloriose Virginis, vel Sanctorum IMAGINES, nisi jam in ipso pariete essent depicta, & decenter ornata.* Pag. 71. *Habeant qualibet Altaria DUO CANDELABRA CUM CEREBIS, & in medio, CRUCEM, CUM IMAGINE CRUCIFIXI, &c.* Out of *Pontificale Romanum*: set forth by Pope Clement the 8. Antuerpie, 1626. pag. 57. In the Rubricke, *De Consecratione Electi in Episcopum. Paratur Altare cum Cruce, & duobus Candelabris, & super illud Missale, & Pontificale, & pluviale album, &c.* Page 280. 281. *Vestiunt Altare tobaleis, & ornamentis benedictis, ponentes desuper Crucem & alia Ornamenta.* And out of the Canons of the Popish Councell of Aix, An 1583. (The only Canon I have met with for railing in Altars, from which the Archbishop borrowed both the Railes and furniture of his New-erected Altar) which prescribes thus, (*) *Unumquodq; Altare ubi Commode Episcopus fieri posse judicavit, SEPIATUR OMNINO septo ferreo, vel lapideo, vel saltem LIGNEO, Quod septum ab Altari distet saltem polices septem. Nec vero septum illud Laicus ingrediatur, dum Misse sacrificium fit. Habeat unumquodque Altare propriam superlectilem, & ornamenta decentia, tum ad ejus cultum & usum, tum ad Misse sacrificium in eo Religiose decenterque peragendum. Altaria singula ornata sint Cruce in medio collocata, nisi aliqua sit Imago, & CANDELABRIS DUOBUS AD MINUS, uno a dextra, Altero a sinistra parte posito.* Hee who would thus regulate and adorne his Altar, Chappell by the very Roman Ceremoniall, Pontificall, and this Popish Councell, contrary to our Statutes, Homilies, Injunctions, Canons, Writers, condemning Altars, Tapers, Crucifixes, must certainly be a Papist, both in judgment, and practise, yea, a professed introducer of Popish superstition and Idolatry. This new Altar furniture of his, was proved and attested upon Oath by Sir Nathaniell Brent, Doctor Featly, Doctor Haywood (his owne Popish Chaplaine) who justified his Lord, that he did it in imitation of the Kings Chappell at White-Hall, where hee had seene not onely Tapers and Candlestickes stand-

* Boetellus
Decreta Eccle-
siae Gallicanae,
lib. 4. Tit. 1. c.
20. p. 556. 557

ding, but likewise burnnig (in the day time) on the Altar.

Fourthly, As this Archbishop introduced an Altar, so likewise, a *Credentia*, or side-Table into his Chappell, covered with a large Towel or Linnen Cloth, never seene, nor heard of there before his time, whereon the bread & wine intended to be consecrated at the Sacrament were first placed with a great deal of solemnity, before they were brought up to the Altar: After which the Archbishops Chaplaines being about to Consecrate the Elements usually repaired to this *Credentia*, and taking them from thence into their hands, made three low bowings or Genuflections to the Altar, and comming up unto it, offered up the Bread and Wine thereat upon their knees, & then layd them on the Altar; which Ceremonies were there used in the Archbishops presence sundry times when the Sacrament was administred, if not by his speciall Direction, yet certainly with his approbation, and without the least reprehension, as was proved by the severall Oathes of Sir Nathaniell Brent, Dr. Featley, Mr. Cordwell (once servant to the Archbishop) Dr. Haywood also confessing he used this forme of celebrating the Communion, and Consecrating the Elements in the Archbishops presence. Now this *Credentia* (the very Name his owne Chaplaines gave it) or diminutive preparatory Altar, whereon the Bread, wine, Paten & Chalice must first be solemnly placed & from thence removed, advanced to & offered up at the high Altar, is a meere Popish Vtennill, never heard of in any Protestant Church, nor in the Church of England since reformation; the very Name and Thing being prescribed and frequently mentioned in the Roman Ceremoniall, Pontificall, and Missall, but seldom or never in any other Authors; Witnes this description of it. *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* l. i. c. 12. p. 72. 73. 74. *Restat ut de Mensa, seu Abaco, quam CREDENTIAM vocant. pauca subiiciamus. Ea vero IN MISSIS TANTVM SOLENNIBVS PREPARARI SOLET, a latere Epistola in plano Presbiterij, atque a periete parumper disjuncta, &c. Eius mensura regulariter erit palmarum octo in longitudine, in latitudine, quatuor vel circa, in altitudine quinque, vel modicum ultra, lineoque mantuli mundo superstrato usque ad terram circumcirca pendenti, contegetur. Super ea ponentur duo Candelabra cum cereis albis, & in ipsius medio Calix, cum Patena, Palla, purificatorio, & bursa corporalia continens, atque ibi proxime Hostiaria cum hostijs, & pelvicula cum ampullis vini & aquae. Pontificale Romanum p. 75. Et prope Altare CREDENTIA p. 566. Parabitur Ecclesia, & Capella, CREDENTIA, &c. and Missale Romanum, Ritus Celebrandi Missam, p. 15. Diaconus amouet Calicem, si est in Altari, vel si est in CREDENTIA, ut magis decet, &c.* Now who but a professed Papist in heart and affection durst ever introduce such a grosse Popish innovation into his owne Chappell, not used in any other place but it, except in Popish Churches in forraigne parts, or the Queenes own Chapel here, & that by direction of the Roman Ceremoniall, Pontificall, Missall?

5ly. This Archbishop not content to introduce these former innovations, himselfe & his Chaplains in their ingresse and egres, used very low incuruations to the Altar, and at their approaches to it to Celebrate the holy Sacrament, or Consecrate Bishops, & in their retournes down from it, they used three very low bowings or duckings of their heads and bodyes to the Altar, never used in his Predecessors daies, as was proved by the Oathes of Sir Nathaniell Brent, Dr. Featley, Mr. Cordwell, and acknowledged by Dr. Haywood, the Archbishops Popish Household Chapline, a constant practisser of these Ceremonious incuruations; directly derived from Popish Bishops, Priests, Munks, Missalls, Ceremonials, Pontificalls as is most apparent.

First by Fryer Raymond of Rochfort, (one of the first inventers and practitioners of these (*) Altar-Adorations that I have read off,) who in his *Summula* f. 142. writing of the forme of the Priests celebrating the Masse at the Altar, prescribes thus.

Infundas. & aquam; tunc te CURVABIS AD ARAM.

id est, inclinabis Altari; writes the interliniarie Glosse thereon.

2ly. By Odo Parisensis in a Popish Synod, (the only Councell I have met with prescribing this Ceremony. * *Summa reverentia & honor maximus sacris Altaribus exhibetur,*

NOTE.

* See Ribadeneira Fleurs des vies des Saintes pars, 1. p. 104. Apres Compline et Matines, il visitoit tous les Autels de l'Eglise, faisant a chacun une Prostration et reverence. * Apud Bo-chellam Decreta Eccles. Gal. l. 4. Tit. 1. c. 81. p. 552.

atur, & maxime ubi sacrosanctum Corpus Domini reservatur, & Missa celebratur.

Salamantina
1588.8.9.21.

3ly. By *Missale Romanum*, Ritus celebrandi *M.issae*; where I finde these clauses, *De ingressu Sacerdotis ad Altare: Sacerdos si contigerit eum transire ante Altare majus, capite cooperto faciat ad illud reverentiam; si ante locum sacramenti, genuflectat; cum pervenerit ad Altare, stans ante illud in infimo gradu, Altari, seu Imagini Crucifixi desuper posito PROFUNDE INCLINAT. Si autem in ecclesia Tabernaculum sanctissimi sacramenti, genuflectens debitam facit reverentiam.* De principio *Misse*, We have this further Directory, *Sacerdos quam primum descenderit ad infimum gradum Altaris, convertit se ad ipsum Altare, ubi stans ante illud junctis manibus ante pectus, delecto capite, facta prius CRUCIVEL ALTARI REVERENTIA, erectus incipit Missam: Deinde caput seque profunde ALTARI INCLINANS, dicit, confiteor Deo, &c. Subdiaconus retro post celebrantem facta ALTARI GENUFLECTIONE, &c.* And *Ordinarium Misse*, p. 256. *Sacerdos cum ingreditur INCLINAT CAPUT AD ALTARE.*

4ly. By *Ceremoniale Romanum*, p. 203. *Facta prius Altari reverentia, l. 2. c. 17. p. 257. Diaconus celebraturus cum Ministris, & facta reverentia Altari cum genuflectione, si ibi aderit sanctissimum sacramentum, sin minus, cum profunda capitis inclinatione &c. ascendet ad Altare. And p. 67. ante altare majus Caput Cruci profunde inclinat. &c.*

5ly. By *Missale parvum pro Sacerdotibus in Anglia itinerantibus*, Printed Anno. 1623. *Ordo Misse*, p. 19. *Sacerdos paratus cum ingreditur ad Altare, facta illi debita Reverentia, p. 29. Profunde inclinatus ante Altare, &c.*

6ly. By the ancient Roman Order, published by George Cassander in his *Workes*, p. 118. to 130. where I finde these frequent expressions, *Pontifex inclinans se paululum AD ALTARE: Altari inclinans: Adorato Altare: pertransit Pontifex in caput Scholæ, & in gradu superiore inclinato capite ad Altare: & salutat Altare. Sacerdos quando dicit, supplices te rogamus; humiliato capite inclinat se ante Altare. Subdiaconi ad Altare progredientes simul se inclinant coram eo, &c.*

These, with the Black Booke of Windsor, made in the darkeſt time of Popish superstition and Idolatry, were the severall presidents and Authorities whence this Arch-Prelate borrowed this Idolatrous Ceremony of bowing to his New erected Altar, and the Crucifix on, or over it in the Glasse windowe, never used nor enjoyned before his time in any Protestant Church, nor approved by any ancient Protestant Author that can be produced, (*) but some late Creatures of his owne, whom he set on worke to justifie it in Print, though condemned by many as Popish and Idolatrous.

* See the
Archbishops
speech in Star
chamber. p. 47.

48. 49.

* De Heylyn's

Cole from the

Altar and An-

tidotum Lin-

colniense.

Dr. Pockling-

ton, Reeve,

Shelford and

others.

* See Lane.

Giles his

Haultings:

Anti-Armi-

nisme p. 191.

Appendix, and

Queeres con-

cerning Bow-

ing at the

name of Iesus.

* Laurentius

Surius Concil

Tom. 3 p. 6.

741. 810.

7ly. He likewise introduced Gaudy Romish Copes into his Chappell (never used in any his Protestant Predecessors times,) wherein his Chaplins usuall Consecrated and Celebrated the Sacrament there, wearing them likewise at the solemne consecration of Bishops, as was witnessed upon Oath, by Sir Nathaniell Brent, Dr. Featley, and Master Cordwell; Dr. Haywood the Archbishops Chaplin confessing at the Lords Barre, that himselfe did usuall celebrate the Sacrament in Lambeth Chappell in a Cope; Now these Gaudy Copes were directly derived from the Papists Wardrobes as well as his other Chappell furniture, witness *Ceremoniale Romanum*, l. 1. c. 16. p. 85. 87. *Pontificale Romanum*, p. 357. 358. *De Benedictione sacerdotalium Indumentorum* and Thomas Beacons *Reliques of Rome*.

8ly. This Archbishop brought in Standing up, at every recitall of, *Glory be to the Father, &c.* after every Psalm, and repetition of it, together with, *Very lowly bowing of the head and knee at every recitall of the name of Iesus*, never there practised in his Predecessors dayes, as Dr Featley, and Sir Nathaniel Brent deposed. The first of these was derived from *Ordo Romanus, de Officio Misse*: apud Georgij Cassandri *Opera Parisijs* 1616. p. 98. The latter (*) of bowing at the name of Iesus from, Pope Gregory the tenth, who first introduced and prescribed it, *Sexti Decretalia lib. 2. Tit. 3. c. 2.* from the Popish * *Councils of Basil, Sennes, Augusta*, with others, which enioyne the use of it, and from *Ceremoniale Romanum*, l. 2. c. 8. p. 206. which directs and prescribes thus, *Diaconus prosequitur Evangelium, & cum profert Nomen Iesu, vel Mariae*

Maria INCLINAT SE, sed profundius eum dicit, Iesus; quod ET OMNES FACIUNT.

8ly. He erected a new beautifull paire of Organs in this Chappell, which had none before: attested by Dr. Featley, and Mr. Prynn, (now Organs were first brought into Churches by (*) Pope Vitalian, and promoted by other Popish Prelates;) and withall he brought in such chaunting to them as is expressly prescribed in *Ceremoniale Episcoporum*, set forth by Pope Clement the 8. lib. 1. c. 28. *De Organo, Organistis, & Musicis seu Cantoribus, & omnia per eos servanda in divinis*; the only Directory by which his Chappell with all our Cathedrall Organ-playing and Chaunting were regulated; as those who will peruse that Chapter, and compare it, with our late Cathedrall Musike, will at first acknowledge.

* Platina in vita ejus, Vot. lateran. Thomas Beacons Reliques of Rome, ch. Of the Ornaments of the Church: Of plain-song, Prick-song, Organs, and singing in Churches. Histriomastix p. 283, to 287.

Finally this Arch Prelate brought in all manner of Popish Consecrations into his Chappell, never heard off, nor used in his Predecessors dayes; as Consecrations of all sorts of Altar-furniture, Vestments, Flagons, Chalices, which himselfe (arrayed in a Gaudy Cope) there solemnly Consecrated; attested upon Oath by Mr. Samuel Bordman a reverend Minister; who deposed at the Bar to this effect. That he having privat intelligence of an extraordinary solemn Consecration of some Flagons and Chalices brought from other Churches, intended to be Consecrated by the Archbishop at Lambeth Chappell, repaired thither to see the manner of it, being new and strange to him, which was performed in this manner. In the midst of divine service the Archbishop and his two Chaplaines in their Surplices, coming out of their seates, and bowing very low; severall times one after another to the Altar, went up unto it: where the Archbishop putting on a very gorgeous rich Cope, and bowing severall times with his Chaplaines to the Altar, read thereat a parcel of scripture, used at the Consecration of the Temple; which done, there were divers Flagons and Cups delivered to the Archbishop; who setting them downe upon the Altar, used a forme of prayer, wherein he desired God to blesse and accept of these Vessells; which he severally touched, and elevated, offering them up to God. Now this forme of Consecrating Chalices, Flagons, Altar-clothes, and other furniture of the Altar, is expressly prescribed, in and taken out of the *Missale Parvum pro Sacerdotibus in Anglia Itinerantibus*, p. 145. to 152. & *Pontificale Romanum* p. 355. to 376. in both which there are, particular Chapters and setformes, *De Benedictione sacrarum vasorum, & aliorum Ornamentorum in genere; De Patene & Calicis Consecratione*: with sundry solemn consecration prayers, and these two speciall Collects among others for that purpose, which it is likely the Archbishop then used at this consecration.

Exaude, Domine Pater clementissime, preces nostras, & hac purificanda vasa & Ornamenta sacri Altaris, atque Ecclesie tue sacri ministerij usui preparata, benedicere & sanctificare digneris; Per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, à quo omnia immunda purgantur, & in quo omnia purgata clarescunt, supplices Omnipotentiam tuam invocamus, ut ab his pascis & ornamentis quæ tibi offerunt famuli tui, omnis spiritus immundus confusus longè discedat, & per tuam benedictionem ad usum & ministerium sancti Altaris, & Ecclesie tue, sanctificata permaneant, per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen.

All these most palpable Idolatrous, Romish superstitions, Innovations, did this Archbishop publickly introduce and practise in his owne Chappell at Lambeth, to the great triumphing of the Popish, the vexation, scandall of the Protestant party, though all directly taken out of the *Roman Missall, Ceremoniall, Pontificall, the Decrees of Popes, of Popish Councils*; and how soon he would have there introduced the very Masse it selfe, had not the Scottish troubles interrupted his designs, his owne Notes of approbation written in the Masse booke, his framing the Scottish * new Liturgy by it, with the ensuing particulars, will abundantly evidence unto all the world, to his most just condemnation and eternall infamy.

At how great cost he was to make these Innovations & Alterations in his Chappell, will be most clearly evident by the Glasiers, Ioyners, Painters, severall Bills, sealed, in his Study at Lambeth; It appearing by Mr. Butler, the Glasiers Bil that the mending

* See A Necessary Introduction to his Tryall. p. 156. to 164.

mending and new painted Glasse of the East window wherein the Crucifix was, amounted to 40.l.8.s.6.d. the mending and repairing of two other Windowes in the North and South side of the Chappell, to 72.l.7.s.6.d. & of two other Windowes 35.l. 11.s. By Mr. Brownes the Joyners Bill, that the Altar Table in the Chappell cost him 11.l. and the Raile about it, 15.l. By Mr. Bab the Painters Bill, that the Guilding and Painting of his new Organs there, & of the ledg over the Altar, cost him no lesse then 17.l. 15.s. besides all the rest of his Altar Furniture, Copes, Hangings, Organ-pipes; so devoted was he to his superstitions, that he would spare no Costes to promote them.

2ly. We shall pursue and trace this Romish Fox from his Chappell and publicke, to his Study and private devotions: Mr. William Pryn, and Mr. William Bandy of Lincolnes-Inne deposed, that they being imployed to search the Archbishops study, and private Closet at Lambeth; found these observable particulars therein.

First, An English Bible of the last translation in Quarto, with a rich embroydered Cover lying on his Study Table; having a goodly embroydered Crucifixe on the Cover thereof; a fit object for his superstitious eyes, but very incongruously fixed on this sacred Booke, which so frequently in the * Old and New-Testament con-

* Exod. 20. 4, 5 demnes all * Images and Crucifixes.

Lev. 26. 1. Deut

4. 14. 20 25.

1. 5. 8, 9. 1 say

2. 20, &c. 30.

27. c. 31. 7. c.

44. 9. &c. Hosea

14. 8. Rom. 1.

23. 24, 25.

1 John 5. 21.

Secondly, A Popish Book neatly bound up in Turkey Leather with guilt leaves, intituled, *Imagines Vita, Passionis & Mortis, D. N. Jesu Christi*, printed by Boetius a Bolswert, 1623. *Cum gratia & Privilegio*: beginning with the Picture of the Annuntiation, and concluding with the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, containing in all 74. Idolatrous superstitious Pictures of Christ, and the Virgin Mary (all which were licensed by the Archbishops Chaplaine, yea bound up in our English Bible, and New Testaments by this Archbishops privy and consent, as shall be hereafter attested in its place :) Betweene the leaves of this Booke, there were 12. severall loose Pictures in fine Vellom, about the bignesse of playing Cards of the largest size, gloriously and curiously gilded, and set forth with most exquisite colours, some having one, others, two or three Pictures a peece in them, of Christ and the Virgin Mary in severall shapes and formes, with glories about their heads, and sometimes Crosses on their backs, and the Holy Ghost in form of a Dove; prettie Babies for young children to play with, but most insufferable Puppets, for an Old childish superstitious Archbishop seriously to dote on, if not to reverence, adore, and kindle his private devotions by.

Thirdly, two great Folio Roman Missalls, or Masse-Bookes of the largest size neatly guilt and bound up: the one of them printed Antuerpie 1630. having two gilded Crucifixes on the outside of the Cover, with many Idolatrous Pictures of Christ, Crucifixes, &c. printed within it accurately cut, in Copper peeces; The other printed Salamantica 1589. with a Gregorian Kalender, Which Kalender of this Roman Missall, the Archbishop had much noted with his own hand, adding diverse new Saints days unto each month out of Caluissus his Chronicle; to which he likewise referred the times of his own advancement, of King Charles his voyage into Spaine, and his return from thence: Noting almost every page of his Roman Missall with his owne hand, and quoting Micrologus to it by way of approbation, observing wherein they accorded or varied; no Booke in his Study, being so diligently noted with his own hand as it; A sufficient manifestation of his good affection to and approbation of it. A grand Encomium for a Protestant Archbishop.

Fourthly, A Pontificale Romanum, in a large Folio Volume, Clementis 8. Pontificis Maximi jussu restitutum atque editum, Antuerpie 1627. curiously guilt and bound up in Turkey Leather: and a Ceremoniale Episcoporum, Jussu Clementis 8. Pontificis Maximi reformatum, in a large Folio, neatly bound, printed Parisijs 1633. out of which two Bookes and Missalls the Archbishop borrowed all his late Popish superstitious Pictures, Ceremonies, Innovations, imitating their directions to an haire breadth, as his principall Canons and directories.

Fifthly, twentie two small Popish Houres of our Lady, Breviaries, Manualls, and Prayer Bookes, standing all together in a blinde corner of his study, many of them

them curiously bound and guilt with Crucifixes on their Covers : answering the exact number of his 22. pretended Converts to our Religion, who for their owne private advantages could easily close with such a Romish Prelate, who came so neare unto them in all the forementioned and subsequent particulars.

Sixthly, A Booke of his owne private prayers and devotions, all writ with his owne hand, many of them extracted out of the *Roman Missall, Breviary and Howers of our Lady*, all of them reduced under *Canonickall Howers of Prayer*, after the Romish Garbe, witnesse page 1. to 8. thus intituled over head : *Officium quotidianum* ; and *Hora prima* ; *Hora tertia*, *Hora sexta*, *Hora nona*, *Vesper*, *Completorium*, Bed-time, & *Noctes vigilantes*, pag. 8. to 104. (seaven times over a peece, for every day of the weeke :) his prayer for the sicke, p. 210. 114. Noted by him to be *In missa pro infirmis*, page 88. His prayer at the laying of the first stone in a Chappell, pag. 220. His prayer at the Altar when he Consecrated Priests, page 155. Another prayer, *Dum Altari adsto*, at the Sacrament ; and whiles hee fell downe and lay prostrate before it, with others of this nature.

All these compared together are a sufficient demonstration that this Archbishop Studies, affections, intentions, devotions, were altogether superstitious, Romish, Idolatrous, fully symbolizing with the Church of Rome, but wholly discrepant from our owne and all other reformed Churches.

Thirdly, We shall follow him from his study and private Closet unto his publicke Gallery, wherein, among others, there were these three superstitious Pictures, seized and brought into the Lords House, attested by Mr. Pryn, and Master Vaughan, who found them in his Gallery. First, a glorious costly Picture in a very large frame of the foure Fathers of the Church, Saint Ambrose, Saint Chrysostome, Saint Austin and St. Hierom, all in their Pontificalibus, with the Picture of the Holy Ghost in form of a Dove, hovering over their heads, and from his beake distilling the rayes streames, and influences of his graces severally upon them.

Secondly, The Picture of the Crosse, and of our Saviour Christ all bloody, newly taken downe from his Crosse, with many shaven-Crowne Fryars, and Nunnes in their Habits standing and kneeling round about him.

Thirdly, Another Picture of Christ on a Ladder, with Priests, Munkes and Popish Prelates about him.

In few words. He who had so much Popish Idolatry and Superstition of all sorts in his Chappell, Study, Gallery, as all these forementioned particulars amount unto, must doubtlesse have not only some sparkes but flames of Popery, and Romish affections, intentions in his heart.

Secondly, Having hunted this Popish Vermin from place to place in his owne Kennell, and bolted him out thence, we shall next pursue him from Lamb. crosse the Thames to the Kings own Royall Chapell at White-Hall ; where upon his comming to be Deane of his Majesties Chapell, and after that Archb. of Canterbury, he introduced, bowing to the Altar, himselfe there constantly practising this Ceremony, at his ingresse, egressse, (a Lane being made for him to see the Altar and do his Reverence to it) and at all his approaches towards or to the Altar; which bowing and Veneration his Majesties Chaplaines were there likewise enjoyned by him to practise: and by his means in Passion week in the years 1636. 1637. &c. a rich large Crucifix, imbroydered with Gold & Silver, in a faire peece of Arras, was hung up in his Majesties Chappell over the Altar, to the great scandall and offence of many. For prooffe whereof (so experimentally known to most of the Lords and Courtiers, who were eye-witnesse of and disliked it,) Sir Henry Milamay, Knight, a Member of the House of Commons, and Master of the Jewell House, was produced ; who deposed as followeth.

That before the Archbishop came to be Deane of his Majesties Chappell, there was little or no bowing at all used by any to or towards the Altar, except only at St. George. his Feast, when the Knights of the Garser, going up to offer at it, made a civill kinde of obeysance

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his Majesties
Chapell at
White-Hall.

obeysance towards it, not out of any religious respect, but as a civill Ceremony anciently used by them only at this solemnity, and by those of the Garter only: But after hee came to be Deane of the Chappell, he constantly used bowing to the Altar at his ingresse, egress, and approaches to the Altar, causing his owne and His Majesties Chaplaines to doe the like: That after he became Deane of the Chappell, for two or three yeares together or more, there was in Passion weeke a peece of Arras with a large embroidered Crucifixe, the full length of a man, hanged over the Altar in the Kings Chappell at White-Hall, which was never done before in his memory, nor in the memory of any Courtier that he could heare of; which Crucifixe he believed was never there used since King H. the 8. his Reigne, till of late. That this grosse notorious Innovation gave great scandal and generall offence to many well-affected Courtiers, who spake much against it, and to himselfe in particular, who openly complained of it to the King, and spake to the Archbishop himselfe about it; yet it continued there sundry Passion weekes. And to manifest the truth hereof more clearly to all the world, the very Crucifixe it selfe was by speciall order sent for, and brought into the Lords House by the Serjeant of the Vestry at White-Hall; who likewise attested the hanging of it up over the Altar in His Majesties Chappell in the Passion Weekes; It was very large, rich, naked, scandalous, offensive, never used since the Reformation, but onely in times of Popery; yet this most scandalous Idoll did this Arch-Prelate cause to be thus hanged up in His Majesties Chappell, as a patterne of imitation for all others, well knowing the ancient Proverbe to be an experimentall truth.

* *Claudian.*

* *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis, &c.*

When he hath thus introduced these Romish Innovations into His Majesties Chappel; then the Altar, Crucifix, & other Innovations in his Royal Chapel must be made the Canon whereby to regulate all Cathedrall and Parochiall Churches, and so declared publikely in print, by himselfe & his Confederates both in an *Order made at the Councell Table* concerning the placing of the Table in Saint Gregories Church Altarwise, 3. Novemberis 1633. by this Archbishops owne procurement, (published by Doctor Heylen his Creature, in his *Coale from the Altar*, page 62. and *Antidotum Lincolnense*, cap. 2. page 62. 63.) by Peter Heylyn in his *Coale* p. 27. *Antidotum Lincoln.* cap. 2. p. 29. to 67. his *Moderate answer to Henry Burton* p. 57. 176. by Christopher Dove in his answer to Mr. Henry Burton cap. 20. p. 191. & the *New Canons* 1640. can. 7. Now what a capital transcendent offence this was in this Arch-Prelate (principally intrusted with the care of Religion,) contrary to his trust and dutie to introduce these scandalous Innovations into His Majesties owne Royall Chappell will appeare by these particulars. First, that hereby he made the world believe, His Majesty was a publike countenancer of these Popish Innovations and Crucifixes, making him a Royall open Patron of them, as much as in him lay: contrary to his owne printed Declarations to all his loyall Subjects before the 39. Articles, and after the dissolution of the Parliament, Anno 1628, Wherein he professed, *he would never give way to any backsliding in the least degree to Popery, or superstition.* Secondly, That he hereby gave just occasion both to Protestants and Papists at home and in forraigne parts, openly to report and believe, that wee were now relapsing to those ancient Romish superstitions, Idolatries, corruptions we had formerly spued out. 3ly. That hereby he endeavoured to corrupt his Majesty, his Nobles, Courtiers, Chaplains, and by consequence all his dominions in their Religion, Fourthly, That by this meanes he perverted, seduced many thousands of His Majesties subjects, who from this patterne fell to a studious practise of bowing to Altars, & erecting, Altars Crucifixes in most Chapells Churches by degrees. Fifthly, That hereby hee scandalized, discouraged, grieved the well affected Protestants, both at home and abroad; enconraged, hardned Papists in their superstitions. and gave them great hopes of a speedy alteration of religion, wch they seconded with al their power and pollicy: Sixthly, That by this practise he ingendred great discontents, jealousies, misunderstandings betweene His Majestie and his subjects; which could never

never yet be, cordially reconciled since that time, but have grown wider every day almost to the utter ruine of our three whole kingdomes.

To the former evidence, this further memorable testimony was subjoynd by way of corroboration and aggravation.

Mistres Charnock (a Gentlewoman of good quality) and her Daughter joyntly depofed before the Lords, that on Maundy Thursday, about 6. yeares since, they being at Whitehall with some other of their friends, whereof one was a Papitt, went into the Kings Chapell there to see it, where they saw an Altar with Tapers, & other Furniture, on it, & a Crucifix over it: whiles they were in the Chappell Dr. Browne of Saint Faiths Church under Pauls, (then a Deane, & one of the Kings Chaplaines,) with his Curate came together into the Chappell, and bowed three severall times almost to the ground, to the Altar and Crucifix, as they all conceived, and then kneeled down on their knees before them. A little after there came two Semenary Priests into the Chappell, and bowed downe very low three severall times to the Altar and Crucifix over it (as they apprehended) juft in the very same manner as Dr. Browne and his Curate did, and then kneeled downe before the Altar and Crucifix, for a little space, as they had done. At which strange sight, Mistresse Charnocke very much admiring, said to those in her company; I never thought to have seene such a sight, that our owne Ministers and Popish Priests should thus repaire one after another into the Kings Chappell, and use the selfe same bowings, gestures to the Altar and Crucifix, as if they were both agreed: Whereunto the Papitt presently answered, there is no such odds and difference betweene you and us as is conceived; which one of the Semenary Priests over-hearing, used the like words; adding further, Gentlewoman, you need not wonder at our bowing and kneeling, (to the Altar and Crucifix) for you see that Ministers of your owne Coate and Religion doe the like; and so they departed.

Now what a Capitall Crime, & Treason this is for an Archbishop, intrusted with the care of Religion, to bring in such Crucifixes, Ceremonies, Innovations into his Majesties owne royall Chapell, as should invite even his Majesties Chaplaines, and Popish Semenary Priests thus openly and promiscuously to resort into it to commit Idolatry with them; and there to use the very selfe same bowings, adorations to the Altar, Crucifix, as Priests themselves usually exercised, and openly upbraid us with, to the great offence and scandall of his Majesties Protestant Subjects, was humbly submitted to the saddest consideration of his Judges, and all that heard this evidence.

3. ly. We shall next follow this Romish Fox from White-Hall to Westminster Abby; where in January 1625. he exercised the Office of Deane of Westminster at his Majesties Coronation, putting Bishop Williams (then reall Dean thereof) from this Royall service incident to his place. In this solemnity of high concernment, we shall give you a short information what he did with reference only to Popish superstition and Innovation: In general, he compiled the forme of his Majesties Coronation different from that of K. Edward the 6th. and King James; inserting some prayers & Ceremonies into it out of the Roman Pontificall. That himselfe compiled it, appeares by his owne Diary, and the originall Coppy corrected with his owne hand, of which hereafter in its proper place: In particular.

His Popish Innovations at Westminster Abbey at his Majesties Coronation.

† See the Breviat of his life p. 7.

First, he caused all the Rubrickes in this New forme of Coronation to be written in red Letters, as they are in the Roman Pontificall pars 1. p. 163. &c. whereas all former, manuscripts of Coronations, found in his Study, were written onely with black Inke, as appeared by the Bookes themselves (writ in times of Popery & since) and by Master Prynnes attestation, who perused them all.

2. ly. He specially inserted this Note into the Margin of the Coronation Booke. All this Vnction was performed IN FORMA CRVCIS, AND THE OLD CRUCIFIX among the Regalia, STOOD ON THE ALTAR, of which no mention is made in the Coronation of K. Edward the 6th. or King James: Which forme of anointing the King after the forme of a Crosse, is directly taken out of the Roman Pontificall: pars 1. De Benedictione & Coronatione Regis: p. 167. Post hac Metropolitanus intinger pollicem dextera manus in oleum Catechumenorum & INVNGIT.

IN MODVM CRVCIS illius brachium dexterum, &c. And that the old Crosse, used only in times of Popery, should at this royall solemnity be placed on the high Altar, among the Kings Regalia (as its usuall in forraigne Popish Cathedralls and Altars if we may credit, † *Ceremoniale Episcoporum*, and the severall Portraitures in it) was a sad Omen at the consecration of a Protestant King, to inure, if not enamor him with such Popish superstitions in the very begining of his reigne.

† Page 69. 70.
9:43.78 110.
157.162.165.

3ly. The Oyle wherewith he was anointed (as appears by the marginall Notes) was solemnly consecrated by a Bishop: which Consecration of the Oyle is a meere Popish Relique, as appears by *Pontificale Romanū de Benedictione & Coronatione Regis; Thomas Beacons, Reliques of Rome, Bochellus, Decreta, Eccles. Gal. 1. 5. Tit. 2. & 1. 2. Tit. 6.*

4ly. He inserted divers Prayers into the forme of the Kings Coronation taken verbatim out of the *Roman Pontificall*; Among others, this ensuing Prayer (which you shall finde in Latine in the *Roman Pontificall* p. 171.) used at the Kings inthronization after his unction, tending to the advancing of the Bishops and Clergy above the Laity.

‘Stand and hold fast from henceforth, the place to which you have beene heire by the succession of your Forefathers, being now delivered unto you by the Authority of the Almighty God, and by the hands of us, and all the Bishops and servants of God; and as you see the Clergy to come nearer to the Altar then others, so remember that in places convenient you give them greater Honour; That the mediator of God and man, may establish you in the Kingly Throne, to be the mediator betwixt the Clergy & the Laity and that you may reigne for ever, with Iesus Christ the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, who with the Father & the holy Ghost liveth & reigneth for ever, Amen.

4ly. Popish Master John Cosens (as appears by the Marginall Notes) when the Prayers appointed for the Coronation, were there read, kneeled behinde the Bishops, giving direction to the Quire when to answer: acting the Office of the Master of Ecclesiasticall Ceremonies; whose Office you may read at large described in *Ceremoniale Episcoporum: Lib. 1. c. 3. p. 19. De Officio Magistrorum Ceremoniarum.*

5ly. After the Coronation ended, this Archbishop voluntarily of his own accord offered the Kings Regalia on the Altar in a Popish manner, without any Rubricke or direction, as appears by this passage in his Diary written with his owne hand Feb. 2. 1625. *Solemnibus fuit in Aula magna Westmon. quum tradidit mihi in manus Regalia qua in Ecclesia B. Petri Westmon. servantur: de novo dedit Gladium Cortanam alitum, & duos alos qui coram Rege eo die deferabantur, ut servarentur cum reliquis insignibus; in Ecclesiam Redij, ET AD ALTARE SOLENNITER OBTVLI NOMINE REGIS, & cum alijs reposui.*

Certainly had this Archprelate beene inflamed with any such extraordinary zeale to the Protestant Religion, as he pretended he would not have introduced so many Popish Ceremonies out of the *Roman Pontificall*, into his Majesties solemn Coronation, but utterly excluded them out of the form of Coronation he then compiled: *Ex Cauda Draconem* you may take a scantling of this Dragon by his Taile, who endeavoured to poyson his Majesty as much as in him lay, with Romish superstitions in his very Inauguration to his Crowne, the sad effects whereof, we have since experimentally discerned to our sorrow and greatest griefe.

4ly. We shall in the next place follow this little Fox in his Romish Procession, from Westminster, to our two famous Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, whose Christall Fountaines he extraordinarily poysoned with Popish superstitions, Innovations, Ceremonies of all sorts, and in them our Church and State.

Before this pragmaticall Arch-Prelates advancement to be a Prime Favorite in Court, and Supreme Comptroller of all Ecclesiasticall affaires in our Church, our Universities had neither Crucifixes, nor Images, nor Altars, nor bowing to Altars, nor Copes, nor Latine service, nor any such Reliques of Rome to pollute them, or corrupt young Schollars with the superstitious Rites and Ceremonies of the Babilonish Strumpet; but no sooner was he become a Royal favorite, Privy Councillor of State, and

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sities of Ox-
ford and
Cambridge.

and *Dominus factorum* in Church and Republik, but by his pestiferous influence, practices, and example these Popish weeds sprung up apace by degrees in these choycest Seminaries of Piety and literature, till they quite over-spread them at the last.

We shall begin with the *University of Oxford*, whereof by indirect meanes this Prelate procured himselfe to bee elected *Chancellour*, upon the death of the Right Honourable *Will. Earle of Pembroke*, in Apr. 1630. whose Noble brother (now *Chancellour* thereof) was then really elected by most voyces, though miscalculated by practise in the scrutiny by this Prelates Creatures. What alterations were there made upon his advancement, and Chancellorship, will appeare by these subsequent depositions given *viva voce* against him at the Lords Barre.

Sir *Nathaniell Brent* deposed; that before this Archbishop came to have power in this *Universitie* and to bee *Chancellour* thereof, there were no Copes, Altars, nor Communion Tables turned and rayled about Altarwise in Churches or Colledges, nor any bowing to or towards the Altar, nor any Crucifixes but such as were either defaced, or covered over with dust, and quite neglected; but since his being *Chancellour* the Tables in al or most Churches, Colledges were turned into Altars, or rayled in Altarwise, and usually bowed unto; the old Crucifixes repaired, adored, and new Crucifixes set up where there were none before; yet he never heard that the Archb. disliked or reproved the same, though he was *Chancellour*, and saw these Innovations, but liked them very well: That since the Archb. was *Chancellour* there was a New Church-Porch built to *St. Maries Church*, (at the charge of Dr. *Owen*, since made a Bishop;) where was none before, standing in the very heart of the Vniversity towards the street, to which Church all the University resorted; in the front of which Porch was a statue of the *Virgin Mary* cut in stone, with the Picture of a child in her Armes, commonly taken to be the Picture of Christ.

Master *Corbet*, a Fellow of *Merton Colledge* deposed; that in the Yeare 1638. the Arch-Bishop being Visitor of that Colledge began his Visitation there, by Sir *John Lamb* his Deputy: that one Article propounded to the Warden and Fellows was this; *Whether they made due Reverence (by bowing towards the Altar or Communion Table,) when they came into the Chappell?* That himselfe and Master *Channell* were injoynd by the Visitors and Commissioners to use this Ceremonie; but they refused to do it: Whereupon Sir *John Lamb* pressed them very much to practise it; but they still refused, propounding their reasons against it; then he threatened him for it in particular. After this Dr. *Frewin* Vice-Chancellour of the Vniversity told him, that he was sent to him from the Archb. he being then Proctor, pressing and requiring him as from the Archb. to use this Ceremonie in regard of his place, else it would be ill taken. Afterwards the Archb. sent injunctions to *Merton Colledge* whereof this was one: *Habeant debitam Reverentiam ad mensam Domini*; where by hee meant this bowing to the Altar, as the Visitors and common practise expounded it: the Visitors afterwards questioning those who bowed not; That this course continued till this present Parliament, and was generally practised at *Saint Maries*, and throughout the Vniversitie. He further testified that in *Magdalen Colledge*, there was a Crucifix placed over the Communion Table, and Pictures in the Windowes; and a new Crucifixe set up in *Christ-Church*; none of which Innovations were there heard of before this Archbishops time.

Master *William Bendy*, witnessed upon Oath, that in the Yeare 1637. Since the Archbishop was *Chancellour* of *Oxford*, there was a statue of the *Virgin Mary* With a Child in her Armes, set up in the front of *Saint Maries Church-Porch* towards the open streete; which gave great offence to many: That there was a Crucifix set up in *Lincolne Colledge*, and a Picture of the *Holy Ghost*, another Crucifixe in *Christ-Church*; another in *New-Colledge*, and the like in diverse other Colledges. That Latine Prayers were injoynd to be used in Lent, and Students to be present at them: That the Tables in most Churches, Colledges were turned into Altars, rayled in Altarwise and bowed to: That in some Colledges they used Copes, and hee heard a stranger who had bin a Travailer say, that one of the Copes he saw at *Oxford*,

was just like that he had seene at R O M E on the P O P E S backe.

Matter *Nixon* one of the Aldermen of Oxford deposed *viva voce*, that there was a Picture of Stone set up in the New-Church porch at Saint *Maries Church* towards the high Street, of a Woman holding a Babe in her Armes, which they call the Picture of the *Virgin Mary* and Christ, (standing almost opposit to his House) which was very scandalous, offensive both to him & others: that himselfe had seene some passengers as they rode along by it, to bow very low to their Horses manes, and put off their Hats unto it: that hee observed one Passenger, both going and returning to bow thus unto it, and put off his Hat, who (as he heard) belonged to the Portugall Embassador, and was a Papist; that there was one who kneeled downe before this Image, and held up his hands as if he prayed unto it. He further deposed, that not only in sundry Colledges, but in the Parish Church of *Carfolks*. (the principall Church for the City, whether the Major and Aldermen resorted;) there was a great large Crucifix with the Picture of Christ upon it, set up in the Window by *Giles Widdowes* who was Parson there, and one whom the Archbishop countenanced.

That this Archbishop was both the Author, and encourager of all these innovations not heard of there since the Reformation; is evident: because they sprung up there in the time of his Chancellorship, and were introduced, by those who were his greatest Creatures, enjoyned by his Visiters (as you heard before) and most of them prescribed in the Vniversity Statutes, made by himselfe, which all were bound by Oath to observe. To cleare this we shall produce this Memorable passage. Sect 1. paragr. 2. *De Precibus solennibus, & Oblationibus in Die Comitiorum.* (which you may finde in the select Statutes of Oxford, there printed in a small volume, Anno 1638. p. 79.) *In die Comitiorum Moris est, ut post pulsationem parve campana, circa horam nonam matutinam, omnes Inceptores in qualibet facultate, per Bedellum suae Facultatis à Collegijs & Aulis deducti, in Capella orientali Ecclesiae B. Mariae Virginis una conveniant, iisque sic congregatis, preces Divinae ab ejusdem Ecclesiae parochialis Vicario aut illius Deputato solenniter habeantur. Quibus peractis, primum Vice-Cancellarius, postea singuli Inceptores in Facultatibus, deinde Procuratores, Bedellis praecuntibus, ad Mensam Eucharistiae sacram, CVM DEBITA REVERENTIA* (which they by words and practise interpreted to be a lowly bowing to, or towards it) *OBLATIONES FACIANT. Quod si quis à Precibus solennibus & OBLATIONIBVS absens fuerit, aut praesens CVM DEBITA REVERENTIA AD MENSAM EUCHARISTIAE SACRAM accedere recusaverit, puniatur pro arbitrio Vice-Cancellarij, ac insuper mulctetur. ss.*

* Dabis fidem
ad observan-
dum statuta
istius Univer-
sitatis, &c. Sta-
tura selectae
corpore statu-
rum Univer-
sitatis Oxon
Tit. 9. Sect. 6.
Paragr. 1. p.
114.

Here we have bowing to the Table or Altar prescribed by a Law, as a REVERENCE VNTO IT, AND OBLATIONS at it enjoyned to all Graduates whatsoever of any kind of faculty, to be acted solemnly in the Vniversity Church of Saint *Maries* in the Act time under pain of such arbitrary punishments, as the Vice-Chancellor should inflict, & s. s. Fine, upon such who refused or neglected this solemn oblation at or bowing to the Altar, both which they were bound by Oath, to perform and observe, being one of the Statutes of the Vniversity, to which (*) all Graduates swore obedience: Yea this their ceremony of bowing to, and prostration before the Altar, was so well pleasing, & well known to the Archbishop himselfe, that in one of his letters sent to the Vniversity of Oxford, (Dated at Lambeth 28. January 1639. recorded in their *Publique Register*: f. 166.) he importunes them to pray for him, as oft as they should prostrate themselves before the Altar, in these very termes, *Quoties CORAM ALTARE DEI & Christi ejus PROCIDATIS, videte sitis inter orandum memores mei Peccatoris: sed & Amici & Cancellarij vestri* W. Cant. Whence the Archbishop took his Patterne for enioyning Graduates thus by new Vniversity Statutes, and the Fellowes, Schollers of *Merton Colledge*, by his Visiters, to bow, and yeeld due Reverence to the Altar, is worthy speciall observation: doubtlesse it was from none other but his owne Popish Predecessor, *Cardinall Poole*, Archbishop of Canterbury in *Queene Maries* dayes, who reduced reconciled our Kingdomes of England and Ireland to the Popes obedience and superstitions which they had formerly

merly cast off in King Edwards dayes. For this Cardinall Archbishop Visiting the Vniversity of Cambridg by his substitutes [whereof Ormanet the Popes Datary was one] among other Lawes and Injunctions, (as Mr. * Jo. Fox Records) prescribed every Scholler there, AFTER WHAT SORT HE SHOULD BOW HIMSELFE TO THE ALTAR: there being no other ancient president extant in any of our owne Vniversities Statutes (nor for ought I finde in forraign Academies) prescribing bowing to the Altar, unto any Academians, but this of Cardinal Poole alone. And must not he be a meere Popish Prelat, and Chancellor in good earnest, who thus makes his Popish Cardinall Predecessors Injunctions in Queen Maries bloody Reigne, the sole Rule whereby to reform the Vniversity of Oxford in King Charles his dayes? Finally, this Archbishop, in hope that solemne Popish Processions might in short time creepe up into use againe, in our Vniversities, as well as Crucifixes, Copes, Latine service, and bowing to Altars, among other his new Oxford Statutes, continued, and revived this, whereby all Regent Masters were bound to read and sing in solemne Processions, as the Proctors should assigne them, be it right or wrong: witnesse this Clause in the large Leger Parchment Booke of this Vniversities new Statutes. Tit. 9. Sect. 1. paragr. 5. *Iurabis, quod Leges & Cantabis IN SOLENNIBVS PROCESSIONIBVS secundum assignationem & dispositionem Procuratorum, vel si recusaveris, solves Vs. in usum Vniversitatis, per Procuratores exigendos: Resp. Iuro.* which was read.

* Acts and Monuments Edit. 1640. vol. 3. p. 773. Edit. 1610. p. 1781.

Now thus to oblige men by Oath to read and Chaunt in Processions, what the Proctors should appoint, (be it the very Masse it selfe, or a Popish hymne or prayer taken out of the Roman Missall, Caremoniall or Pontificall) how farre it trencheth upon the liberty of mens consciences, extends to the Alteration of Religion, and conduced to corrupt the Vniversitie, was humbly submitted to the serious considerations of the Lords, and all others.

We have thus given you a briefe account of this Arch-Prelates, Popish Innovations in the Vniversity of Oxford, where he was then a reall Chancellor, and ought in duty to have suppressed them; the summe whereof is this; that in most Churenes Colledges, Chappells both in this Vniversity and City, during the time of his Government, Communion Tables were turned, railed in Altarwise, changed into Altars; schollers of all sorts and degrees enjoined by Statutes and Oathes, (especially in the publique Act solemnities) to bow themselves downe and yeeld due reverence to the Altar, to present their oblations thereat, which they must neither refuse nor neglect under paine of 5. s. fine and other Arbitrary punishments; Latine service with the Chaunting of it, and solemne Processions, introduced, enjoyed; Copes used, Crucifixes repaired, beautified where formerly defaced, and new erected where none were before: a New Statue of the Virgin Mary with Christ a babe in her Armes set up in the most publike noted place of all the Vniversity, where all passengers might behold it; yea publike adoration, Capping, bowing, kneeling yeelded to it, without the least checke, dislike, yea with the highest approbation of this pretended zealous Protestant Chauncellor, to the poysoning of many Graduates, Students in this most famous Academy. What Romish Alterations, Innovations of like nature hee by his Instruments, Favorites, Chaplins brought into the Vniversity of Cambridge, (of which he was more then halfe Chauncellor in reality, though the Earle of Holland had the Title, and afterwards sole Visitor by a Decree at Councell Table, as meere Archbishop of Canterbury;) we shall in the next place evidence by substantiall Prooves.

In the Vniversity of Cambridge, the Archbishop since his greatnesse by his extraordinary power brought in divers of his Creatures, Chaplaines to be heads of houses and Vice-Chauncellors (as Dr. Martin, Dr. Cosins, Dr. Beale, Dr. Laney, with others Popishly affected) who within the space of ten yeares introduced the severall Popish Innovations, Ceremonies, specified in the following depositions

His Popish Innovations in the Vniversity of Cambridge.

Mr. Wallis a Scholler and Graduate of this Vniversity, deposed: That Altars, Pictures, Crucifixes were there of late set up in most Colledge Chappells, and in some Churches; particularly, that in Peter house Chappel there was a glorious new Altar set up, & mounted on steps, to which the Master, Fellowes, Schollers bowed, & were enjoyed

enjoyed to bow by Doctor *Cosens* the Master, who set it up; that there were Basons, Candlestickes, Tapers standing on it, and a great Crucifix hanging over it. That in the Vniversity Church of *St. Maries* there was an Altar railed in, to which the Doctors, Schollers and others usually bowed: That these Altars, Crucifixes, Candlestickes, Tapers, and bowing to Altars, continued till after this Parliament, and were brought in since the Archbishops time by meanes of *Bishop Wren*, Doctor *Cosens*, Dr. *Martin* and others, all *Canterburies* great favorites.

Master *Nicholas le Greise*, (late Student in *Cambridge*) witnessed upon Oath, that in *St Johns Colledge*, *Kings Colledge*, *Trinity Colledge* and *Peter house* there were Altars, Candlestickes, Tapers, and Crucifixes, newly set up: That in *St. Johns*, and *Peter House* Chappells, there were Pictures of the Holy Ghost in forme of a Dove; that in *Peter House* there was likewise a carved Crosse at the end of every seat, and on the Altar a Pot, which they usually called the incense pot: that the Master, Fellows, and Schollers of that house at their entring into, & going out of the Chappell, made a low obeysance to the Altar, being enjoined by Doctor *Cosens* under a penalty (as they reported) to doe it; and none of them might turne their backs towards the Altar going in nor out of the Chappell: That diuers Schollers of other houses usually resorted thither, some out of Curiosity only to behold, others to learne and practise the Popish Ceremonies and Orders used in that Chappell: and the common report both among the Schollers of that House and others, was, that none might approach to the Altar in *Peter house* but in *Sandalls*. and that there was a speciall consecrated Knife there kept upon the Altar, to cut the sacramental bread that was to be consecrated.

Master *Lazarus Seman* depofed, that he left the Vniversity of *Cambridge* about ten yeares since, and that in his time none of the forementioned Innovations were so much as known or used there; but of late times they have all beene introduced.

Many more witnesses were ready to depose the like, and more then this, but the Innovations of this kinde were so notoriously knowne to all, and so fully proved before the Parliament in Master *Peter Smarts* Articles against Doctor *Cosins*, that the Commons thought to produce more witnesses herein, would bee a meere mispence of time to no purpose, but to tyre out the Lords and Auditory.

Object.

But perchance the Archbishop will object; what are these Innovations in the Vniversity of *Cambridge* unto me, who was neither Chancellor there to counsell, or countenance them, nor immediatly introduced them?

Answer.

To which was Answered, 1. That his publike example and practise in his own Chappell at *Lambeth* (formerly manifested) was both a president, precept for this their imitation and one chiefe cause of these Innovations. It was a true rule of a just verdict of the Roman Orator (†) *Perniciosus de Republica merentur vitiosi Rectores, quod non solum vitia concipiunt ipsi, sed ea infundunt in Civitatem; neque solum obsunt quod illi ipsi corumpuntur sed etiam quod corumpunt*. Since then his own preceeding Innovations, were the occasions of these Corruptions in this Vniversity, they must be laid upon his score. 2ly. His owne Introduction of the selfesame Popish Innovations into the Vniversity of *Oxford*, by Lawes and Injunctions, at the selfesame time, or a little before these sprung up in *Cambridge*. is a strong presumption, that both of them issued from the very same roote. 3ly. His owne chiefe Favorites, Chappelines, Creatures, who were most intimate; frequent with him at *London*, and advanced to Headships in Colledges by his meanes, were the only active Instruments to bring in and promote these Corruptions; therefore questionlesse they had directions, at least encouragment from him for their proceedings in this kinde. 4ly. His not being Chauncellor of this Vniversity, was rather an obstacle to the speedy Introduction of these Innovations then otherwise, as appears by *Oxford* where he prescribed them by publique Lawes and Injunctions, which was not done in *Cambridge*, because he was not Chauncellor; yet he would needs be their Immediate Visitor, as Archbishop of *Canterbury*, contesting with them for this Authority before his Majesty

* De summo Bono, l. 2. c. 20.
* Cicero de legibus. l. 3.

tie and Privie Councell, where hee obtained a Decree and Patent to him and his Successors to be their Visitors; in regard of which Jurisdiction over this Vniversity as their Visitor, and likewise as an High Commissioner, hee wanted no authority but only will to prohibit, suppress these Popish Novelties, and punish the promotors of them; but this, for certaine, he never did, but countenanced, advanced them all hee could (as shall be manifested in due place:) Therefore, if the old Maxime of Law may take place: * *Qui non vetat peccare cum posset, jubet*, he must bee really guilty of all these Anti-Christian Innovations in both our Vniversities, whom he thus miserably corrupted to the unspeakeable prejudice of Church and State, since from these two Fountaines these Popish superstitions, corruptions, diffused themselves over all our Dominions, like a most contagious Leprosie. * *It hath alwayes been a Capitall crime, and an offence against the Law of God, of Nations, to possen common Naturall fountaines*; how much more then these two publike Fountaines of more transcendent use and excellency.

* Gratian dist. 86.
* Fontes venerandi in fœcere, est non tantum contra morem Majorum, sed etiam contra fas Deorum.
Florus Historie lib. 1. Grotius de Jure Belli. lib. 3. c. 4. Sect. 16. p. 444. See 22. H. 8. c. 10.

5. From our Vniversities wee shall in the next place pursue this Romish Reihold unto our Cathedrall Churches, where hee began his Popish Innovations very early.

5. His Popish Innovations and superstitions in Cathedrall Churches.

Master John Langly, late Schoole-Master of the City Gloucester, but now of Pauls Schoole, deposed, that in the yeare 1616. the now Archb. being made Deane of Gloucester, and coming downe to the Cathedrall there, intended to turne the Communion Table into an Altar; and place it Altarwise at the East end of the Quire, removing it from its former station in the midst; Doctor Smith then Bishop of GLOUCESTER opposed it with much earnestnesse; and seriously protested to the DEANE and the Prebends, that if the Communion Table were removed, or any such Innovations brought into that Cathedrall as this Deane intended to introduce, hee would never come within the Walls of the Cathedrall more: yet notwithstanding the Deane was then so violent, that in despite of the Bishops direction and opposition, hee caused the Lords Table to be removed, and placed Altarwise at the East end of the Quire close under the Wall, with the ends North and South, with Popish furniture upon it, bowed towards it himselfe, and commanded the singing-men, Choristers, and other Officers of the Church to make like obeysance to it: Whereat the Bishop was so much offended, that hee made good his protestation, and never came more within the Cathedrall till his dying day; This single testimony of Mr. Langlies we finde seconded with a Letter of this Bishops Chaplaine to the Chancellour at Gloucester; thus indorsed with the Archbishops owne hand, and found at Lambeth among his Papers by Master Prynne.

Febr. 12. 1616. A Coppy of the Libell against the removing of the Communion Table in the Church of Gloucester.

MAfter Chancellour, I pray you certifie me how things stand at Gloucester, wee heare strange things of late here with us, that seeme almost incredible. It is reported here for a truth, that the Communion Table in your Cathedrall Church is removed by your new Deane, and put up close at the upper end in the place where the high Altar heretofore stood, and that they make low obeysance to it with great Reverence, as if Christ were there upon it, and that this hath much offended the whole Citie almost, And yet that not any one of the Prebends did so much as offer by word or deed to resist him, or to tell him what harme this example might doe, and how much hereby, the secret Papists would be stirred up to rejoyce, hoping for that which they have long looked for now to be neere at hand. Was there no man had any sparke of Elias spirit to speake a word in Gods behalfe? O lamentable times in which we live, that these

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things are swallowed downe by your Preachers in silence: I forbear to say much till I bee certified from you the truth of all matters. I hope it is not so, for I cannot thinke your Prebends would be so fainte hearted (having also the Law of the Land on their side, that it ought not to stand there where the Altar stood) as to shrink at the first wetting without any pressing. Speedily send me word I pray you, and so with my hearty commendations I end.

Your loving Friend

Winchcombe 12th of Feb. 1616.

John White.

A Copy of this Letter (which this Archbishop stiled a Libell) was soone after found in the Pulpit of Saint Michaels Church, and sent up to the Deanes own hands; who made much stir at Gloucester, and the Court about it, as appears by these three Letters, found in his Study by Master Pryne, and endorsed with his owne hand.

The first is a Letter sent by two of the Prebends to the Now Archbishop when he was Deane of Gloucester, upon this occasion:

Right Worshipfull;

Our dutifull love remembred. Wee have heard somewhat within these two or three dayes, and this day more certainly, of a certaine Libell or scandalous writing found in the Pulpit of Saint Michaells within the Citie of Gloucester upon the 14th of this instant Februarie, about seaven of the Clocke in the morning; when the Parish Clarke there did lay the Pulpit Cloth for Master Prior, who was then to preach: this scandalous writing was taken up by John Wells Curate there, and by Thomas Smith the Clarke, and by them read, and by their meanes divulged, so that all in the Citie well neare doe now speake of it: The effect of the writing was, as we learne, a dislike for the Removing of the Communion Table within our Cathedrall Church, affirming untruly, that it tended to the animating of the Papills, that it favoured of superstition, that it was translated from a Communion Table to an High Altar, and that Worship and obeysance were made unto it: The Libeller marveileth that it is suffered as now it standeth, and that there is not one Elias amongst us to reforme it; Master John Jones one of our Aldermen and Justice of Peace hath examined some of them, and they answer, that they are advised by their Counsell not to confesse the effect of that Libell; if they give not this day a better answer, hee saith his purpose is to binde them over to answer before the Judges at the next Assizes: Master Jones his opinion is, that it is very fit that there bee a Commission speedily procured from His Majesties High Commissioners for the examining of this matter, and directed to some of the Clergie here, and to some Justice of Peace here; provided alwayes that there be none such in that Commission (of what degree or dignitie so ever they be) that favour that schismaticall faction of the Puritans. But now we learne that this Libell was presently delivered by the Curate or Clark unto our now Master Sub-Deane, and therefore we assure our selves you are enformed of it by him and Master Robinson, 5. or 6. dayes before this day. If there be not a speedy course taken for the suppressing of this their malicious and scandalous dealing, it will in short time breed no small inconvenience within this place, &c. Assuredly these zealous people are our Precisians, the number whereof is great in this place. Thus being bold to manifest unto you our love and dutie (as we take it) in this behalfe, We humbly take our leave, with our prayers unto God for Your health and welfare, and rest,

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Your Worships assuredly at

Gloucester Febr 21.

Command,

1616.

Henry Aisgill.

Elias Wrench.

The

The second is a Letter writ by him on this occasion, to the Bishop of Gloucester, to this effect.

My Lord,

MY love and service remembered unto your Lordship: when I came to doe my duty to his Majesty at Christmas, it seemed by the speech he uttered to me, that some body had done the poore Church of Gloucester, no very good office. For his Majesty was graciously pleased to tell me, He was informed, that there was scarce ever a Church in England so ill govern'd, and so much out of order; And withall required me in generall, to reforme and set in order what I there found amisse. Hereupon at my being at Gloucester, I acquainted the Chapter with that which his Majesty had said to me, and required at my hands: And tooke as good order (as in so short a space I could) both for repaire of some parts of the edifice of the Church and for redresse of other things amisse. Among the rest, not rashly and of my selfe, but by a Chapter-Act, I removed the Communion Table from the middle of the Quier to the upper end, the place appointed to it, both by the Injunctions of this Church, and by the practise of all the Kings Majesties Chappells, and all other Cathedrall Churches in the Kingdome which I have seene. This Act since my comming thence (as I am by letters informed) is very much traduced by some in the City, and a libell against it layd in the Pulpit of St. Michaells where Master Subdeane preaches, to the great scandall of the Church and the Lawes established. Good my Lord, let me desire this favour in equity at your Lordships hands, that these things may be ordered, and that your Lordship will joine to reforme such tongues and pennis as know not how to submit to any Law but their owne. I must upon this of force have his gracious Majesty acquainted both with the thing it selfe, and the entertainment which it hath found among turbulent Spirits. And I presume his Majesty will be well pleased to heare, that your Lordship as in other things, so in this is carefull, to preserve order, and peace after it, in the Church. Thus not doubting but your Lordship will be carefull to rectifie what is amisse, I for this time (being full of my businesse for Scotland) humbly take my leave, and shall ever rest.

Saint Johns Feb. 27. 1616.

Your Lordships in all love and service.
WILLIAM LAUD.

The third was a letter writ by him to the Bishop of Lincolne (Dr. Neale) his great Patron, then at Court.

MY humble duty and service remembered unto your Lordship, &c. When I was at London at Christmas to doe my duty unto his Majesty, he was pleased very graciously to tell me, that the Church of Gloucester (as his Majesty had been informed) was more, or as much out of order as any Church in England, and to require me to order such things as I there found amisse; upon this admonition of his gracious Majesty to me, when I came to Gloucester, I passed with the consent of the Chapter two Acts; One for the repaire of the Edifice of the Church, which is extreame decayed in the fairest places. The other for the remove of the Communion Table, which stood almost in the midst of the Quier, and I with the generall consent of all the Prebends present, after the Act made removed it, and plac'd it, as it stands in his Majesties Chappells, and all well ordered Cathedrall Churches, and thus much I signified to your Lordship from Gloucester: since which time there hath beene a letter or Lybell found in a Pulpit of one of the Churches in the City, against both me and that Act, in which the Author (as yet not knowne) wonders that the Prebends would not resist me, and complains, that there was in none of them the spirit of Elias, &c. To prevent further stir in the City, some thinke it very fit that the High Commission would take some speedy order about it, to send a Commission downe, or otherwise, as they in their wisdom thinke fit. The Circumstances because they are many I will omit, and instead of them, I have herein

* This was then a grosse untruth, for it then stood not so in any Cathedral.

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sent your Lordship a Copy of the Libelling letter as it was sent to me, and a Coppy of a letter sent to me subscribed by two of the Prebends, and a Coppy of so much of a letter as concernes this businesse sent by Master Pryor, now Sub-Deane, that so your Lordship may see the whole sum of the busines. Vpon the receipt of these letters, I writ unto my Lord of Gloucester, but what course for redresse of these things his Lordship will take I knowe not. I beseech your Lordship let me have your lawfull assistance, that so long as I do nothing but that which is established and practis'd in our Church, I may not be brought in contempt at my first entrance upon that place, by any turbulent spirits, and so disinabl'd to do that good service which I owe to the Church of God. And if it stand with your Lordships liking, I will humbly desire that his gracious Majesty might know, what successes I have in beginning to reforme, what I found most amisse in that place. In the close of our Sub-Deanes letter, your Lordship shall see a strange Monster lately borne in that City of Gloucester. I pray God the Puritanes, which swarme in those parts, doe not say, it was one of Gods judgments, for turning the Communion Table into an Altar. I would have waited upon your Lordship for all my businesse, and have brought these papers my selfe, but that I am unable at this time by sicknesse to come out of my Chamber. Therefore I take my leave and shall ever rest.

St. Johns Colledge, upon

March 3. 1616.

Your Lordships in all love and duty.

WILLIAM LAVD.

So soone did this Prelate begin to introduce these Popish Innovations into our Cathedralls only at first, against Law, to the great scandall of well affected Protestants, and encouragment of Papists.

In the Yeares 1626. and 1627. Master John Cosens a great acquaintance and Camrade of this Archbishopps, set up a goodly stone Altar (rayled in Altarwise, adorned with Pictures, Candlesticks, Tapers, Basons, Altarcloths having superstitious Images upon them) instead of a Communion Table, & bowed constantly to it; repairing and erecting diverse unlawfull Images (some of Christ Himselfe) in that Cathedrall; where the likewise introduced Copes and Chalice (having Crucifixes and Pictures of the HOLY GHOST upon them,) together with many other Popish trinkets, setting up a multitude of Candles & Tapers in that Church on Candlemasse day, after the Popish manner. Against which Innovations Master Peter Smart, (the ancientest Prebend of that Church) preaching openly in the Cathedrall, and then complaining in Parliament, Anno 1628. after the dissolution of that Parliament, by this Arch-Innovators means (as appeares by sundry Letters concerning this businesse between Dr. Cosens and him found in the Archbishopps Study) he was successively brought into the High Commission Courts, both a Durham, Lambeth, and Torre, for vexation; and at last there most unjustly deprived of all his Ecclesiasticall livings, fined, imprison'd diverse yeares, and his livings conferred upon others by this Arch-Prelats meanes, as his owne Letters manifest. All which particulars having beene lately heard, proved by sundry depositions before the Commons and Lords; and published in *Print to the World by Master Smart himselfe, in his Catalogue of Superstitious Innovations brought into Durham Cathedrall, London 1642. and in his Cantus Epithalamicus) were onely mentioned not insisted on, by the Commons; as were his severall Innovations in the Cathedrall of Pauls, whiles he was Bishop of London as notoriously visible to most, as his very repairing of Pauls, at other mens costs. These Innovations in these 3. Cathedralls were introduced, fomented by him, before his advancement to the Archi-Episcopal Sea of Canterbury, after which hee became more bold and violent, enforcing them by new Injunctions, Statutes, Oathes, upon all or most Cathedralls; of which the ensuing Instances were produced, instead of many more.

* See Master Francis Rouse his printed Speech at the Transmission of Master Smarts cause to the Lords.

Innovations in Canterbury Cathedrall.

No sooner was this active Prelate promoted to the Archbishopricke of Canterbury, but presently he began to pollute the Cathedrall of Canterbury with his popish Innovations; First hee caused an Altar to be there erected by the Deane and Chapter, and much monies to bee expended by them upon Basons, Candlesticks, Altar-

Cloaths,

Cloaths, and other furniture to adorne it, as appears by a Letter written to him from the Deane and Chapter of Canterbury (found in his study by Master Prynn) under their hand and Seale, dated the 4. July 1634. wherein among other things they write thus: *gly. We have obeyed Your Graces directions in pulling down the exorbitant Seates within our Quire, whereby the Church is very much beautified. Lastly, wee most humbly beseech Your Grace to take notice, that many and most necessary have beene the occasions of extraordinary expences this Yeare, FOR ORNAMENTS OF THE ALTAR, &c.*

Christ Church Canterb:
8. July 1634.

Your Graces most humble
SERVANTS,

Isaac Bargrave, John Warner,
Thomas Iackson, Thomas Paske,
Merie Casanson, John Jefferay,
Humfrey Peake, Thomas Blechenden,

After this new Altar was thus erected, and furnished, some of the Prebends and other Officers belonging to this Church, had private instructions given them to bow unto it: but this not sufficing, that this Ceremony might bee there perpetually observed under paine of Perjury, in the Yeare 1634 the Archbishop compiled *New Statutes* for the Government of that Cathedrall; which were sent thither under the Great Seale, with his owne hand subscribed to every leafe, wherein there was this Statute among others, wch the Prebends, Chapter and Officers there were bound by Oath to observe, that they should, *SUMMA REVERENTIA ADORARE DEUM VERSVS ALTARE*: as was manifest by the Statutes themselves; and attested upon Oath by Doctor Thomas Blechenden one of the Prebends there, at the Lords Barre; who confessed hee was sworne to observe all the statutes of that Cathedrall, and this among the rest; that himselve used this kind of Adoration, which he said was practised there before these Statutes.

Doctor Thomas Jackson, the ancientest Prebend of this Cathedrall, witnessed upon Oath, *visa Voce*. That this Archbishop of Canterbury sent downe Statutes to their Cathedrall, subscribed with his owne hand, to the observation of which they were all sworne; that by one of these Statutes they were enjoyned to bow unto the Altar at their comming in, and going out of the Quire, and approaches to the Altar; the words were, that they should *ADORARE VERSVS ALTARE*: That this bowing was there of late constantly practised by the Prebends, among others by himself; wch he hath left since better information it being a great grieve to his soule, & giving much scandall; for which he was heartily sorrowful and desired God to forgive him; That these Statutes were made about seven yeares since, and that before this Archbishops time, there was no such bowing to the Altar used in that Cathedrall.

What a Glorious Altar-Cloth with other furniture was provided for this New Altar of late times by Doctor Brayes (the Archbishops Chaplaine) direction, what Popish Images, Crucifixes, and Reliques of Superstition, were lately standing in Canterbury Cathedrall, till demolished by Order of Parliament (not given in evidence to husband time.) is at large related by Master Culmer, in his *Cathedrall newes from Canterbury*; to which the Reader may repaire for satisfaction.

From Canterbury, we shall next hunt this *Romish Fox* to the Cathedrall of Winchester, where keeping a Visitation in the Yeare 1635. by Sir Nathaniell Brent, his Vicar Generall; he did by his Injunctions under Seale; enioyne them to provide foure Copes, to Rytle in the Communion Table, and place it Altarwise, to bow unto it, and dayly to read the Epistles and Gospells at it: This was attested by Sir Nathaniell Brent himselve; manifested by his owne Injunctions to that Church, and by his Articles proposed to the Colledge of Winchester, produced and read in the Lords House.

The

The Iniunctions were these,

Iniunctiones in Visitatione Metropolitana Reverendissimi in Christo Patris Domini Domini Gulielmi, Providentia divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi totius Angliæ Primatis & Metropolitanæ, tenta in domo Capitulari Ecclesiæ Cathed: Sanctæ Trinitatis Winton. Die veneris decimo nono, viz. die mensis Iunii Anno Domini Millesimo Sexcentesimo Tricesimo quinto, per Venerabilem virum Dominum Nathaniel: Brent, Legum Doctorem ac Militem Vicarium Dicti Reverendissimi Patris in spiritualibus generalem, ac Commissarium specialem in hac parte legitime constitut; in presentia mei Edwardi Cole, senioris Notarii publici, deputat Will. Shereman Notarii publici dicti Domini Archiepiscopi Registrarii, principal Actuarii.

NOTE.

1. **I**nprimis, præfatus Dominus Dominus Commissarius injunxit venerabili viro Johanni Young, Sacra Theologia professori, Decano & Capitulo dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sanctæ Trinitatis, Winton. ad providend: quatuor vestes Sacerdotales, Anglice, FOVRE COPEs, viz. Duas eorum hoc Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo Tricesimo quinto, & alias duas vestes sacerdotales proximo Anno sequenti: viz. millesimo sexcentesimo Tricesimo sexto.

2. Item Dominus injunxit, venerabili Decano & Prebendarijs, omnibusque & singulis alijs quibuscunque, ob maiorem reverentiam in ingressu ad chorum & egressu genu-flectere & constanter stare tempore lectionis symbolorum.

3. Item Dominus injunxit, quod nullus dicti Chori præsumat legere Epistolas sive Evangelium, nisi prius sit in sacris ordinibus constitutus; dictasque Epistolas & Evangelium indies legendum fore ad sacram Mensam Eucharistiæ.

4. Item Dominus injunxit præfato Decano & Capitulo, quod majoribus festis & sollemnibus ipse Decanus & Prebendarij seriatim in personis suis proprijs sacra peragant, dictasque Epistolas & Evangelium perlegant ad sacram Mensam Eucharistiæ prædictæ.

Innovations
in Litchfield
Cathedrall.

In this Cathedrall these Iniunctions were not only obeyed, Copes provided, an Altar with all Popish furniture erected, bowed to, and second service read thereat, but likewise a large naked Crucifixe set up over it, to the great scandall of many, by Doctor Lewis Master of Saint Crosse, and a Prebend there, the Arch-Prelates Minion and Creature. The like was done at the Cathedrall at Litchfield, where a very large Crucifixe, with a Picture of Christ on it almost as big as a Giant, was hanged over the High-Altar, with the Pictures of men and women kneeling down before it, and praying to it: attested by Master Prynne, for speaking and writing against which most scandalous Idoll, the Lady Davis was committed to prison divers yeares, and ordered to be sent to Bedlam.

Innovations
at Hereford.

In 12. Carols new Statutes made by the Archbishop of Canterbury subscribed with his owne hand in every page were sent downe by him under the Kings broad seale, to the Cathedrall Church at Hereford to be there sworne to and observed, which enjoyned these following Ceremonies, not required by the old Statutes, nor there practised till the receiving of these new ones, and then strictly put in use.

1. Every Residentiary is bound to officiate twice every yeare himselfe under the paine of paying 40s. to bee layd out upon the Ornaments of the Church: Cap. 7. qui vero.

2. That they shall officiate on Sundayes and Holydayes in their Copes Cap. eodem præcipue.

3. That they are to stand up at the Creeds, and the Gospell, and doxologies, and to bow so often as the name of Jesus is mentioned, and that no man bee covered in the Church, cap. eodem, Litania.

4. That

4. That every one is to bow *versus Altare*, Cap. *codem*, *singuli vero*.

5. Prayer before Sermons injoyed according to the 55th. Can. Cap. 9. *Hinc autem*.

The like Statutes were sent to most other Cathedralls, and put in practise with al diligence by this Archbishops meanes.

What Innovations were made in the Cathedrall Church of Worcester, and by whom, will appeare by this accompt of Doctor *Mannering*, Dean thereof, under his hand, given to the Archbishop, of the alterations there made, endorsed with the Arch-Bishops owne hand thus, *Recepi September 24. 1635. Concerning the Church of Worcester; from Doctor Mannering Deane there; and his SERVICES done there, (found in his study, and attested by Master Prynnne.)*

1635. An accompt given of what service the Deane of Worcester, did at his Maiesties Cathedrall there, what time he first came thither, in NOVEMBER last, 1634.

1. AN Altar-stone of Marbell erected and set upon foure Columnes.

2. The wall behind the Altar, covered with Azure coloured stuffe with a white filke lace downe each seame.

3. The Altar it selfe adorned with a pall, an upper, and lower front.

5. A perfect Inventory taken of all Ornaments, Vestments and implements of the Church, as well sacra, as focalia.

Divers vestments and other Ornaments of the Church, as Copes, Carpets, and fronts, being turned into Players Capps, Coates, and imployed to that use by the direction of Mr. Nath. Tompkins, I caused to be burned, and the Silver extracted put into the Treasurie of the Church.

14. The Kings Schollers being 40. usually coming tumultuously into the Choro, ordered to come in bimatum, and to doe reverence towards the Altar.

Moreover the Archbishop in his Injunctions to the Dean & Chapter of the Cathedrall Church of Chichester, made in his Metropolitall Visitation there, An. 1635. orders thus in his 6. Injunction; Item, That you provide Copes fitting for the service of your Cathedrall, by one a year, untill you be sufficiently furnished with them, as was proved by the Injunctions found in his own Study, attested by Mr. Prynnne, an Altar with all its furniture and adorations towards it, being there likewise provided and used.

The like Innovations were introduced and prescribed by his Injunctions, and new statutes in all or most Cathedralls in England and Wales, to the great rejoycing of the Popish Party, and scandall of all true zealous Protestants, and any default in them was reputed a crime presentable, as appeared by this Passage of an Abstract of the Abuses in the Diocesse of Lincolne, 1634. in my Metropolitall visitation, endorsed with the Archbishops hand and found in his Study, Linc olne August 9. 1634. The Communion Table is not very decent, and the Raile before it is worse: the Organs old and naught, The Copes and Vestments are embeselled, and none remaine, &c. And in another Abstract concerning his Metropolitall Visitation in other Diocesses, & particulars concerning the same, indorsed likewise with his own hand, there are these passages. Norwich, the hangings of the Quire are naught, the Copes are fair, but want mending. In the Cathedrall as Worcester they have no Copes, but are ordered to buy some before the feast of the Annuntiation. In the Cathedrall at Gloucelter many things amisse. No Copes &c. in Winchester Cathedrall they have no Copes: some do not bow when they come into the Quire, nor at the blessed name of Iesus. Litchfield, the furniture of the Altar &c. very meane; Therefore care must be taken for more costly furniture.

Whence this Archbishop took his Commission and preffident for adorning our Cathedrall and Colleegeat Churches thus above others with these Romish Ornaments, & superstitious Innovations, which in truth defiled them, is worthy our speciall observation, it being in taken from the very Roman Ceremoniall set forth & reformed by

NOTE.

NOTE.

the Command of Pope Clement the 8. lib. 1. cap. 12. *De ornatu Ecclesie*, p. 64. which prescribes thus: *Sic MAJOR ETIAM (VRA adhibenda erit IN ORNATU ECCLESIAE CATHEDRALIS, AVI COLLEGJATÆ, qua & numerosum clorum habeat, & suppellectilem amplam, que congruè situata, & suis partibus aptè distincta COMMODOREM ORNANDI PRAEBEAT FACULTATEM*: after which it prescribes *Altars, Altar-clothes, Candlestickes, Tapers, Crucifixes, Images, Copes, Rich hangings for the Altar and Quire, with Images of Christ, our Lady, and Saints; bowing to the Altar and Crucifix; and that all Altars should have at least two Candlestickes with Tapers, and a Crosse of Silver, or of some other mettall placed on the midst of the Altar, with the Image of Christ crucified on it, as you may there read at large.*

This Arch Prelate not content to propagate these Innovations in England, like an Univerfall Patriarch over all his Majesties Realms, endeavoured the introducing of them with an high hand into all the Cathedralls, Churches and Chappells in Ireland, by the then Lord Deputy *Wentworthes* power, (his great Creature) of which we shall give you this briefe accompt.

Dr. *Bramhall* Chaplaine to this Lord Deputy, by his Command, *August 10. 1633.* sent over an Account of the state of the Church of Ireland to this Prelate, as he found it, and what Alterations hee had already made in it (seized in the Archbishops study by Mr. *Pryne*) wherein are these observable clauies.

NOTE. Right Reverend Father, *My* most honoured Lord, presuming partly upon your licence, but especially directed by my Lord Deputies commandes, I am to give your Father-hood a briefe account of the present state of the poore Church of Ireland, such as our short Intelligence here, and your Lordships weightier employments there will permit, &c. In Christ Church, the principall Church in Ireland, whither the Lord Deputy and Councell repaire every Sunday, the Table used for administration of the blessed Sacrament in the MIDST OF THE QVIRE, is made an ordinary seat for Maidens, and Appren tices. I cannot omitte the glorious Tombe in the other Cathedrall Church of saint Patrike in the proper place of the Altar, just opposite to his Majesties seat, having his Fathers name subscribed upon it, as if it were contrived on purpose to gaine that worship and reverence which the Chapter and whole Church are bound by speciall statute to give towards the East, and either the soyle it selfe, or a Licence to build, and bury, and make a Vault, in the place of the Altar, under Sealetant, which is tantamount, is passed to the Earle and his heires (*Credimus esse Deos.*) This being the case in Dublin, your Lordship will Judge what we may expect in the Country.

NOTE.

The Earle of Corke holdes the whole Bishopricke of Lismore, at the Rate of fortie shillings or five markes by the yeare.

NOTE.

For the remedying of these evils, next to God and his sacred Majesty, I know my Lord depends upon your Fatherhoods wisdom and zeale for the Church; my duty binds me to pray for a blessing upon both your good endeavours: for the present, my Lord hath pulled down the Deputies seat in his owne Chapell, and restored the Altar to its ancient place, which was thrust out of doores, the like is done in Christs Church.

This testimony I must give of his care, that it is not possible for the intentions of a mortall man, to be more serious and sincere then his, in those things that concerne the good of this poore Church.

* **NOTE.**

Dublin Castle, Aug. 10.

1643.

Your Lordships * daily Beadsman
and devoted servant.

John Bramhall.

Upon this Information, the Archbishop signified his dislike of erecting this Monument by the Earle of Corke, in the place where the *High Altar* (as was misinformed) anciently stood, and gave some directions for removing it: Whereupon the Earle of Corke, and Archbishop of Dublin writ these ensuing Letters to satisfy his Grace

Grace in this particular, (which were seconded with other Letters from *Archbishop Vsher*, and the Deane and Prebends of Saint *Patrickes* Church, to like effect, over- tedious to recite.)

My Gracious Lord.

I Vnderstand that upon suggestions made unto your Grace, you conceive that a Tombe which I have lately caused to be erected in Saint *Patrickes* Church neere Dublin, is prejudiciall to the lights of the Chancell, and seated in the place where the *High Altar stood*; And as I have alwayes by my best desires and actions endeavoured to invett my selfe in your Graces good opinion, and have not willingly done any act that might prejudice me therein; So in this particular I make humbly bold to deliver my justification to your Grace as followeth, which I beseech you take into your Religious consideration, and vouchsafe me such a favourable resolution, as the meritts of the cause requireth.

NOTE.

It is so that Doctor *Robert Weston*, sometimes one of the Lords Justices for the Government of *Ireland*, and Lord Chancellor of the same Realme, Grandfather to my deceased Wife and great Vncle to the now Lord Treasurer of *England*, whose memory yet lives by being stiled the good Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, was buried in the upper end of the Chancell in Saint *Patrickes* Church, whose Daughter Sir *Jefferrey Fenton* married, he having beene principall Secretary of State to *Queen Elizabeth* and King *James* for many yeares, and lived and died in great honour, whose onely Daughter I tooke to Wife, and hee was buryed in the same grave; My Wife drawing towards her end, made her last request unto me, that her Grandfather, her Father, and her selfe might be buried together, and that I would be at the charge to erect some Monument in memoriall of them all; Whereupon in accomplishment of her dying desire, who was the Mother of my fiftene Children, I propounded unto the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, and to the Deane and Chapter of Saint *Patrickes*, to purchase a place where I might erect a Tombe over them. And they assigned me the ground under an Arch to make a Sellar or Vault in, to receive dead bodies, and three foote of the Chancell adjoyning to the Grave where the Lord Chancellor, and Sir *Jefferrey Fenton* had beene buried, for which I payd them a Fyne, with Rent and other reservations towards the reparation of the Church, and by their unanimous consent, have a Deed in due forme of Law, perfected under their Chapter Seale, and so being by generall consent legally interested therein, I made a Vault of hewed stone under ground, with conveighances therein, to free the Church from the waters, with which floods, and great raynes it was before often anoyed withall, and where there was then but an earthen flower at the upper end of the Chancell, which was often overflowne, I raysed the same three steps higher, making the Staires of hewen stone, and paving the same through out of the same, whereon the Communion Table now stands very dry and gracefully. In that Sellar I have placed the Corps of my Wives Grandfather, her Father, and her selfe with a Daughter of mine since deceased, that was married to the Lord *Digbie*, and over the Vault I have caused a Tombe of foure storyes to be erected, which reacheth two and thirtie foot from the ground, which hath cost me a thousand pounds at the least, and is the greatest ornament and beautie to that Church that ever was placed therein, that being seated under an Arch, that in former time was only a passage into the Saint *Mary* Chappell, at the East end of which Chappell the high Altar stood; and when that Chappell (which hath two other wayes into it, the one on the right hand, the other on the left) fell into ruine, that Arch wherein the Tombe is placed to keepe the winde and weather out of the Chancell, was made up with slight timber and lathes and plaistred with Clay white lymed over, whereon the Commandements were lately written. It is three yeares since this my worke was finished, and neither during the time of the worke, nor since, till now of late, did I ever heare of any mouth opened against it, but many commendations of it, as a great beautie and ornament to that Chancell, neither

NOTE.

doth it take away, or hide any of the lights of the Chancell, for they are all above this Fabricke, Neither is there any remembrance, nor can the oldest man living say, that there ever was any Altar placed neere this passage; Yet of late it hath pleased my honourable Lord, the Lord Deputy, to command me to give Your Grace satisfaction herein, or else to declare, that the Tombe must be defaced, which to have done, would bee the greatest dishonour and affliction that could bee layed upon me. And the more, for that before I heard any thing of Your Graces distast thereof, I had in the presence of the Lord Prymate, given order to the Deane at my ovvne charges for a stately Skrene to be erected within the Quire, and upon the pavement railed by my selfe, upon which the tenne Commandements are to bee engraven, to the great beautifying of Gods House; Vpon that notice from the Lord Deputy, I made suite to the Lord Prymate, and the Lord Archbishop of Dublin to view the place, which they vouchsafed together with the Deane and Chapter to doe, And doe humbly offer to your Grace their opinions herein, which I beseech Your pious consideration of, and that you will be pleased to returne me such an answer, as may encourage me to proceed herein, and in other like building and charitable workes, wherein I spend a great part of my estate and time, as all that know me and my actions, can testifie. The great God of Heaven bleesse Your Grace with a long and happie life in this world, and everlasting glory in the world to come, vvhich is, and ever shall be the prayer of

Dublin 20. Febr. 1633.

Your Graces
most humble and faithfull Servant,
R. Corke.

May it please Your Grace;

NOTE.

Vnderstanding from the Earle of Corke, that Your Grace hath intimated unto the Right Honourable the Lord Deputie, your offence taken against a Tombe, lately built by his Lordship in the quire of Saint Patrikes Church neere this Citie of Dublin, being informed that it should be situate in the place, where the High Altar anciently stood, and that it should darken the East Window of the Quire: upon his Lordships earnest request unto mee, I have made bold to declare unto your Grace my knowledge thereof: which is, that the place where the Tombe is erected, is a spacious Arch, which in former times, as I conceive, served for a passage into the Marie Chappell adjoyning, at the East end vvhereof the High Altar stood. This Arch was closed up and plastered, to keepe the winde, as I imagine, out of the Quire, Saint Marie Chapell being somevvhat decayed: upon the plaistering the Decalogue was fairely painted: these vv ere done before my promotion to this See, or coming into this Kingdome. The windowes, which were of old somevvhat high over the Arch, are no way darkened by his Lordships monument, but remaine as they were formerly; and the monument is so wrought and contrived what in the Arch and the Wall, that vvith the grate before it, it doth not much diminish the length of the Quire. The Earle hath raised that end of the Quire three steppes higher then it vvas, and hath paved it with faire heven stones, being formerly a floore of earth, many times upon a fresh drovvned vvith water, where novv the Communion Table is placed vvith more decency then in former times: And his Lordship is in hand to set up a faire skrine of timber, somewhat distant from the monument, so that it may take in some other monuments heretofore erected on either side; in the which skrine the Decalogue shal be fairely painted, and the Communion Table shall bee placed close to the same, more decently then it hath beene: which being performed, the Quire will be much beautified, and the celebration of divine service for sight and audience better accommodated then heretofore; That Quire, (to omit the example of Christ Church, the other Cathedral Church in this Citie, and of Saint Pauls in London, if I bee not mistaken)

repre-

representing in a lesser modell the patterne of *Westminster Abbey*, where there is a skrine enclosing some monuments, and a way on each hand to the Chappell adjoining. Your Grace may bee pleased also to understand, that the Earle obtained Licence to erect his Monument in that place by the unanimous consent of the Deane and Chapter of that Church; and that they are Honourable personages whose memory is preserved in that monument, the one being Lord Iustice, and Lord Chancellour of this Kingdome, the other principall Secretary of State, both Antecessors to his most pious and Verruous Lady lately deceased. And finally, Your Grace is intreated to take into Your consideration the meritts of this Noble Earle, his zeale for the advancement of true Religion, declared by his suppressing forreign jurisdictions and presumptions, by building of Churches in severall places, and erecting Schoole-houses, and Almshouses at his owne charge, besides his publike workes for the common-Wealth, raising structures of great strength and expence in places of importance, and planting of English Colonies, to the great security and settlement of Peace and civility within those parts; all which considered hee may be justly deemed worthy of Honourable memory in the Church. Thus much, by opening the truth, I have written at the Earles request, who is exceeding desirous to purge himselfe to Your Grace from giving any scandall to the Church, whereupon he hopeth to gaine Your Graces approbation of his blamelesse carriage, which I also humbly beseech on his behalfe, ever remaining,

NOTE.

Tallach 17. Feb: 1633.

To doe Your Grace
Service

La: *Dubline.*

To whith Letter of the Archbishop of *Dublin*, this Arch-Prelate returned this waspish insolent answer, writ with Master *Dells*, but endorsed with his owne hand, found in his Study with the former Originals, in the very beginning whereof you may discern his most palpable dissimulation and falshood.

S. in Christo:

My very good Lord;

IT is most true, that I have taken offence at a Tombe erected by the Earle of *Corke*, in the Cathedrall of Saint *Patrick*, but I did not take that Offence * lately onely, but before ever my Lord Deputy that now is, was named to the place, And I took that offence by a complaint thence sent unto me (for I was never there) though I cannot recall who it was that complained. And I am sure the complaint came then unto mee with a full cry, that it was built in the place whete the *High-Altar* first stood, and the *Communion Table* afterwards.

* A notorious untruth of an Arch-Prelate.

NOTE.

Your Lordship at the Earles entreaty hath signified to me your knowledge (for so you say) that the Tombe stands in a great Arch at the end of the Quire, which was plaistered up to keepe out the Winde, and that the High Altar stood at the end of the Lady *Maries* Chappell, which is beyond it, and that the East Window is at the top of the Arch, and not darkened. My Lord it will be hard for mee to speake any thing contrary to Your Lordship, who hath beene so often upon that place where I never was; yet I shall deale freely, and tell Your Lordship what I thinke.

And first my Lord, I am satisfied that the Tombe darkens none of the East-Window. But I am no way satisfied that the Altar stood at the upper end of the Lady *Maries* Chappell. That an Altar stood there I easily grant, for in those times, there were diverse Altars in one Cathedrall, and every by Chappell had one at least. But that the High-Altar did ever stand in any Cathedrall in other place then the East end of the Quire, is quite out of my knowledge, nor did I ever heare it till now by Your Lordships Letters.

NOTE.

That the place before the Arch was an earthen Floore, and often troubled with a
fresh.

‘fresh, I doe againe really believe Your Lordship. And the Earle hath done very
 ‘well to raise it, and pave it with stone. But that the swelling of the Tombe: The
 ‘Iron Grate before it: The taking in of some ancient Monuments on either side:
 ‘The erecting of a Skrine, before which you say the Communion Table should stand,
 ‘would take off little or no Roome from the Quire; that I must confesse, I doe not
 ‘very well understand.

‘Your Lordship addes, that when the Skrine is built, and the Communion Table
 ‘placed before it, it will much beautifie the Quire, and be like other Cathedralls. To
 ‘that I can say nothing, but must leave it to their eye-sight and judgement that are
 ‘upon the place. And whereas Your Lordship sayes that my Lord had leave of the
 ‘Deane and Chapter, *with their unanimous consent to erect a Monument in that place,*
if the place be fit for a Monument; the consent was very well askt, and given. But if
it appeare the place were inconvenient, then my Lord of Corke did not very well to aske
a consent, and the Deane and Chapter did very ill to grant it; and the more unani-
 ‘mous the consent was, the worse. And whereas you write that there are other Ho-
 ‘nourable Personages whose memory is preserved in that Monument; to that I say,
 ‘if the Monument stand where it ought. God forbid it should be toucht. If it stand
 ‘where it ought not, it may be fairely and decently removed, and set up in some con-
 ‘venient place upon the side of the Quire, or elsewhere, where it will as well pre-
 ‘serve the memory of those Honourable Personages which you mention, as now it
 ‘doth. And God forbid any violence should be offered to that, in any kinde.

‘And last of all, whereas Your Lordship desires I should take into consideration
 ‘the merits of that Noble Earle, I am very willing to doe that. And first I am very
 ‘glad to heare from Your Lordship his zeale for the advancement of true Religion:
 ‘but I may not conceale from Your Lordship, that I have likewise heard from others
 ‘and that some yeares since, that hee hath gotten into his hands no small proportion of
 ‘the Churches meanes. And if that be so, any man may see his end in advancing true
 Religion. But such a Zeale that poore Church hath little need of, and God blesse every
 part of the Church from it. As for his Lordships building of Churches, Schooles, and
 Hospitalls, I know nothing of that, and can say as little to it. Only this I can say, that
 if he take from the Church in one place, to build Church, Schoole, or Hospitall in ano-
 ther, tis no zeale, nor the way which Christian bounty uses to tread. And if his Lord-
 ‘ship hath done any Publike worke for strength and fortification to the Kingdom, I
 ‘pray God that bee not done with the Churches money too. But howsoever his
 ‘Lordship hath got a very full estate in that Kingdome, and hee doth very wisely to
 ‘fortifie it as well as hee can. But besides these I have long since heard, though you
 ‘now mention it not, that his Lordship hath done greater service to the Church in
 ‘some other particulars, as namely to the Bishoprick of *Lismore*, and the Colledge of
 ‘*Yong-Hall*, for which it is great pity, but that his Lordships memory, should bee
 ‘preserved in the Church.

‘Thus I have given Your Grace a distinct answer to all the Particulars in Your
 ‘Letter. But for the Tombe which occasioned all the rest, I will not take upon mee
 ‘to judge (unlesse I were upon the place) how fitly, or unfitly it stands there, but
 ‘shall wholly leave it to the view, and resolution which shall thereupon bee taken in
 ‘that place. So I leave you to the Grace of God, and rest,

Lamb. March. 1633.

Your Lordships very loving friend

and Brother.

Will: Cant.

But some may perchance inquire, what was the ground of this Archbishops in-
 troduction of these Innovations first of all into Cathedrall Churches? Certainly
 one principall cause of this his method was to make these *Mother Churches* (as he
 stiled them) patternes of imitation for all *Daughter Churches and Chapells* within the
 whole

the whole Diocesse, that so the Proverbe in *Ezech. 16.v. 44 45.* might be verified of them: Behold every one that useth Proverbes shall use this Proverbe against thee, saying, AS IS THE MOTHER, SO IS HER DAUGHTER: Thou art thy Mothers Daughter.

That this was one chiefe end of his, to corrupt all Parish Churches and Chappells by these Cathedralls examples; was infallibly manifested; First by the very words of the Order, made at the Councell Table at White Hall the third of November, 1633 concerning the standing of the Communion Table in Saint *Gregories Church* neere *Paules*, printed in Dr. *Heylins*, Coale from the Altar, and in his *Antidotum Lincolnense*. Sect. i. c. 2. p. 62. (which order was thus printed by the Archbishops direction, the chiefe stickler in the procuring and prime Clerke in the penning of it;) wherein it is positively resolved; That all other Churches ought to be guided by the Cathedrall Mother Church, whereon they depend, and that the Communion Table in Saint *Gregories Church*, removed from the middle of the Chancell to the upper end, and there placed Altar-wise, in such manner as it standeth in the Cathedrall and Mother Church of St. * Doctor Hey-
Paul, should so continue, that so there might be no difference betweene it and the *lyn Antido-
tum Lincoln-
ense: pag. 37.
39. 65. &c.*
Secondly, by diverse bookes published in print by the Arch-Bishops speciall direction and app'obation, expressly averring * That all
Parochiall Churches ought to be guided by the patterne of the Mother Church, upon the
which they doe depend: The Arch-Bishop himselfe in his discourses, and these crea-
tures of his in their Bookes, applying and urging this leaden rule of theirs in parti-
cular, for the rayling in of Communion Tables, placing them Altarwise against
the East end of the Quire, and bowing unto them, in all Parish Churches, because
this was done and practised in all Cathedrall Churches, by vertue of his New Sta-
tutes and Injunctions, though not in former times.

This foundation being layd in our Cathedralls, for the like Popish Innovations, in all Parochiall Churches, wee shall in the next place prosecute this pursuie of his Innovations, from our Cathedralls to Parochiall Churches and Chappells. Wee shall begin with Saint *Gregories Church* neare *Paules*; where the case was thus:

About tenne yeares since, this Church was repaired by the Parishoners to their great cost, at which time the *Deane* and *Chapter* of *Pauls* under whose jurisdic-
tion it is caused the Picture of Saint *Gregory* to bee set up in the Church, and the
Communion Table to bee removed, rayled about and set Altarwise against the
East-end of the Chancell, Whereupon Master *Wyan*, and diverse of the Parishio-
ners being offended at it, appealed from the Deans and Chapters Order, as being a-
gainst Law, to the Arches; upon which by the Archbishops means, an Order came
from Secretary *Windebank*, to call the Parishioners to the Councell Table concern-
ing this Appeale & the removing of the Table; where they appeared at the appoin-
ted time with their Councell: The King himselfe, the Arch-Bishop and many of
the Lords were then present, where the businesse being debated before them, the
Archbishop stood up, and with great earnestnesse (more like an Advocate then
Judge) justified, maintained this removing and rayling in the Table, reading
Queene *Elizabeths Injunctions* to warrant it; but left out this most materiall clause,
that made quite against him: Saving when the Communion of the Sacrament is to be
administred: at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the Chancell
as whereby the Minister may bee more conveniently heard of the Communicants, in his
prayer and ministrations, and the Communicants also more conveniently, and in greater
number communicate with the said Minister, And after the Communion done, from
time to time, the said holy Table to be placed where it stood before, The King said, hee
liked it well, that the Table should stand as it used to do heretofore: to which the
Archbishop answered, that if it stood so, the Minister could not so well see who
kneeled at the Sacrament, and who kneeled not: To which the King replied, then
let the seates bee pulled downe, Then the Councell for the Parish alleadged, that
Bishop *Jewell* in his Reply to *Harding*, Artic. 3. Divis. 26. and Artic. 13. Divis. 6.
and Master *John Fox* in his *Acts and Monuments*, Edit. 1610. pag. 1211. 1212.
(both

his Coale from
the Altar, p. 26
27. with Pock-
lington, Dow,
Reeve, Shel-
ford, Bishop
Pierce and o-
thers.
Innovations in
Parish Chur-
ches & Chap-
pells.
The case of St.
Gregories
Church.

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(both which Books were enjoined to be kept in every Church for the people to read in, as containing the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and nought repugnant thereunto) maintained and asserted, *That the Communion Table ought to stand in the MIDST OF THE CHVRCH AMONG THE PEOPLE, and not Altar-wise against the wall.* Hereupon the Archbishop stood up in an angry manner, and sayd, *If this be the use they make of these Books Jewell & Fox, I desire they may be taken out of Churches;* and Sir Henry Martin saying merrily, that this Table placed close along the wall, *would make a good Court-cupboord:* The Archbishop therupon replied, *that Sir Henry was a stigmaticall Puritan in his bosome.* All which particulars were proved upon oath by Master Wyan, Mr. Clearke, and Captain Stackhouse. Whereupon by the Archbishops violence this Order was then made against the Parishioners for the standing of that Table *Altar-wise*, as it was situated by the Deanes and Chapters Order and appointment.

At Whitehall the third day of Novemb: 1633.
Present, the KINGS most Excellent Maiestie.

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,	Earle of Carlile,
Lord Keeper,	Lord Cottington,
Lord Archbishop of Yorke,	Master Treasurer,
Lord Treasurer,	Master Comptroller,
Lord Privy Seale,	Lord High Chamberlain,
Lord Duke of Lenox,	Earle Marshall,
Lord Chamberlaine,	Master Secretary Cooke,
Earle of Bridgwater,	Master Secretary Windebanke.

NOTE.

THis Day was Debated before His Majesty sitting in Councell, the question and difference which grew about the removing of the Communion Table in St. Gregories Church, neere the Cathedrall Church of St. Paul, from the middle of the Chancell to the upper end, and there placed Altar-wise, in such manner as it standeth in the said Cathedrall and Mother Church (as also in all other Cathedralls, and in His Majesties own Chappell) and as it is consonant to the practise of approved Antiquity: which removall and placing of it in that sort, was done by order from the Deane and Chapter of St. Pauls, who are Ordinaries thereof, as was avowed before His Majesty by Doctor King, and Doctor Montfort, two of the Prebends there; yet some few of the Parishioners, being but five in number, did complaine of this Act, by Appeale to the Court of Arches, pretending, that the Booke of Common Prayer, and the 82 Canon, do give permission to place the Communion Table where it may stand with most fitnesse and conveniencie. Now His Majesty having heard a

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particular Relation made by the Counsell of both parties, of all the carriage and proceedings in this Cause, was pleased to declare His dislike of all Innovation and receding from ancient Constitutions, grounded upon just and warrantable Reasons, especially in matters concerning Ecclesiasticall order and Government, knowing how easily men are drawne to affect Novelties, and how soone weake judgments in such cases may be overtaken and abused. And He was also pleased to observe, that if these few Parishioners might have their wills, the difference thereby from the foresaid Cathedrall Mother Church, by which all other Churches depending thereon, ought to be guided, would be the more notorious, and give more subject of Discourse and Disputes that might be spared, by reason of S. Gregories standing close to the wall thereof. And likewise for so much as concerns the liberty given by the sayd Communion Book or Canon, for placing the Communion Table in any Church or Chappell with most conveniency; that liberty is not so to be understood, as if it were ever left to the discretion of the Parish, much lesse to the particular phansie of any humorous

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humorous Person, but to the Judgment of the Ordinary to whose place and function it doth properly belong to give direction in that point, both for the thing itselfe, and for the time, when and how long, as he may finde cause. Vpon which consideration his Majesty declared himselfe, *That he well approved and confirmed the Act, of the said Ordinary, and also gave Command that if those few Perishioners before mentioned, doe proceed in their said Appeale, then the Deane of the Arches (who was then attending at the hearing of the caule) shall confirme the said Order of the aforesaid Deane and Chapter.*

This Order being thus obtained, and afterwards published in Print by Doctor Heylyn in his *Coale from the Altar, and Antidotum Lincolnense*; the designe of removing, rayling in and turning Communion Tables into Altars in Parochiall Churches, Chappells, was much promoted by colour of it, & of the reason of conformity to Cathedrall Mother Churches expressed in it: And to hasten this worke the more (to which the people and Church-wardens in many places were very averse) the Archbishop being to keep a Metropolitick Visitation in all Diocesses and places exempt, and not exempt with in the Province of Canterbury, by Sir Nathaniell Brent his Vicar Generall & others his Commissioners, though he made no mention in his printed Visitation Articles of removing and rayling in Communion Tables Altarwise, to avoyd the peoples clamours against him, yet hee writ a private Letter to Sir Nathaniell Brent after his departure hence, to enioyne him to remove and raile in the Communion Tables in all Parish Churches, and gave him order to see it executed. With which practise the Archbishop being charged at the Lords Barre by Serjeant Wilde, who managed this part of the evidence; he peremptorily denied it, and protested solemnly before the Lords, that he never gave Sir Nathaniell Brent any such order or directions by letter or otherwise; and that he could prove by sufficient testimonies, Sir Nathaniell had openly acknowledged, that this Alteration was made by Sir Nath. himselfe of his own head, without any order from him; adding that he could not be so unworthy as to deny it. Whereupon he desired Sir Nath. might be called to testify the truth upon his Oath: who appearing at the Lords Bar for this purpose, the Archbishop demanded of him; whether ever hee gave him any command or direction, by word or writing in his Metropolitick Visitation, to remove or raile in Communion Tables at the East end of the Chauncell, telling him, hee was now upon his Oath, and wishing him to speake nothing but the truth herein: whereunto Sir Nathaniell answered: My Lords upon the Oath I have taken, I received an expresse direction & command from the Archbishop himselfe to do what ever I did in this or any other kind, else I durst not have don it; To which the Archbishop confidently replied; My Lords, I protest I never gave him any such command or directions, & I wonder Sir Nathaniell dares be so bold & unworthy as to affirm it here upon Oath, since I can prove he hath formerly denied it: To which Sir Nathaniell replied: My Lords, since the Archbishop so confidently denies that he ever gave me any such command and directions, I shall humbly desire that this Letter of his sent unto me when I was visiting at *Maidston in Kent*, signed with his own hand, may be read; which will end the controversie, and manifest by whose Authority and command I did it; whereupon a Letter under the Arch Bishops owne hand, directed to Sir Nathaniell was delivered to the Clarke and openly read, to the Arch-Bishops great shame, and disparagment of all his Protestations, which after this (& some other passages wherein he was taken tripping in like manner) were reputed meere vamping impostures, to delude the vulgar, voyd of truth and credit. The Letter was to this effect. *Sir, I require you to command the Communion Table at Maidston to be placed at the East or upper end of the Chauncell, and there railed in; and that the Communicants there shall come up to the Raile, to receive the blessed Sacrament, and the like you are required to doe in all Churches; in all other places where you are to visit Metropolitically, &c.* *W. Cant.*

This letter being read, much daunted, discredited the Arch-Bishop in the opinion of all the Auditors, he having nothing to reply, but that he had forgotten he writ

him any such letter. Vpon the receipt whereof Sir Nathaniell Brent confessed he did give order throughout his Metropolitall Visitation, that all the Communion Tables should be removed, and railed in at the upper end of the Chauncell in all Parish Churches, and all seates above the Table, or equall with it in any Chancell pulled downe, and that the Communicants should goe up to the Raile and there receive the Sacrament kneeling; which he pressed as sparingly as he might, it being against his owne judgment; and thereupon obedience was yeelded in most places, and such as refused to Raile in their Tables, were questioned and proceeded against by others, but as for himselfe he never troubled any for it.

That the Archbishop himselfe gave both command and approbation for these Innovations, was proved by this ensuing Petition, to which an Answer was underwritten by Master Dell, subscribed with the Archbishops owne hand, found among Sir John Lambes sequestred Papers, by Master Prynn.

To the right Reverend Father in God *William*
Lord Archbishop of Cant. his Grace, Primate of all
England and Metropolitan.

The Petition of *Philip Davies Clerke, Henry Demery, and Abraham Cobb*, Churchwardens of the Parish Church of *Hill*, alias *Hull*, in the Dioces of *Glocester*.

Humbly sheweth,

NOTE.

THat your Petitioners in obedience to your Graces special directions in your Graces Metropolitan Visitation, did take care and order for the raising of the Chancell and Rayling in the High Altar or Communion Table in the said Church, for the doing of which with the necessary beautifying of the said Church, there were divers rates made by the Churchwardens for the time being, and major part of the Inhabitants of that Church for to defray the Charge thereof. In which Assesments one Henry Heathfield who was, and is commonly reputed and taken to be of that Parish, was rated after the usuall manner as he and his Predecessors had alwayes bene, his divers rates amounting to 28. shillings six pence. To avoyd the payment of which, the said Henry Heathfield appealed to your Graces Court of the Arches, where the cause hath depended for these eleven Monethes last past, to your Petitioners great Charge and hinderance.

May it therefore please your Grace (for the better encouragement of your Petitioners in performing your Graces Commands, which we have hitherto done in preserving the decency and ornaments of the said Church as much as in us lyes) to give order, that the said Cause may be speedily determined, and that your Petitioners may not be unnecessarily vexed and molested for endeavouring to performe what in your Graces Visitation was publikely enjoyned; but so farre as truth shall appeare, we may shroud our selves under your Graces Protection.

And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

I desire Sir John Lambe, in case he finde the Suggestions true, to take care that this Cause may come to hearing with all convenient speed possible.

Febr. 9. 1637.

W. CANT.

By answering of which Petition, the Archbishop acknowledgeth, that the rayling in of Communion Tables, and imposing illegall Rates for the same, was done by HIS GRACES SPECIALL DIRECTION in his Metropolitall Visitation; and thereupon he thus desired Sir John Lambe, to expedite the hearing of the Cause; yet he had so Little Grace as openly to deny it with solemn protestations: The falsity whereof was further evidenced by this Copy of Injunctions given in his Metropolitall Visitation to the Cathedrall Church of *Winchester*, 19. July An. 1635.

by

by Sir Nathaniell Brent his Vicar Generall; found in his owne Study at Lambeth, (io as he could not be ignorant of them) & attested by Master Prynn; the latt where- of was this. *Deinde Dominus injunxit Garatians Ecclesia parochialis sancti Mauritiij infra Civitatem Wintonia; quod duo sedilia ex utraque parte Cancellorum ibidem removeantur; & quod nullum sedile ibidem collocatur aut erigatur. Distusq; Dominus ad Petitionem Willielmi Newton, unius Parochianorum prefata Ecclesia Parochialis decrevit Mensam sacram Eucharistie decenter circum-sepiendam, viz. T O B E E RAYLED ABOVE IN DECENT MANNER, circa festum Omnium Sanctorum proxime sequent.*

Moreover, A paper of Informations of divers Abuses in the City and Diocesse of London, was found in the Archbishops Study, attested by Master Prynn, whereof this was one. There are many Communion Tables in severall Churches of the City of London that are not rayled in, and some of them are placed in the middle of the Church, when as they may be placed more conveniently at the East end thereof. At the Chappel at Highgate, the Boyes use to leane on the Communion Table in the time of Divine service: under which Mr. Dell the Archbishops Secretary Writ this direction to Sir Nathaniel Brent, his Visiter, subscribed with the Archbishops owne hand.

I require you that (besides my other Instructions) you give me an account of all particulars within named. Whereupon an Account was given to him in writing accordingly, thus entituled. *An Account of the Metropolitall Visitation of the Diocesse of London, Anno. 1636.* found in his Study with the foresaid Informations, and indorsed thus with his owne hand. 1636. *March, The Course of my Visitation in London Diocesse: Wherein are these Particular Passages, touching the railing in of Communion Tables. Mr. Rogers of Massing (mentioned in your Graces Paper) came not to me for an order for the setting up of a Raile about his Communion Table: But I GAVE A GENERALL ORDER FOR IT BOTH THERE AND IN ALL OTHER PLACES WHERE I PASSED. The Communion Table in the Chappell of Highgate (mentioned in your Graces paper) is already placed at the upper end of the Quire; and a decent Raile made about it, as I am informed by divers. (To which the Archbishop with his owne hand adds this Note in the Margin; See it be done.) In the Parish Church of Edmonton, a fair Monument is set at the upper end of the Chancell, which I have ordered to be taken downe without delay, and the Communion Table to be set in the place of it, with a comely raile about it. Yet had this Archbishop the Impudency to protest to the Lords he never gave any order to Sir Nathaniell Brent, for removing or railing in Communion Tables; that it was done without his Privy or direction. Oportet mendacem esse memorem. Adde to this, that in an Abstract of this Archbishops Metropolitall Visitation endorsed by himselfe and found among his papers; there were these observable informations given to him by his Visitor, Sir Nathaniel Brent July. 16. 1635. At Lyn in the principall Church called St. Margarets, the Communion Table wanted a rayle, which I have ordered. At Northampton, no man boweth at the pronouncing of the name of Iesus; in all the Churches in Shrewsbury many things were out of Order, especially about the Communion Table: But the Officers in every Parish Church most willingly submitted to what I ordered. Mr. Speed of Saint Pancrosse in Chichester is very willing the Gallery in his Church should be pulled down which was built to receive Strangers, as also to remove the seates which stand even with the Altar. Besides, it appears by a letter of Wil. Kingsley Arch-deacon of Cant. to this Archbishop, dated Aprill 13. 1636. that he gave him order to survey all the Churches in Canterbury, and to certifie him, what Monuments placed the East and Galleres were in them, to the end they might be removed; who gave him this account thereof in writing, found among the Archbishops Papers.*

To the most Reverend Father in God,
the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, His Grace,
Primate of all *England*, and *Metropolitan*,
one of His Majesties most Honourable Privy
Councell, My very good Lord.

May it please Your Grace;

I Have according to Your Graces direction surveyed the Churches of Your Graces Arch-Deaconry in the Citie of *Canterbury*, In some of which I find Galleries and seats raised from the ground three or foure ascents, as likewise monuments with diverse Inscriptions, erected without authority at the East end of the Chancells, And in Saint Gregories Church of the same City, one other Monument in which is described the Gunpowder Treason, with this Motto or Inscription in Capitall letters, IN PERPETVAM PAPISTARVM INFAMIAM. This he held him selfe in all humility bound to acquaint Your Grace withall, who is ready to execute what Your Grace shall Command for the ordering of these particulars, or any other thing Your Grace shall be pleased to enioyne him, and never ceaseth to pray for Your Graces prosperities and welfare, Resting,

April 13. 1636.

Your Graces most humble

Servant,

William Kingsley.

To which Letter the Archbishop returned this answer, found in his study thus endorsed, *The Copy of my Letters to the Arch-Deacon of Canterbury, April 29. 1636. concerning the taking downe of Galleries, and Monuments in some Churches of Canterbury, &c.*

S. in Christo.

SIR;

Your Letters of *April 13.* I have received, and I thanke you for your care and paines in Visiting the Churches of your Arch-Deaconry within the City of *Canterbury*, in which I have often heard there are some things amisse, and finde by your report, that the Information given me was true. And because you certifie me of some things of greater moment then ordinary, I thought it very fit to acquaint His Majestie with all the contents of your Letter, and did so: By which meanes, I shall with more freedome give you the fuller answer to the three particulars mentioned by you.

NOTE.

For the first, which is the raising of Galleries and Seates from the ground three or foure ascents, His Majestie hath commanded mee to write unto you, that they be taken down, and the Seates left orderly in the Church. But you are to take care to acquaint the Minister and Church-wardens with it, and to see it done, in a faire, and peaceable manner. The like Course you are to take with the second, for it is no way fit that any Monument whatsoever, should be set up at the East end of the Chancell, thereby, standing equall at least, if not above the Communion Table, and sit for nothing but to cast it out of its proper place. Therefore if any such be in any Church within your jurisdiction, you are to speake with them that are next of Kinne, or whom

NOTE.

whom

whom such Monuments may most concerne. And if they will remove them, and set them up in any other place, on the sides of the Church, you are to give them leave so to do; but if they will not, you are then to take them downe, in an orderly way, and not to suffer any to stand at the East end of the Chancell.

Your third businesse, is of greater consequence, it is, that there is another Monument in Saint Georges Church, in which there is described in Capitall Letters, the *GU N-P O N D E R T R E A S O N*, with this motto, *In perpetuam Papistarum infamiam, &c.* I hope this stands not at the East end of the Chancell, for if it doe, you must see it removed to some other place, but if it stand upon any side of either Chancell, or Church, then you are with the knowledge of the Minister and the Church-Wardens, or any other whom that Monument may concerne, to take some Painter to you and cause him to put out of the Monument, all that concernes the Fleet in 88. because that belongs to a Forreigne Nation: And though your Letters make no mention of 88. yet the Picture of the Monument, which you sent me up doth, which I shewed His Majestie as well as Your Letter. So having here given you a cleare direction in all your three particulars, I shall expect your care in the execution of them according to it, So I leave you to the grace of God, and rest,

NOTE.

Your very loving Friend.

Will: Cant.

By these two Letters it is apparent, that the Archbishop gave speciall directions not only to Sir Nathaniell Brent, but to the Arch-Deacon of Canterbury to take down Galleries and Monuments at the East end of Chancells neare the Communion-Tables; and to place the Tables there, as in their proper place; as likewise to obliterate the memoriall of our happy deliverance from the Spanish Armado in 88. out of that Church, where it had long continued.

Finally, it was proved by the testimony of Master Sutton, Master Browne, and others, that in the yeare 1640. in the new Chappell at WESTMINSTER, the Kings Armes were set up in the East Window, which was first glased with white Glasse; afterward the Archbishop promising to bestow a new window instead of it, the Kings Armes were thereupon taken downe by direction of Doctor Haywood, the Archbishops Chaplaine, and Browne this Joyner, and placed in another obscure window, and the Archbishops Arms (supported by Seraphins) put up in its place, to signifie, that hee was the sole donor of this new Window, where instead of the white Glasse, there was set up in coloured glasse, the Picture of the Holy Ghost in form of a Dove, with the Images of the Virgin Mary, Christ, Angells, and Seraphins, for which the Glasier was payd since the Archbishops commitment to the Tower by the Archbishops direction (as the Glasier verily believed,) this new painted Window being set up about the beginning of this Parliament, but since demolished by order of Parliament; which manifestts the Archbishops perseverance in his Popish Innovations notwithstanding the Scottish troubles, and the many late complaints against them in the last dissolved and present Parliament.

When this Arch-Prelate had in his Metropolitall Visitation by private instructions only to his Vicar Generall and other Agents, set on these Innovations, and introduced them into many Parish-Churches in most Diocesse, hee then by his subbdinate Suffragans and Creatures, began to enforce them unversally upon all Ministers Church-Wardens, Parishes, by Visitation Oaths, and Articles, upon which such Ministers, Church-Wardens and others who opposed them were presented yea prosecuted as Delinquents. Among others Dr. Pierce Bish. of Bath and Wells, Mathew Wren, Bish. of Norwich, Bish. Lindsey of Peterborough, Bish. Mountague of Chichester and Skinner, Bishop of Bristol, were the chiefe promoters of his Innovations, especially of rayling in Communion Tables Altarwise, bowing to and towards them, laying second service at them, and comming up to the new rayles to receive the Sacrament,

cribing these particulars in their severall Visitation Articles: Witnesseth *Rich: Montague* Bishop of *Chichester*, his printed Visitation Articles there, 1637. which after his translation to *Norwich*, he enlarged with some printed additions for that Diocese Anno 1638. of which there were two impressions.

Tit. 1. Section 8.

IS your Chancell divided from the Nave or body of your Church, with a partition of Stone, Boards, Wainscot, Grates, or otherwise? wherein is there a strong dore, to open and shut, (as occasion serveth) with lockes and keyes, to keepe out boyes, and girles, or unreverent men and women? and are dogs kept from comming to be soyle or prophane the Lords Table?

NOTE.

9. 'Is your Chancell well paved, &c? doth it altogether lye upon a flat, or hath it ascents up unto the **ALTAR**?

10. 'Is your Church scaffolded every where or in part? do these scaffolds so made annoy any mans seat, or hinder the lights of any Window in the Church? Is your Chancell surrounded with seates, wherein your Parishioners commonly use to sit, which take up the roome to much, and encroach upon the propriety of the Minister?

Tit. 3. Of sacred Vessells, Church-ornaments, &c. Sect. 4. Have you two faire large Surplices for your Minister to Officiate Divine Service in, that the one may be for change, when the other is at washing? and also serve for him, that at Communion assisteth the chiefe Minister, that no point of Divine service may be done, but with and in Ministeriall vestments?

5. 'Of what assise be the Surplices, large or scanting? Of what Cloth, course or fine? What are they worth if they were to be sold? for not cheapnesse, but decentnesse, is to respected in the service of God.

NOTE.

7. 'Is your Communion Table, **OR ALTAR** of Stone, Wainscot, Joyners worke strong, faire and decent? What is it worth in your opinion were it to be sold?

8. Have you a covering or Carpet of Silke, Sattin, Damaske, or some more then ordinary stuffe, to cover the Table with at all times, and a faire, cleane, and fine linnen covering at time of administering the Sacrament?

9. 'Have you a Chalice or Communion-Cup with a cover, of silver, and a Flagon of Silver or Pewter, (but rather of silver) to put the Wine in? which is to be consecrated, and not to be brought into the Church, and set on the Table in Leather or Wicker-bottles, or Taverne wine-potts, which being of vulgar, common and prophane employments, ought not to be presented in the Church, or at the **L O R D S TABLE**.

10. 'Have you a plate or patten faire and deepe, of the same materials, for the bread? As also a Corporas Cloth or Napkin of fine Linnen, to cover the Bread consecrated, (which cannot all at once be contained in the Patten) and to fold up what is not used at Communion? are all these sacred Vessells, cleane kept, washed, scowred, as often as neede or conveniency requireth?

NOTE.

11. 'Is your Communion-Table, enclosed and ranged about with a raile of Joyners and Turners worke, close enough to keepe out dogges from going in and prophaning that holy place, from pissing against it, or worie? and is there a dore of the same worke to open and shut? doe any persons presume to enter thereinto, except such as be in holy orders?

NOTE.

12. 'Is the Communion Table fixedly set, in such convenient sort and place within the Chancell, as hath beene appointed by authority, according to the practise of the Ancient Church; that is, at the East end of the Chancell, close unto the Wall, upon an ascent or higher ground, that the officiating Priest, may be best seene and heard of the Communicants, in that sacred action?

13. Whe

13. 'Whether is the Communion-Table removed downe at any time, either for or without Communion, into the lower part of the Chancell, or body of the Church? by whom, at whose instance, direction or command is it done?

'Doe your Parishoners at their entrance within the Church doores use that comely and decent deportment which is fitting for Gods house, where God, whom Heaven and earth cannot contain, is said to dwell, and doth manifest his goodnesse and mercy to man out of his word? do they uncover their heads, sit bare all service time, kneele downe in their seates, bowing towards the Chancell, and Communion-Table, and use those severall postures which fit the severall acts and parts of Divine Service?

NOTE.

14. 'That is, Do they reverently kneele at Confession, Absolution, the Lords-Prayer, the Church Prayers and Petitions or Collects, as becometh suiters unto God? Do they stand at the Creed, as avowing their beliefe in the face of Heaven and earth, men and Angels; at the Hymnes and Doxologie, or Glory be to the Father, &c. against the oppugners of the Trinity, (which in the Primitive Church was repeated at the end of every Psalme, and ought so to be in ours.) Do they stand also at the reading of the Gospel, and bend or bow at the glorious sacred and sweet name of Jesus, pronounced out of the Gospel read?

NOTE.

20. 'Doth he upon Wednesdayes and Fridayes ordinarily and at other extraordinary times appointed by the Ordinary, read and pray the Letanie? and doth he especially on Sundayes, read the second or latter Service at the Communion-Table (as the ancient tradition of the Church was to do, after the dismissal or missa of the *Catechumeni*, *Energumeni* and *Penitentes*) and not in his Pewe, or Reading-seate, though there be no Communion, and this as well before as after the Sermon?

NOTE.

Tit. 6. Sect. 27. 'Is the Grave made East and West? Is the body buried with the head to the West?

NOTE.

Tit. 7. Sect. 12. 'And whereas it offendeth many, that we sometimes call the Lords-Table an Altar, and dispose of it Altar-wise, that we use the phrase of Sacrament of the Altar, in oppugning whereof, it hath been charged with Popery, and constantly (but ignorantly) affirmed, that in the Primitive Church it was not named an Altar for three hundred yeares after Christ: to give satisfaction herein, and hereabout, both to Priests and people, I avow upon certain knowledge out of my poore reading, That for all the time articulate, the word *Table* is not above thrice used, but ever *Altar*, and of Ecclesiasticall Writers within that time, onely *Dionysius Arcopagita* hath it, and that but once, and occasionally; which assertion (I am sure) cannot be refuted: and therefore if we will (as we professe to doe) follow the course and practise of the Ancient, Primitive, Apostolicall Church, wee ought not to traduce or be offended at the name, thing, or use of *Altar*, whereat a manifold Sacrifice is offered to God.

NOTE.

Tit. 8. Sect. 9. Touching Parishoners. 'Doth any married woman within your Parish after child-birth neglect to come to Church, according to the booke of Common-Prayer, to give thanks to God for her safe deliverance, vayed in a decent manner, as hath beene anciently accustomed? and doth she then kneele in some convenient place nigh to the Communion-Table, while the Priest (standing by her) giveth thanks to God for her; and if there bee a Communion, doth shee then offer her accustomed offerings, and receive the holy Communion?

NOTE.

11. 'Do all your Parishoners of what sort soever, according as the Church expressly them commandeth, draw neere, and with all Christian humility and reverence

reverence

‘reverence come to the Lords-Table, when they are to receive the Holy Communion; and not (after the most contemptuous and un-holy usage of some, if men do rightly consider) sit still in their Seats or Pewes, to have the blessed Body and Bloud of our Saviour, go up and downe to seeke them all the Church over.

Tit. 9. ‘Of Clerks, Sextons, Church-wardens, and Sidemen.

NOTE.

5. ‘Doe you, or have any of you medled with setting, placing, displacing, removing the Communion-Table up and downe, of your owne heads, without the Minister, or with him, not by order from the Bishop?

6. ‘Doe you know of any Parishioner or Forreiner, who hath committed or attempted such an Act? If you can learne them, Present their names.

Tit. Sect. 10. ‘Distinct and punctuall Answer must be made to every one of these Articles.

On all which Articles Church-wardens and Sidemen were obliged to present *Non-conformists* to them, by this strict ensuing Oath.

The Tenour of the Oath to be administred unto, and taken by the Church-wardens, and Sidemen.

NOTE.

*S*wear you shall, that you shall duly consider, and diligently enquire of all and every one of these Articles given you in charge, and tendered unto you; and that all affection, favour, malice, hatred, hope of reward, gain, displeasure of great men, malice, or other sinister respect set aside; you shall faithfully discharge your duty, and truly present all and every such person of and in your Parish, as hath made any default, or committed any offense in or against these ensuing Articles, or that be vehemently suspected, or defamed of any such offence, or crime; wherein you shall deale uprightly, truly, and fully, presenting all the truth, and nothing but the truth, without partiality, having God before your eyes, and an earnest Christian zeale to maintain truth, order, and Religion, and to suppress the contrary: So helpe you God, and the holy contents of this Booke.

Matthew Wren Bishop of *Norwich*, in his first Visitation of that Diocese among other Articles to be enquired of within that Diocese, prescribed these ensuing Articles upon Oath, printed by *Richard Bauger* 1636. concurring in substance with Bishop *Mountagues*.

NOTE.

Chap. 3. Sect. 2. ‘Have you in your Church or Chappell a Font of stone set in the ancient usuall place, whole and cleane, and fit to hold water? a convenient and decent Communion-Table, with a Carpet of filke, or some other decent stuffe continually layd upon the Table, at the time of Divine Service, and a faire linnen cloth thereon layd, at the time of Administring the Communion? and is the same Table placed conveniently so as the Minister may best be heard in his Administration, and the greatest number may reverently communicate? to that end, doth it ordinarily stand up at the East end of the Chancell, where the Altar in former times stood, the ends thereof being placed North and South? is it any time used unreverently, by leaning or sitting on it, throwing hats or any thing else upon it, or writing on it? or is it abused to any other prophane or common use? and are the Ten Commandments set up in your Church or Chappell, where the people may see and read them, and other chosen sentences also written upon the walls in your said Church or Chappell, in places convenient for the same purpose?

Sect. 12.

Sett. 12. 'Are all the Pewes and Seats in the Church so ordered, that they which are in them, may all conveniently kneele downe in the time of Prayer, and have their faces up East-ward toward the holy Table? Are there also any kinde of Seats at the East-end of the Chancell, above the Communion-table, or on either side even with it? NOTE.

Sett. 14. 'Hath any in your Parish defaced, or caused to be defaced, or purloined any Monuments, (that is Crucifixes and old Images) or Ornaments in the Church.

Chap. 4. Sett. 7. Doth every Priest and Deacon in your Parish daily say the Morning and Evening Prayer, either privately, or openly? Doth the Curate say the same daily in the Church or Chappell, with the tolling of a Bell before he begins? At the end of every Psalm, doe they stand and say, *Glory be to the Father, &c.*

Chap. 4. Sett. 8. 'Doth your Minister and Curate at all times, as well in Preaching or Reading the Homilies, as in reading the Prayers and Letany, in Administring the holy Sacraments, Solemnization of Marriage, Burying the Dead, Churching of Women, and all other Offices of the Church, duly observe the Rites prescribed, without omission, alteration, or addition of any thing? And doth he in performing all and every of these, weare the Surplice duly, and NEVER OMIT THE WEARING OF THE SAME, nor of his Hood, if he be a Graduate?

Chap. 7. Sett. 4. 'Have you in your Parish, that doe not reverently behave themselves, entring into the Church? (that is, by bowing towards the Altar) Doe all use due and lowly reverence, when the blessed name of the Lord Jesus is mentioned, and stand up when the Articles of the Creed are read?

Sett. 17. 'Doe all your Parishioners of what sort soever, according as the Church expressly them commandeth, draw neere, and with all Christian humility and reverence, come to the Lords-Table, when they are to receive the holy Communion? and not (after the most contemptuous and unholy usage of some, if men did rightly consider) sit still in their Seats or Pewes, to have the blessed Body and blood of our Saviour, go up and down to seeke them all the Church over.

Chap. 9. Sett. 11. 'Were there any particular or speciall Injunctions given (as you know, or have heard) by the Vicar Generall, or any other Commissioner, at the last Metropolitick Visitation of the most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace? and how have the same beene performed or observed by the Minister, or any other of the Parish, whom they concern?

Sett. 12. 'Lastly, have you, and every of you, by your selves read, or have caused to be read to you all these Articles? have you well examined and inquired into every particular therein intended? have you sincerely, uprightly, and without any partiaall affection or concealment, presented and made known all and every of the offenders, in any of the particulars, either as they are taken in truth to be, or by common fame reported?

To these Articles, this Bishop annexed divers particular Injunctions, prescribing, Rayling in of Communion-Tables Altar-wise, bowing towards them, reading second Service at them, that every Combination Lecturer, should in his Surplice and Hood, begin the second Service at the Communion Table before he went up into the Pulpit, into which he should ascend, after the reading of the Nicene Creed, using no other prayer than that prescribed in the 55. Canon, nor Preaching above one houre; that hee should not give the blessing out of the Pulpit, but should descend againe to the Table, and read the Prayer for the universall Church, and so dismiss the Congregation with the Peace of God, &c. That all Communicants should come up by files, and receive the Sacrament at the new Rayles, kneeling, &c.

As appears by his Injunctions, annexed to his Articles in writing, and his Account to the Archbishop, for the yeare 1636. both found in the Archbishops Study, and attested by Mr. *Prynne*.

In this Diocesse of *Norwich* (by meanes of these Visitation Articles.) Bishop *Mountague*, in his Account to the Archbishop for the yeare, 1638. informes him under his owne hand, That all Churches were furnished with the *ALTAAR*, standing close to the East-wall, all Rayled about the Altar: But withall he certifies him, that many of the people complained they were troubled, and Excommunicated by his Predecessor (Bishop *Wren*) for not comming up to receive at the Rayles, about the Altar, in this manner.

19.

As many as can well kneele close unto the Rayles, come up out of the Church, and then upon their knees receive from the Priest standing within the Rayles, the Bread and Wine, who being thus Communicated, rise and depart into the Church, and as many moe as can likewise kneele, succeed, and being Communicated, likewise depart, which course is observed till all have received. Against this, they say, it is a new, unnecessary troublesome course, not enjoined by Law, nor required by Canon, nor imposed by His Majesty, or my Lord of *Canterbury*, whose Injunctions they professe they will obey; nor in the Articles or Injunctions of any Bishop.

20.

This, as it perplexeth them, so I must professe, it troubleth me, wherein I desire resolution and direction. For if this be the case as they pretend, in my poore opinion, it is *inter minutiora Legis*, to make the best of it, and happily in these times of opposition; it were not amisse to follow that wise direction of the greatest Council of Christendom, the first of *Nice*, Let ancient customs be observed.

21.

NOTE.

If I may be bold to deliver my owne poore private opinion concerning this case, as they relate it, not otherwise; I hold it a meere unnecessary, inconvenient, combersome, or irregular course. I know it hath no *velum* nor *vestigium* in Antiquity, who as it appears by Saint *Chrysostome*, communicated Communicants kneeling in the Chancell in their distinct ranks, the doores shut, none permitted to depart, till the blessing pronounced, and *Itē* in peace.

22.

NOTE.

I know of no Law, Articles, Advertisements, Canons, Injunctions, that require it; I cannot tell where, when, by whom it came up: This I know, it is the practise of the Roman Church; at least in Italy and Rome, and yet drawes neere upon the Lees of the *Geneva Discipline*, in their running Banquet, as it is rightly named.

23.

24.

I humbly crave pardon, for this my free, but private opinion, of that course upon which so many in my Diocesse doe stand, who otherwise do professe all obedience to the Church orders; and I doubt not but to bring them thereto, and settle them therein, almost I durst undertake it.

This Account of Bishop *Mountague* being shewed Bishop *Wren*, by the Archbishop, he returned this Answer in writing thereunto, which hee delivered to the Archbishop, in whose Study Mr. *Prynne* seized it.

18.

The number of them that stood excommunicated for this which is alleadged, were not 13, in above 1300. Parishes.

19.

When they had received both the bread and wine (two ranks of them) they quietly withdrew, and remained in the Chancell (if it would hold them) and others kneeled downe in their roomes.

20.

No marvell if it like not those, that will pronounce it new, unnecessary and troublesome. The Service booke enjoynes it, by requiring all to draw neere. The King Himselfe does it, and His whole Household in effect.

21.

It had bin neither perplexity nor trouble in that Diocesse ere now, if it had not (unawares) bin declaimed against by his Lordship, before hee came into the

the Diocesse. Many of his Faction prickt up their eares at that, and then his Lordship had plunged himselfe to openly to get back handsomely. Now hee is come into the Diocesse, and findes it so generally practised and desired by the best of all sorts; It is hoped that upon this private narration, either my Lords Grace, or the King will gain-say it.

21.

It were fit, that what he reputed an irregular custome had bin exprest, And whether to carry the holy Sacrament up and down to their Seats be it? Where the Chancells will not receive all the Communicants, what more trouble, of successive comming before the Rayle, then into the Chancell? Many Chancells are so seated, that it cannot appeare how the Communicants kneele, and for this (in truth) the Faction hath the greatest sicke at it: Many Parishes are populous, and the Chancels large, but the Chalices very small, while the Priest then goes to and againe, so far to renew the Cup, much time and labour is lost.

This supposition holds not, for very many Chancells will not hold all the Communicants, much lesse to kneele conveniently all at once: To come before the Rayle hath more analogy with Antiquity, then some men have seen, or others will. In *England* they came but to the Chancell doores, till our Lawes brought them into the Chancell. So now the Rayle serves to distinguish the Presbyterian from the Chorus, and that place in *Saint Chrysostome*, (I believe) will otherwise prove to be mistaken.

22.

That it is like the practise of the Roman Church, I suppose is the better, seeing we never found fault with them for it till now. As for *Geneva*, tis not so like to theirs, or theirs to it, as an Ape is to a man; and yet is farre enough from being a man.

23.
NOTE.

This is spoken unto in the precedents.

After which, Bishop Mountague in a Synod at *Ipswich*, Octob. 8. 1639. gave these ensuing directions to his Clergie, concerning the peoples comming up to the Rayles to receive. A Copy whereof he sent to the Archbishop, who received it the 21th. of the same Moneth, as appeares by his endorsement thereof.

24.

When I came first into this Diocesse, I was much and often troubled by many in many parts thereof, about comming up to the Rayles, as they called it, in time of the holy Communion.

This was a novelty unto me as it seemed it was in it selfe; for I had never heard of it, nor did I know what it meant. But I understood at length it was this; Those that intend to receive the holy Sacrament, are to come up out of the Church, and to draw neere unto the Rayles, which inclose the Altar, or Communion Table, and there to kneele as many as can, and to receive in both kindes at the Ministers hands; when this company at the Rayles have received in both kindes, they are to rise up, to withdraw, and another company to succeed in their places; and after them, a third, and so till all bee in that sort Communicated.

NOTE.

In this course thus observed, I do not understand whether all at once, that intend to Communicate, do together come up out of the Church into the Chancell, and being there disposed, sitting or standing, doe in course repaire unto the Rayles, and returne from thence; Or whether onely so many doe together come up out of the Church, as can kneele at the Rayles, the other remaining in the Church behinde, untill their course come to goe up? Nor do I know, whether they repaire, being risen from the Rayles, whether into some place in the Chancell, or out of the Chancell into the Church, which may bee combersome, and is inconvenient, it being for any thing I know

NOTE.

know to the contrary, an ancient Tradition of the Church, for no man to go out of the Chancel, or from his place, having received it untill the *Ite missa* or dismissive blessing upon them, which we call the Peace of God. Therefore to give that satisfaction which I can in this cause; because yet never any Recusant of coming up to the Rayles, did unto mee refuse to come into the Chancell, to receive upon their knees, to observe the Service Booke in all points, onely they cannot digest the going up, and coming downe, and disquieting the Assembly, which neither doe I my selfe approve of, untill His Majesty, or my Lords Grace of *Canterbury* appoint otherwise; to whom I doe, and they must, and I hope will submit themselves. These orders I have thought good for quiet, peace and conformity to direct.

First, after the words or Exhortation pronounced aloud by the Minister, standing at the Communion-Table, to the Parishioners as yet in the Church, draw neere, &c.

All intending to Communicate, are to come up out of the Church into the Chancell; and as in course of Civility and good order, it is seemely the best in the Parish to come up first.

All being come in, the Chancell doore is to be shut, and not to be opened till the Communion is done; that no Communicant depart till the dimission, no non-Communicant come in amongst them, no Boyes, Girles, or galers be suffered to looke in as to a Play.

The Communicants being entred, to be disposed into severall stations, rankes, or formes; the first ranke to stand, sit, or kneele, neere or close unto the Rayles, which being the most eminent place, the best in the Parish may fitly be disposed there.

And for order and decency though all bee Communicants alike, in that holy Communion, yet confusion is to bee avoyded.

The first ranke being thus disposed, behinde them a second, behinde them a third ranke may be disposed, leaving a sufficient space for the Priest to goe betweene, in giving first the Bread to all the severall Communicants, and then the Wine afterwards, if he be sole, and if he have an assistant, the chiefe Minister to give the Bread, and the Assistant to follow him with the Cup, or Challice, both going out from the *Altar*, when the first ranke is served; and whereas in many Chancells, if not in all, there be Seats built up, the more is the pitty, to pester the Chancell; it is not fit that any should go into them, untill the severall rankes have filled the whole Chancell.

But because peradventure some out of zeale without knowledge or discretion, have stubbornly refused to come unto the Rayles neere them, as if it were impious, at least superstitious to come there, as by name one Mr. *Daye* of *Ipswich*; I doe require him to receive at the Rayles, the next Communion, *sub pana juris*, and for the rest of the refusers, who have promised conformity in all things, but in rising up, and going up and downe, which I neither will, nor do require of them; let them manifest their conformity by once coming up, and afterwards as it happeneth, dispose themselves in the Chancell.

As these Popish Innovations, Ceremonies were thus set on and prescribed in the Diocesse of *Chichester*, and *Normich*, by *Mountague*, and *Wren*: so were they by Doctor *Davenant* Bishop of *Salisbury*, (of whose direction and determination concerning the placing of the Communion Table, the Archbishop tooke much advantage in his Star-chamber speech, pag. 13, 14.) by the Bishop of *Lincolne*, *Williams*, and his Officers in his Diocesse, notwithstanding he seemed afterwards to oppose them, and *Canterburies* proceedings herein, in his Holy Table, name, and thing.

This

This is undeniably evident by the ensuing Acts, for railing in all Lords Tables in every Church and Chappel made, in his Visitation, 1635.

Acta habita facta, &c. in Ecclesia Parochiali Beatae Mariae Leic' die Martis 25. Aug. 1635. per reverend. in Christo Patre & Dom: Dom. Johannē Providentia Divinae Lincoln. Episc. pro tribunali sedentem tunc & ibid: in Visitatione sua trienniali, presente me Edwardo Lake in legibus Bac. & Notario publico Regist. suo in hac parte assumpt.

Quibus, &c. Dist. Reverend. Pater palam & publicè injunxit & admonuit omnes & singulos gardianos eorumque assistent. infra Decanat. de Goodlaxton, Akley & villam Leicestr. infra Arch. Leicest. una cum gard. sancta Margareta infra villam Leic. quatenus Mensam illam sacram pro sancta Eucharistia administratione in qualibet Ecclesia et Capella infra Decanat. et loca praescitat. respectivè vacerris vel Cantellis decenter muniri procurarent, et inde ad proximam Visitationem dom. Archidiaconi Leic. pro Decanat. et locis pred. infra Arch. Leic. pred. tenend. debitè certificand. Note.

Similiter in omnibus acta &c. die Mercurii 26 August. 1635. in Ecclesia beatae Mariae Leic. pred. quoad Mensas sacras, &c. infra Decanat. de Sparkenhoe et Gartree Arch. Leic. pred.

Similiter in omnibus acta, &c. die Jovis 27. die Augusti 1635. in Ecclesia de Meltonmowbrey infra Archidiacon. Leic. pred. quoad Mensas sacras, &c. infra Decanat. de Framland et Goscot Archidiacon. Leic. pred.

Acta habita, &c. in Synodo sine Visitatione venerabilis viri Willielmi Warre sacrae Theologiae profess. Archidiacon. Leic. tenend. in Capella in Marketharborow die Martis 13. Octobris 1635. per Magistrum Reginald Burdin, Clericum in artibus Magistrum Surrogatū venerabilis viri Johannis Farmeris legū Doctoris praefati Reverend. Patris Dom. Episcopi Lincolnien. Vicarij generalis, &c. presente me Edwardo Lake Regist. antedicto.

Quibus, &c. dictus magister Burdin Com. Certificat. pro omnibus Gard. et assistent. infra Decanat. de Gartree et Goodlaxton quoad septa Mensarum sacrarum, &c. cum vacerris juxta monitionē reverend. Patris dom. Episc. Lincolnien. pred. in prox. post festum Omnium Sanctorum, prox. futur. pro Commiss. et offic. Archid. Leic. in Ecclesia beatae Mariae Leic. tenend.

Similiter in omnibus acta, &c. die Jovis 14 Octobris 1635. in Ecclesia paroch. de Meltonmowbrey quoad Mensas sacras, &c. infra Decanat. Framland et Goscot.

Similiter in omnibus acta, &c. die Veneris 15. Octobris 1635. in Ecclesia beatae Mariae Leicest. quoad Mensas sacras, &c. infra Decanat. Sparkenhoe, Akley et Villa Leicest.

Concord. cum original. penes reg. remanend. facta collatione per me Jo. Fowler Notar. publicum Regist. depnt.

And by Articles to be enquired of within the Archdeaconry of Buckingham, (in the Diocese of Lincolne) at the Visitation of the Archdeacon there, this present year 1637. Printed at London 1637.

Artic. 5. Have you a decent Table, or a frame for the holy Communion, placed at the East end of the Chancell? Is it rayled in or inclosed, so as Men or Boyes cannot sit upon it, or throw their hats upon it? Is the said raile or inclosure so made with settles or kneeling-benches, at the foot or bottome thereof; as the Communicants may fitly kneele there at the receiving of the holy Communion? Note.

Artic. 38. Whether any in your Parish have covered his head in time of Divine Service, contrary to the 18 Canon; any that do not kneele at the saying of the generall Confession; Letany, ten Commandements, and other prayers read in the said Church; any that do not stand up at the saying the Beliefe, or not bow or use reverence when (in time of Divine service) the name of Iesus is read or mentioned? &c.

N

Moreover

Moreover Dr. *Pierce Bishop of Bath and Wells*, not only prescribes the rayling in of Communion Tables Altarwise, under penalties and fines in his Visitation Articles and Courts, but likewise appoints Ministers in every Division to see it executed, and presents these reasons for it to the Archbishop, who endorsed them thus with his own hand. *Recepi. March 9. 1633. L. Bishop of Bath and Wells* about placing the Communion Table.

Reasons why the Communion Table in every Church should be set close under the East-window or wall, with the ends North and South, and be rayled in.

1. It was ordered in Queen *Elizabeths* Injunctions, That the Communion Table should stand where the Altar did.

2. There should be some difference between the placing of the Lords Table in the Church, and the placing of a mans Table in his house.

3. It is not fit the people should sit above Gods Table, or be above the Priest when he consecrateth.

4. If it stand not thus, and be not rayled in, it will be subject to many prophanations and abuses; Church-wardens will keep their accounts at the Lords Table, Parishioners will sit round about it, and talk of their Parish businesses (whereas the Lords Table is for no other use but only for the Communion; and the service and prayers of the Church) Schoolmasters will teach their Boyes to write upon this Table, and the Boyes will lay their Hats, Sachels, and Books upon it, and in their Masters absence sit upon the same; and many will sit or learn irreverently against the Lords Table in Sermon time. Glasiers will knock it full of naile holes (as it is found by experience they have done in many places) and Dogs will defile the Lords Table.

5. When the Communion Table stands thus, the Chancell is the fairer, and there is more roome for the Communicants.

6. Where the Communion Table stands thus, the face of the Priest is seen of all, and his voice is better heard of all which sit on the North side of the Chancel.

7. It is fit the Daughters should be like their Mother, the Parochiall Churches should be like the Cathedrall Churches; that so there may be an uniformity in this respect in every Church.

Note.

At Coventry Dr. *Wright* Bishop of that Diocesse by his Chancellour prescribed these Innovations following in the Churches of that City.

Thursday the 15 of August 1636. at Coventry.

It is ordered by Mr. Chancellour in the presence of me *Henry Archbold*, principall Register, being both sent by my Lord Bishop to that purpose.

1. That the Communion Tables both in *S. Michaels* and *Trinity* Churches, should be removed up close to the East wall of the Chancels.

2. That the ground at the upper end of the Chancels be handsomely raised by three steps, that the celebration of the Sacrament may be conspicuous to all the Church.

3. That in *S. Michaels*, the Pewes which almost stopped up the middle Ile, be removed according to directions given to the Church-wardens in presence.

4. That in both Churches, all new additions of Seats in the Chancels be taken away, and the Pewes there reduced as near as may be to the ancient forme.

5. That no parishioner of the Parish of *Trinity* shall hereafter have any Seat to himself within the Church of *S. Michael*; nor any parishioner of *S. Michael* have any Seat in *Trinity* Church, except such as have sufficient interelt by Land in the other Parish.

6. That all the Pales which encroach upon the Churchyard of *S. Trinity* may be taken away, and the ground so inclosed be levied and restored to the Churchyard. And the doores opening into the Churchyard be stopped up, and the sink and other annoyances taken away.

7. That the Magistrates wives being in both Churches sufficiently accommodated with a convenient seat, to sit together, shall from hence forth content themselves with those seats, and leave their other peculiar seats to be disposed of to those Gentlemen of quality within each Parish that are unprovided.

The

The Church-wardens of both Parishes are admonished to certifie the performance of the precedent Articles to M. Chancelour, by the next Court-day at Lichfield, being the 27 of September next.

And that the Desk in the Chancell in Trinity Church whereon the Books lye, be removed to the upper end of the North Isle next the Chancell; and a Rayle made with a door in the middle thereof to keep out children from tearing the Books.

Charles T. Wyden.

Henry Archbold, Registers.

After which, this Bishop in a better mood, Ordering the Communion Table only at the time of administering the Sacrament to be brought into the midst of the Chancell (being large) without the precincts of its impounding rayles, thereupon the Archbishops Creatures gave present secret notice thereof by way of complaint to Sir John Lambe, and he to the Archbishop in these ensuing Letters (found among Sir John Lambs papers by Mr. Pryne) endorsed with Mr. Dels, the Archbishops Secretaries hand upon the Archbishops perusall of them. The first was this Letter from Mr. Bird to Mr. Latham.

Good Master Latham, Being at Mr. Lessons my Lord Bishops accustomed Inne, I was there called and sent for to a private room before Mr. Major, and some others of the Fraternity; the businessse was concerning the removall of the Communion Table from its ascent of 3 steps unto the body of the Chancel, during the administration of that blessed Sacrament: and they fearing me and my thwarting it, moved my Lord to command me from either troubling them, or altering that. But how this can be effected, without a great deale of inconveniency both to Minister and people, I know not; the Table and all other ceremonies necessary then to be used, being by this means obscured, and taken away from the eares and eyes of the people. This is all (except his Sermon) that his Lordship hath done here, and so much I thought good to certifie you; desiring you to make what use you can of it, provided you ever conceale the name of

Note.

Covent. 21 March.

Your assured loving friend

Justa compta Angli. 1636. Tho. Byrd.

The second, this Letter from Mr. Latham to Sir John Lambe.

Most worthy Sir,

Our Lord Bishop at his departure from hence left such a terrible noise behind him of threatening, against his Chancelour, Mr. Jeffraye Archdeacon of Salop., and my selfe, as would make men that were any thing obnoxious, much afraid; but for mine own part I thank God I fear him not, but will and shall be ready to justifie my selfe in any thing I have done, and whatsoever hath passed betwixt your worship and my self concerning his Lordship, can well prove if need require, with much more; which upon the least notice, I will be ready to wait upon my Lords Grace and your selfe to perform. S. Michaels in Coventry have raysed their steps up to the Altar with curious workmanship and stone, and have been at great charge in making a Septum about the Table; yet hath his Lordship, as you may perceive by this inclosed Letter, commanded the Table to be brought down into the middle of the Chancel for this holy time; perhaps his Lordship will say, the Cancels are not fully finished, but they were so much up at his being at Coventry, as that they might well come up and receive the holy Communion, and are now finished, and the Table hath been at the upper end ever since his Majesties commands. Mr. Byrd would not be knowne of this if it may be; yet he will justifie it, and others also if it must be.

Note.

Your Worships to be commanded ever,

Lichf. 27 Martii 1637.

Edward Latham.

By this it appears, the Archbishop had his Spies and Informers in all places to certifie him of the very least oppositions against his Innovations, by Bishops or others: which will be further manifested by three other Letters. The first is a Copy of the Bishop of Lincolns Letter to his Surrogate Mr. Burdin, about S. Martins Commu-

nion Table in Leicester, and the placing of it; the copie whereof was presently sent to Sir John Lambe, and by him conveyed to the Archbishop, who endorsed it with his own hand.

After my very heartiest commendations unto you,

Whereas I have appointed the parishioners of S. Martins in Leicester to remove their common Library from the Quire of their Church into another room, provided by the Major, Aldermen, and Corporation of Leicester for that purpose, and have perswaded them to trim up and prepare their foresaid Quire with Railes and other ornaments to place therein their Communion Table, all the which they have accordingly performed. And whereas upon a Certificate made unto me by the Vear, the Churchwardens, divers of the Aldermen, and others the better sort of that Parish, That the place where their Table stood before is far more fit, by the reason of the more capacity to receive the Communicants, & the more audibleness of the Ministers voice, & the proximity to that place where Morning and Evening prayer are appointed to be said, then this (hancell is. I have therefore, according to the Lysurgie confirmed by Act of Parliament, the severall Injunctions of our Princes heretofore, & the 82 Canon now in force (as I hope I should as rightly understand them as any of my said subordinate Officers can do) given the said Vicar, Churchwardens, and parishioners, leave to remove the said Communion Table to the aforesaid place where it formerly stood, at such times as they are to receive the Communion. These are to require you not to be troublesome or molestfull to the said parties in any thing concerning the premises, untill you shall legally disprove unto me the truth of the aforesaid Certificate; and so I commend you to God, and am
Buckden this 19 of December,
1633.

Your very loving friend
and Bishop,

Joh. Lincolne.

The second, is a clause in Dr. Aylers Letter to Sir John Lambe, about rayling in Communion Tables.

Good Sir, &c. I have caused many of the Communion Tables within my Office-ary to be rayled in, and the people to come up and kneel and receive at the Rayle, (though with much opposition, especially in great clothing Townes, because they see no such thing, as they say in the Churches of London;) but since our Article Books for the Metropolitall visitation were delivered, they have found an Article, which as they conceive, gives them leave to remove their Table at the time of celebration, and place it as it may be most convenient for the parishioners to come about it and receive; w^{ch} in some places where the Minister is willing to please his people, undoes all which I have done, and layes on me an imputation, as if it were mine own invention, crossing that Article delivered by his Graces Visitor in his severall Visitations: for this I humbly desire to know his Graces pleasure and your best direction. You will be pleased to excuse the length of my seldome Letters, and to remember my humble service to his Grace.

Early 29 June 1636.

Your ever obliged servant and affectionate

Kinsman, Robert Ayle.

Here we see the Archbishop made the only common rule and directory of all these Innovations.

The third is a clause in D. Clerks Letter to Sir John Lambe concerning the removall of the Rayle and Communion Table at Northampton during the plague there.

Worthy Sir, &c. They now do what they list in the Church service at All-Saints in Northampton, and some very lately have (as I am informed) cut the Raile or Canceel that was about the Lords Board in Pieces, and have brought down the Lords Table into the middle of the Church: I long since advised the Mayor and some of his discreet Brethren, that the Tuesday Lecture and Sermon on Sundayes in the afternoon should be forborne in these infectious and dangerous times; they then raised a report of me, that I went about to starve their soules: you may do well to acquaint my Lords Grace with so much of this as you please. The schismaticall Puritans now bring

bring their Appeals from the Audience, as namely the Churchwardens of *Towcester*, who are questioned for not presenting some 80 or an hundred of their Parish who refused to receive the blessed Sacrament at the CANCEL at Easter last, &c.

Kingsth 17 June 1638.

Yours unfeined to love and serve you,

Sam. Clerke.

This Archbishop having thus introduced by successive degrees these severall popish Innovations, so far as to inforce them generally upon all Ministers, Churchwardens, Parishioners, Cathedrals, Parish-Churches, Chappels, and to receive Informations against those who were opposite to his designs herein; proceeded at last to the highest pitch of tyranny and arbitrary government in this kinde, even to question, persecute, censure, ruine Ministers, Churchwardens, and others in the High-Commission, Star-chamber, and elsewhere; who out of conscience refused to submit, or adventured to oppose these his illegall Romish Innovations; for proof whereof were produced severall sad and tragicall instances, not to be paralleld in any age. We shall begin with Presidents in the High Commission.

The first in this kinde, which we shall but name (because so publickly knowne and fully proved before both Houses this present Parliament) is the case of Master *Peter Smarts*, the ancientest Prebend in the Cathedral at *Durham*; who for preaching a Sermon in that Cathedral against the severall popish Innovations brought into that Church by Dr. *Cosens* and his confederates, as Images, Copes, Tapers, Crucifixes, bowing to the Altar, praying towards the East, turning the Communion Table of wood standing in the midst of the Quire into an Altar of stone, rayled in at the East end of the Quire Altarwise, & adorned after the popish manner with all kind of Romish furniture, was by this Archbishops means (as appears by divers letters between D. *Cosens* and him found in his Study at *Lambeth*) first questioned in the High-commission Court at *Durham*, then brought into the High-commission Court at *Lambeth*; after that transmitted thence to the High-commission at *Tork*; and there for this Sermon of his alone against these illegall Innovations, though a reverend grave Divine, every way conformable to the established doctrine and ceremonies of the Church, deprived of his Prebendary Benefice in *Durham*, and all his Ecclesiasticall preferments, degraded from his Ministry, fined 500 li. and imprisoned divers years, till this present Parliament, to his utter ruine, and above ten thousand pound damage, the Archbishop disposing of his Livings to his own Creatures.

This sentence of his in the High-commission at *Tork*, was seconded with another (though not of so high a nature) in the High-commission at *Lambeth*.

Mr. *Charles Chauncy*, Minister of *Ware* in *Hertfordshire*, within the Diocese of *London*, was articted against in the High-commission by the Archbishops procurement (when Bishop of *London*) together with one *Humphrey Parker*, only for opposing the rayling in of the Communion Table at *Ware*; and speaking against it as an innovation. Mr. *Gellibrand* testified upon his oath, that at the hearing of this cause, Doctor *Merick* of counsell with Mr. *Chauncy*, endeavoured to excuse and justify this his opposition, & dislike of the new Rayle, because it was first set up by some few of the parishioners without any warrant from the Bishop of the Dioces or his Chancellour, as was proved: whereupon the Archbishop grew exceeding angry, and threatened to suspend the Doctor from his practise, for pleading thus in his Clients behalte: whereupon the Doctor not daring to make any further defence, Mr. *Chauncy* was suspended from his Ministry, & both he and *Parker* sentenced to make a publick submission and recantation in open Court, condemned in costs of suit (taxed at 40 li.) which they were enforced to pay, & imprisoned till they had performed the order of the Court, or put in bond to do it. This was further manifested by the sentence and recantation it selfe, 4 Jan. 1635. recorded in the High Commission Register, *Lib. A. f. 164. 166. 331. & lib. C.* which sentence was read at the Lords Barre, in forme ensuing.

Officium

Officium Dominorū cont. Carolum Chauncy Clericum, nuper Vicarium de Ware in Com. Hertford. & Humphridum Parker Yeoman. Do. } Die Iovis viz. 26 Novemb. 1635. coram Commis. Regis apud Lambeth. Ryves.

At which day and place, the said Chauncy and Parker being publicly called for, appeared personally, in whose presence the proofs taken and made in this cause against them, were there publicly read; which done, Dr. Ryves his Majesties Advocate, and Dr. Parry of counsell for the Office, enforced the proofes made against them; and after that Dr. Zouch, Dr. Merrick, and D. Lewyn, being of Counsell for the defendants, enforced the proofs made for their defence: upon consideration whereof it evidently appeared to the Court out of the proofs had and made in this cause, that for three or two years next before the year of our Lord 1633. the said Charles Chauncy was Vicar of Ware, articulate within which time the Churchwardens of the Parish of Ware, for the avoiding of confusion and disorder, at the time of administration of the holy Communion (because some were conceived to receive it sitting or leaning in their seats) at a generall meeting of the parishioners; and with the consent of the greater part of them, agreed that the Communion Table should be placed in the Chancell of the parish-Church of Ware, and a Rayle set round about it with a bench thereunto affixed, whereon the communicants might kneele: that accordingly a Rayle with such a bench was set afterwards about the Communion Table in the middle of the Chancell of the said Church of Ware; and the same was approved of and confirmed by the Lord Bishop of London, Ordinary of the place, and M. Doct. Duck his Chancelour: but the foresaid rayle and bench was not set up, untill an Order came from the Ordinary for the erecting thereof. That M. Chauncey strongly opposed the setting up of the rayle and bench about the Communion Table, and professed thereupon that he would leave the place, or to that effect; and further gave out in speeches, that the parishioners had set up that rayle and bench of purpose to drive him away; with many other indiscreet speeches, expressing his great dislike thereof. That the said M. Chauncey and Humphry Parker laboured to divert the parishioners of Ware, from making and setting up of a rayle and bench about the Communion Table. And that the said H. Parker for his part, when the rayle and bench were set up about the Communion Table, and the Communion there celebrated by M. Craven, the now Minister; and when as M. Craven had perswaded the communicants there to come up to the Chancell to receive the holy Communion, refused so to do; that the said Humphry Parker made a journey the time articulate from Ware to Marsten Lawrence in Northamptonshire, to the dwellinghouse of M. Chauncey, being near fifty miles distant from Ware, to speak with M. Chauncey; at which time M. Chauncey upon conference had with Humphry Parker, promised to come to Ware, and accordingly did so, & lodged at the house of the said Humphry Parker. That the said M. Chauncey as well at his return to Ware, in the said Parkers house, as at other times in other places, in presence of divers of the parishioners of Ware, used many reproachfull speeches against the setting up of the said rayle and bench, in contempt of the just proceedings of his Ordinary, and the lawfulness thereof, as the Court conceived and pronounced, (viz.) the said M. Parker then and there speaking of the setting up of the said rayle and bench, affirmed, that it was an Innovation, a snare to mens consciences, superstitious, a breach of the second Commandement, an addition to Gods worship, and a block in M. Cravens way, meaning and speaking of M. Craven now Vicar of Ware, who is a learned and conformable Minister: and that the said M. Chauncey after the setting up of the said rayle and bench, took it in such ill part, that he never ministred the holy Communion more there. That M. Parker derided the same rayle and kneeling bench thereunto affixed, and scoffed at the setting up thereof, saying, it would serve far better

Note

'better purpose in his Garden, or to be set up in his Garden, or to such like effect.
 'All which the premises being well weighed and considered of; and after mature
 'deliberation had of all that was there said, and enforced by the counsell of either side;
 'the said M. Chauncey and Humphry Parker were both of them pronounced guilty
 'of a contempt against their Ordinary and jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall, and of raising
 'a Schisme and distraction in the Parish of Ware, being a great and populous parish;
 'by their opposition of the laudable gesture of receiving the holy Communion kneel-
 'ing, and their envying against the Rayle and bench, set up by sufficient authority for
 'that purpose about the Communion Table in the Chancel, for maintaining of good
 'order and conformity in the Church there, as may well appear, by M. Chauncies in-
 'veighing against the same, and his refusing to administer the holy Communion there
 'whilest he continued Vicar of Ware; for the which the said M. Chauncey in partem
 'pena, was by the Court suspended from the execution of his Ministeriall function,
 'and every part thereof, and ordered so to stand, untill by his submission and ac-
 'knowledge of his error, in broaching the said opinions tending to schisme and Note:
 'faction, this Court shall see cause to release him: which his submission and his ac-
 'knowledge is to be set down *prescriptis verbis*, by the Commissioners at In-
 'formations, and to be delivered unto him under the Registers hand of this Court,
 'and to be by him read and performed here in open Court, and then to be intimated
 'and made known in the parish Church of Ware, where he hath given such cause of
 'scandall and offence. He was further condemned in expences or colts of suit which
 'are to be moderately taxed by the Commissioners at Informations. And the said
 'Humphry Parker was likewise condemned in moderate charges or expences, and
 'to make his submission in like manner, *conceptis verbis*, as this Court shall appoint.
 'Lastly, they were both ordered to stand committed till they shall give sufficient bond
 'in a 100 li. a piece to his Majesties use, for the performance of the order of the
 'Court. And because it was alleaged and pretended on M. Chauncies behalfe, that
 'since his coming to be Parson of Marsten-Lawrence in Northamptonshire, he had
 'in testimony of his conformity, set up, or caused to be set up such a Rayle about the
 'Communion Table in the Chancell of his parish Church there, the Court decreed
 'Letters to be sent from this Court to the Lord Bishop of Peterborough, to desire his
 'Lordship to enquire of the truth of this allegation, and to certifie this Court of the
 'truth thereof, the second Session of the next Tearm: As also how the said Master
 'Chauncey hath otherwise conformed himselfe there to the orders of the Church of
 'England, here by law established.
 The manner and form of M. Chauncies recantation the next court-day, for speaking
 against the rayle, is thus recorded in the High Commission Register.

This day the said Mr. Chauncey appeared personally, and with bended knees
 read his submission in Court, which followes.

'Whereas I Charles Chauncey Clerk, late Vicar of Ware, in the County of Hert-
 'ford, stand by sentence of this honourable Court legally convicted, for opposing the Note:
 'setting of a rayle about the Communion Table in the Chancell of the Parish-church
 'of Ware, with a bench thereunto affixed, for the Communicants to resort unto, and
 'to receive the blessed Sacrament there, kneeling upon their knees, and for using in-
 'vective speeches against the said rayle and bench, saying it was an Innovation, a
 'snare to mens consciences, and a breach of the second Commandement, an addition
 'to the Lords worship, and that which hath driven me out of Towne. I the said
 'Charles Chauncey do here before this honourable Court, acknowledge my great of-
 'fence in using the said invective words, and am heartily sorry for the same. I protest, Note:
 'and am ready to declare by vertue of mine Oath, that I now hold, and am perswa-
 'ded in my conscience, that kneeling at the receiving of the holy Communion is a
 'lawfull and commendable gesture; and that a rayle set up in the Chancell of any
 Church

Church by the authority of the Ordinary, with a bench thereunto affixed for the communicants, to repaire unto to receive the holy Communion kneeling, is a decent and convenient ornament for that purpose, and this Court conceiveth, that the rayle set up lately in the Parish-church of *Ware*, with the bench affixed, is such an one. And I do further confesse, that I was much to blame for opposing the same, and do promise from henceforth, never by word or deed to oppose either that or any other the *laudable rites* and ceremonies prescribed and commanded to be used in the Church of England.

Charles Chauncey.

Note

Which submission being thus as aforesaid read and subscribed by the said Master Chauncey, his Counsell moved that he might be dismissed; but the Counsell for the Office desired, that the said M. Chauncey might here receive a judicall admonition, which the Court conceiving very fit and requisite, the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the name of the whole Court, did now judicially admonish the said Charles Chauncey, from henceforth to carry himself peaceably and conformably to the doctrine and discipline, rites and ceremonies established and commanded to be used in the Church of England; and neither by word nor deed to oppose or bring into disesteem any of them, with this intimation; That in case he were convented againe for any opposition or refractorinesse touching the premises, that the Court intended to proceed against him with all severity, and with this admonition the Court dismissed him the said M. Chauncey from any further attendance touching this cause, he first paying the charges of suit taxed against him, and the fees of his dismissal.

M. Burdits case,

These two leading cases and censures in the High-commissions, at *York* and *Lambeth*, seconded with this enforced submission, struck such a terror into most Ministers and Churchwardens in those parts, that few or none durst oppose those Innovations; and gave such encouragement to the Prelates and popish Clergie, that they proceeded vigorously in the pressing, introducing of them every where; and if any man durst oppose or vary from their injunctions, they were presently brought into the High-commission; and there proceeded against with utmost rigour.

This was manifested by the case of Mr. *Miles Burkitt*, one of the Vicars of *Pateshall* in *Northamptonshire*; who for delivering the Sacrament only to some who refused out of conscience to come up to the new Rayle, and removing the Communion Table at the Sacrament time into the midst of the Chancell without the rayle, according to the very Letter of Queen *Elizabeths* Injunctions and the 82 Canon, was apprehended by a Pursevant in the Year 1638, and thus Articled against in the High-commission at *Lambeth*, by Sir *John Lambes* and the Archbishops meanes, among whose papers his Articles were found, and read at the Lords Barre, being attested by Master *Prynne*.

Inprimis, we Article and object to you the said *Miles Burkitt*, that you doe not bow at the Name of *J. E. S. U. S.* in time of Divine Service.

Note.

Item, we Article and object, that you the said *Miles Burkitt*, being enjoined by the Ordinary or his Surrogates officiate for him, to keep within the rayles at the ministring of the Sacrament, and to give the Sacrament to none that will not come up to the rayles; he the said *Miles Burkitt* in contempt of his said Ordinary, doth come forth out of the said rayles, and doth administer the Sacrament to many that will not come up to the said rayles; *Hocque fuit & est verum, &c.*

Note.

Item, we Article and object, that you the said *Miles Burkitt*, did consent, procure, and abet *Paul Gardner* one of the Churchwardens of *Pateshall* in the County of *Northampton* aforesaid, to remove and carry down forth of the rayles the Communion Table into the body of the Chancell, and there did minister the holy Sacrament on Easterday last past, and other times, notwithstanding the Articles of your Diocesan to the contrary. *Hocque fuit & est verum, &c.*

Upon

Upon which Articles, this good Minister was for a long time vexed in the High-commission, and almost ruined.

From Ministers thus persecuted for opposing these Innovations of rayling in Communion Tables Altarwise, and administering the Sacrament at the Rayles, we shall proceed to Church-wardens severally prosecuted, excommunicated, and undone, for not rayling in Communion Tables only, or removing them out of the rayles.

We shall begin with the Churchwardens of *Beckington* in the County of Somerset, whose case, by the testimonies of Mr. *John Aſh* (a Member of the House of Commons, and Lord of that Parish) of M. *William Long*, and M. *George Long* (who solicited the cause in the Churchwardens behalfe) was manifested to be thus. The Communion Table in the Parish-church of *Beckington* had for 70 years and more stood in the midst of the Chancell, enclosed with a very decent Wainscot-border, and a dore, with seats for the Communicants to receive in, round about it: In the year 1633. D. *Pierce* Bishop of *Bath and Wells* (a great creature of *Canterburies*) appointed certaine Commissioners to view the Churches within his Diocese, & certifie to him the defects thereof: who viewing the Church of *Beckington* certified among other things, that there was not a decent Communion Table in it, neither was it placed under the East window, nor railed in otherwise then with a Border about it; where the communicants kneel at the holy Communion, and that there were seats above the Communion Table. To which Certificate the Churchwardens and Sidemen of *Beckington* were ordered by the Bishop to return an answer under their hands before *Ascension-day* 1634. which they did accordingly. After which the Churchwardens were enjoined by the Bishop by word of mouth, to remove and rayle in their Communion Table Altarwise, against the East end of the Chancel: which they refusing to doe, conceiving it to be against the Rubrick, Q. *Elizabeths* Injunctions, and the 82 Canons thereupon *James Wheeler*, & *John Fry*, Churchwardens, were on the 9 of June 1635. cited into the Bishops Court at *Wells*, before *William Hunt* the Bishops Surrogate, and D. *Duck* his Chancelour; for that the Communion Table in the Chancell of *Beckington* was not placed under the East window of the Chancel, nor rayled in otherwise then with a Border about it, and that there were seats above the said Table; who admonished them to repaire the said defects, and to place the Lords Table against the East wall of the Chancell, with the ends of it North and South, as it stood in the Cathedral Church at *Wells*, with a rayle about it; and to certifie that they had done all this by the 6 of October following; At which day they were excommunicated in open Court by the Bishop himself, for refusing to remove and rayle in the Table and pull down the said seats. Whereupon the Churchwardens appealed to the Arches for relief, where after much waiting and solicitation, they procured from Sir *John Lambe*, Dean of the Arches, a Letter to the Bishop to absolve them for a time, w^{ch} he did only for 27 dayes, admonishing them to submit to what he had formerly enjoined them; for not doing whereof he excommunicated them againe in open Court on the 18 of January following. Hereupon the Churchwardens appealed to the Arches the second time, and petitioned the Archbishop for reliefe, to which Petition this Certificate under the hands of about one hundred of the Parishioners was annexed.

The Churchwardens of Beckingtons case.

Nota.

To the most Reverend Father in God; and Right Honourable; *William* by Gods providence, *Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan over all England.*

* We the Inhabitants and parishioners of *Beckington* in the County of *Somerset*, do
* humbly certifie, that the Communion Table of our Church of *Beckington*, hath
* and doth stand in the midst of the Chancel, being the most convenientest place
* (time out of minde) and beyond the remembrance of any of our parishioners now
* living. And that near threescore years since the pavement of the said Chancel, upon
* which the Communion Table standeth, was new made, and in the new making
* thereof,

thereof, raised about a foot above the rest of the ground of the said Chancell, and then also compassed about with a fair Wainscot border, in which there is only one Wainscot door to come into the said Table, which door is kept fast, and none doth enter in thereat, but the Minister and such as he doth require; which said Communion Table doth at the day of the date hereof, stand so conveniently and decently as aforesaid. And we the said parishioners, with an unanimous consent do humbly pray, That it may so continue freed from all Innovation. And so do humbly take our leaves, dated this 19 day of December, *Anno Dom. 1635.*

But notwithstanding this Petition and Certificate, the Archbishop refused to admit of their Appeal, threatned them with the High-commission, and to lay their Solicitor by the heels, commanding them to submit to and obey their *Diocesan*, who sent up all the proceedings in this cause to the Archbishop, with severall reasons why this Table should be removed, (found in the Archbishops study by Mr. *Prynne*, endorsed with his own hand :) Whereupon they were enforced to petition the King himself for reliefe; informing his Majesty, That the Communion Table had continued as then it stood, by the approbation of all the Archbishops & Bishops of that Diocese, during the reignes of Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and even eleven years in his Majesties reigne, as appeared by a Certificate under the hands of almost an hundred of the parishioners hands annexed to the Petition; desiring the Table might not be removed: but the Archbishop by his power hindred them from receiving any relief from his Majesty: upon what grounds and reasons, this Letter of the Bishop of *Bath and Wells* to Sir *John Lambe*, will best discover.

Good Master Deane,

According to my promise in my Letter to you the last week, I have now sent unto you a copy of all my proceedings in the cause, concerning the Chancel of the Parish-church of *Beckington*, and the placing of the Communion Table therein, together with my reasons for the same, which I hope will give you full satisfaction in this businesse; I have sent likewise a copy to my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*; not that I think it worthy of his reading, or that he hath leisure to peruse it, but that it may lye by him; that when you speak with his Grace about this, among other businesses, his Grace may have recourse to my papers, if he think fit.

Note.

There are in my Diocese 469 Churches and Chappels, or thereabout, and the Communion Tables are placed already in above 140 of them, as the Communion Table is placed in our Cathedrall Church here: I have begun and proceeded herein in a perswasive way; some parishes were no sooner spoken to, but they obeyed; other Parishes refused at the first, but they were quickly satisfied, and then submitted; only the Churchwardens of *Beckington*, being encouraged and back'd by divers of the parish, not so well affected to the government and rites of the Church as they should be, are become obstinate, and will have the Chancell ordered, and the Communion Table there placed as the parishioners shall think fit, who also bear the charges of these Churchwardens, as they have confessed unto me; which was the cause why they hastned so speedily to London, and stayed so long there, about this businesse.

Note.

If these men have their wils, the example will do a great deal of harme, for then many of the Parishes which have already conformed themselves to the Cathedrall will fall back, and other Parishes will never come on to this conformity, who are now at a stand to see what will be done in the Chancell of *Beckington*. I know your judgement and affection to the Church concures with mine, and therefore I am assured you will do nothing herein, but that which shall be for the good of the Church and preservation of authority in all things just and lawfull.

I pray, If *D. Duck* desire to read the copy of the proceedings and reasons which I have sent you, let him borrow it of you, for it is fit my Chancelour should be acquainted

'quainted with these things, whose counsell and assistance must be used therein. And
'to with remembrance of my true love, and best wishes to you, I commend you to
'the grace of God, and rest

Your very affectionate and faithfull friend,
Gnil. Bath and Wels.

Wels 2 Jan. 1635.

Hereupon the poor Churchwardens being destitute of all relief, continued ex-communicated about a whole year, after which they were taken and imprisoned in the common Gaole, a long time, upon a *Capias Excommunicatum*: from whence at last they were released by the Bishop, upon this ensuing submission and pennance; worse then any imprisonment.

A true Copy of the Pennance that James Wheeler and John Frye were enjoined unto by my Lord Bishop of Bath and Wels, examined by those whose names are underwritten; Thomas Iles, John Bailly, George Long, William Webb.

Whereas the right reverend Father in God, William by Gods permission Lord Bishop of Bath and Wels, hath heretofore lawfully required and commanded James Wheeler and John Frye, late Churchwardens of the Parish-church of Beckington, within the Dioces of Bath and Wels aforesaid, to remove the Communion Table in the Chancell of their said parish-Church; and to place it close under the East Wall of the said Chancell, in the same manner and forme as the Communion Table standeth in the Cathedrall Church in Wells aforesaid, and to remove the seats placed above the said Table. And likewise whereas they the said James Wheeler and John Frye, contemned and wilfully disobeyed the command of the said Reverend Father, and have in most contemptuous manner stood excommunicated for their said contempt, for the space of one whole yeare now last past, or thereabouts, not regarding nor fearing the dreadfull Censure of the Church. And have likewise some dayes last past stood aggravated, and have been signified unto the Kings most excellent Majesty for the apprehending their bodies, and committing them to the Common-gaole of the Connty of Somerset, the rather to compell them to their due obedience to the lawfull command of the Church: now upon the earnest request and submission of the said Wheeler and Fry, the said Reverend Father hath absolved them from the said sentences, and enjoined unto them, that upon Sunday the 25 day of Iune, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand six hundred thirty seven, they in their usuall apparell shall stand, first in the middle Ally in the Parish-church of Beckington aforesaid, and there immediately after the reading of the Gospell, shall openly and penitently with an audible voice, make this acknowledgement following, repeating the same after the Minister, viz.

We James Wheeler and John Fry, do here before this Congregation assembled, acknowledge and confesse, that we have grievously offended the Divine Majesty of Almighty God, and the lawes Ecclesiasticall of this Realme of England, in that we have in contemptuous manner refused to remove the Communion Table in the Chancell of the Parish-church of Beckington, and to place it close under the East Wall of the said Chancell, in the same manner and forme as the Communion Table standeth in the Cathedrall Church in Wells, and to remove the seats placed above the said Table, being thereunto lawfully and iudicially monished, and warned, by the right reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wels. And in that for our contempts and disobediences, in not performing the said lawfull command of the said reverend Father, we have suffered our selves to be lawfully excommunicated, and so to stand for the space of one whole yeare last past, or thereabouts; not fearing nor regarding the dreadfull censure of the Church. And in like or rather more contemptuous manner have suffered our selves to be lawfully aggravated and signified according to the laudable laws & statutes of this Realm, thereby

in a legall manner to compell us to our due obedience to the lawfull command of the Church. And we do hereby protest, that we are right heartily sorry for the same, and we do faithfully promise, never from henceforth to offend in the like againe, but to demean our selves as shall become good Christians and dutifull subjects: and we doe ask God forgiveness for this our sinne and offence, and you all here present, for our evill example.

And we doe desire you all to pray for us and with us to Almighty God, that it may please him of his infinite goodnesse to forgive us of this our offence.

And then humbly and penitently kneeling downe, must devoutly rehearse the Lords Prayer, and they must certifie hereof at Wells in writing, subscribed to these presents, under the hands of the Minister and Churchwardens of Beckington aforesaid, on Tuesday the 27 day of Iune aforesaid, together with this Schedule.

And the like penance is to be performed by the within named James Wheeler and John Fry for the same offence in the Parish-church of Froom-selwood, within the Diocess aforesaid, before the Pulpit or Ministers seat there, in manner and forme prescribed, on Sunday the 2 day of Iuly Anno predict. And certificate must be made of the due performance thereof as aforesaid, under the hands of the Minister and Churchwardens there, upon Tuesday the fourth day of Iuly aforesaid, subscribed to these presents.

And the like penance is further to be performed by the said James Wheeler and John Fry for the same offence in the Parish-church of S. Peter and Pauls in Bathe, within the Diocess above mentioned, upon Sunday the ninth day of Iuly above written, and certificate is to be made accordingly, the 11 day of Iuly aforesaid.

Ja. Huishe Reg.

This order of penance enjoyned unto the within named John Fry and Ja. Wheeler, of the Parish of Beckington, was accordingly performed by them in the Parish-church there, the 25 day of Iune 1637.

Alexander Huishe Rector. *ibid.*

The mark of Richard Burt Churchwarden.
Alexander Webb

This order of penance enjoyned unto the within named John Fry and Ja. Wheeler, of the Parish of Beckington, was accordingly performed by them in the Parish Church of Froom-selwood, the 2 day of Iuly 1637.

John Beaumont Curat, *ibid.*

Thomas Albyn } Churchwardens.
John Nortolke }

William Cooke.

This order of penance enjoyned unto the within named John Fry, and Ja. Wheeler, of the Parish of Beckington was accordingly performed by them in the Parish-church of the said S. Peter and Paul in Bathe, the 9 Iuly 1637.

Theoph. Webbe, Rector *ibid.*

Richard Dunc } Churchwardens.
Thomas Parker }

Henry Gaye.

The shame of this penance and submission made against these poor mens consciences did so afflict them, that they never enjoyed themselves afterwards, James Wheeler falling presently after sick and dying, professing often on his death-bed, that this penance and submission, so much against his conscience, had broken his heart, & was the only cause of his sicknesse and death. The Bishop of Bathe and Wells protested, that he did nothing herein but by the Archbishops direction, with which Mr. John Ash acquainting the Archbishop since his commitment to the Tower, he acknowledged it to be true, and that he did herein like an obedient Diocesan to his Metropolitan.

What further tyrannicall and unheard of proceedings were afterwards used by this Archbishops means against the Churchwardens and some of other Parishioners of

of Beckington for opposing Mr. Hūish their Minister in rayling in the Communion Table, and raising a new Mount at the East end of the Chancel, in a peaceable manner, we shall further give in evidence in a more proper charge.

The next example we shall instance in, is the case of *Ferdinando Adams*, one of the Churchwardens of *S. Mary Fowre Church in Ipswich*, who together with his fellow Church-warden *Titus Camplin*, was excommunicated by *Henry Dade* (one of the Archbishops Substitutes in his Metropolitall Visitation, and Surrogate to Sir *Nathaniel Brent*) in the Archbishops own name, For not taking downe the seates standing above the Communion Table in this Church, and railing in the Table Altar-wise against the wall, as he was enjoyned, by Sir *Nathaniel Brent* the Archbishops Vicar-general, in his Metropolitall Visitation. This was proved by the Excommunication it self, read in the Lords House in these following words.

Ferdinando Adams his case.

Note.

Gulielmus providentia divina Cant. Archiepisc. totius Anglie Primas & Metropolitannus, ad quem omnis & omnimoda Jurisdictio spiritualis & Ecclesiastica, ad Episcopum Norwicens. spectat. & pertinent. ratione Visitationis nostrae Metropoliticae infra Dioeces. Norwic. modo exercit. notorie dignoscitur pertinere; Universis & singulis Rectoribus, &c. salutem. Cum dilectus noster Magister Henricus Dade, omnes & singulas personas utriusque sexus quorum nomina & cognomina inferius subscribuntur & recitantur &c. Excommunicandos fore decrevit, &c. Vobis igitur firmiter injungendo mandamus, quatenus praefatas personas in praescriptis sic ut praefatur, auctoritate nostra excommunicatas, pro sic excommunicatis in Ecclesiis vestris parochialibus diebus Dominicis ac Festivis post receptionem praesentium immediate sequentibus tempore divinorum, dum major in iisdem ad divina audienda adfuerit populi multitudo, palam & publice denunciatis & declaratis cum effectu, sub poena iuris, &c. Datum sub sigillo quo in hac parte utimur, decimo die mensis Iulij An. Dom. 1635. sanctae Mariae ad Turrim Gipwici, Ferdinando Adams, Titum Camplin Gardianos ibidem, in non removendo sedilia ab Orientali muro infra Cancellum Ecclesiae, & in non statuendo Mensam Dominicam in supremo loco juxta murum, praedictum secundum monitionem judicialem Dom. Nathanielis Brent Militis, Domini Archiepiscopi Vicarii in spiritualibus generalis, judicialiter factam.

Note.

Ferdinando Adams being thus excommunicated, sought to avoid this Excommunication by an Appeale, but could procure no release. and being laid in wait for by Pursuivants out of the High-commission for suing *Dade* in the Star-chamber, where this Excommunication was pleaded in Bar against him, he was enforced to leave the Kingdom, & flye into *New England* till this Parliament, almost to his utter undoing, as he attested upon oath, and shall be hereafter more fully proved in another charge.

Ioh. Premly his case.

To this we shall subjoyne the case of *Iohn Premly* one of the Church-wardens of *Lewis* in *Sussex*, who was prosecuted in the High-commission Court, and there on the 8 of May 1638. censured fined, imprisoned, condemned in costs of suit, and ordered to make a submission, for that when as Sir *Nathaniel Brent* in the Archbishops Metropolitall Visitation, by injunction from the said Archbishop, had ordered the Communion Table in the Church of *Lewis* to be placed North and South at the upper end of the Chancel, and there rayled in, which was done accordingly, *Premly* in a contemptuous manner had removed it from thence, unto the place where it formerly stood; whereupon Dr. *Nevel* himself replacing it at the East end of the Chancell North and South, according to the said Archbishops Injunction, he presumed againe to remove and bring it down to its ancient place, to the great affront of his Graces Injunctions, and the ill example of others. All which was manifested by the very Sentence it self recorded in the High-commission Register-book, which was read in the House of Peers to the effect aforesaid.

The Committee of the Commons house alleaged, that sundry other examples of like nature, and of excommunicating hundreds of consciencious people for refusing to receive the Sacrament at the new rayles, might be produced in most Dioecesse of England, but they would content themselves with these alone, and that of Mr. *Samuel Burroughs* of *Colchester*, which they should make use of upon another occasion; and proceed

proceed to such who had been grievously censured in the Star-chamber & High-commission by the Archbishops means for opposing, defacing, or preaching against the use or setting up idolatrous Pictures of God the Father, & Christ, & Saints in Churches, in direct opposition to our Homilies against the *perill of idolatry*, (confirmed by the 39 Articles) and contrary to our Statutes, Injunctions, Canons, and the current of all our Orthodox writers.

M. Hen. Sherfield's case.

The first president of this nature instanced in, was the case of Mr. Henry Sherfield a Benchet of *Lincolns-Inne*, the true state whereof was briefly this. M. Sherfield being Recorder of *Sarum*, a Justice of peace within that City, and an inhabitant of *S. Edmonds* Parish there, took just offence at some pictures in one of the glasse-windows in that Church, near unto his seat, and ever in his eye: in which window was contained in old, rude, rusty painted glasse, the History of the Creation, not as it is related by *Moses* in the first Chapter of *Genesis*, but after the Painters fancy; who in this window (consisting only of four panes, had made no lesse then seven pictures of God the Father, in form of a little old man clad in a blew and red coat, with a pouch by his side, about the bignesse of a Puppet; and preposterously placed the fourth daies work of creation before the third, and made that to be done on the fifth day, which was created on the sixth: and in one place he had represented God the Father creating the Sunne and Moon, and squaring the mout with a pair of compasses in his hand, as if he had formed them by some Geometrical rules, and the help of a Compasse. To these pictures M. Sherfield and others had seen *Ema Browne* and other old women make low curtesies, who being demanded why they made such curtesies? answered, that they made them to their Lord God, and to God the Father in the Glasse-window, which was proved by divers * *Witnesses* upon oath: Whereupon M. Sherfield being perswaded in point of conscience, that these Idolatrous Pictures were directly forbidden by the second Commandement, and many expresse Texts of Scripture, prohibiting any representations of God the Father, condemned thus by the Homilies of our Church against the *Perill of idolatry*, Part. 3. p. 40. which determine that, *The Image of God the Father, the Sonne, and Holy Ghost, either severally, or the images of the Trinity, be by the Scriptures expressly forbidden and condemned, as appears by these places, Deut. 4. Isay 40. Acts 17. Rom. 1.* (there cited at large) By these and many other places of Scripture, it is evident, that no Image either ought or can be made to God. For how can God a most pure spirit, Whom man never saw, be expressed by a grosse body, or visible similitude? or how can the infinite Majesty and greatnesse of God incomprehensible to mans minde, much more not able to be compassed with the sense, be expressed in a SMAL and LITTLE IMAGE? (as this of God the Father was :) How can a dead and dumbe Image expresse the living God? &c. Wherefore an Image of God is not only a lye, but a double lye also. But the Devill is a lyar, and the Father of lyes. Wherefore the lying Images which be made of God, to his great dishonour and horrible danger of his people, came from the Devill. Wherefore they be convicted of foolishnesse and wickednesse in making of Images of God or the Trinity; for no Image of God ought or can be made, yea, and once to desire an Image of God, commeth of infidelity, thinking not God here present, except they see some signe or Image of him. And to be abolished out of Churches, by the resolution of Queen *Elizabeths* Injunctions, the Canons, and Orthodox Writers of our Church, the Statutes of our Realme, and King *James* his own resolution in sundry of his Works; moved the Parish at a Vestry where were six Justices of Peace present, that he might have liberty to take down this offensive scandalous Window, being a burthen to his conscience, an occasion of much superstition and idolatry to ignorant people, and the Church it self a Donative (as they conceived) belonging to the parishioners, and to set up a new window of white glasse in its place; whereupon it was unanimously ordered by the Vestry, about January 1629 and the Order entred, that if M. Sherfield thought fit he might take downe the painted old glasse of this Window, and set up new. Whereupon not long after, he did with his staffe brake or picke out some of these peeces of glasse representing God the Father, which amounted not to above the value of six pence (the whole

* Mr. Peter Thatcher Minister of the Parish, and three others.

whole glasse window not being worth forty shillings when it was new) intending to new glaze the same. Whereupon by the Archbishops means and instigation, an Information was exhibited against him in the Star-chamber, by the Kings Attorney Generall, for breaking these idolatrous pictures, and that in opposition of the Church-government established by law among us. This cause was prosecuted with all rigour, and at last brought to a hearing on the 8 of February 1632. where this Archbishop, then Bishop of London, (as was proved by the Oathes of Master Tomlins, a Barrister of the Temple, M. Joseph Caryl, Lecturer at Lincolnes Inne, and the testimony of M. Robert Nicholas a Member of the Commons House, & a Commissioner in that cause) shewed himselfe very violent against M. Sherfield, made a long speech in defence of Images in Churches, contrary to our Homilies, justified the picturing of God the Father in forme of an old man; out of that place of Daniel, where God is called, * The ancient of dayes, * Dan. 9. which the Earl of Dorset refused (being an expression only of Gods eternity, declaring him to be before all times;) and notwithstanding it was proved by four witnesses, that those pictures were adored by dozens persons, yet the Archbishop was so violent against Mr. Sherfield, that for breaking of these idolatrous pictures (according to the doctrine of our Church in the Homilies against the perill of Idolatry, Queen Elizabeth Injunctions, and the statute of 3. & 4 E. 6. ca. 10. which were pleaded for his justification) he aggravated his offence to the utmost, from his Office, his Age, his profession, and divers other circumstances, instead of mitigating it, fined him a thousand pound to the King, sentenced him to be removed from his Recordership in that City, to make a publick acknowledgement of his great fault in the Parish-church where this was done, and in the Cathedrall at Salisbury, and to be bound to his good behaviour; some of the Temporall Lords excused his fact, spake much against Images; and thought it fit to impose no fine upon him. This Archbishop then concluded his speech against M. Sherfield, in justification of Images, with these words, I have been the millinger to render this account at this time, because some are ready to slander Us, as maintainers of P O P I S H SUPERSTITION, and I know not what. This sentence gave great encouragement to the setting up of superstitious idolatrous Pictures, Images, and Crucifixes in our Churches; and discouraged most men from opposing the intended introducing of them, which followed thereupon in sundry places.

To this we shall adde the Archbishops tyrannicall sentence and proceedings against M. John Workeman a godly painfull Minister, Lecturer in the City of Gloucester, for preaching against Images in Churches. This pious Minister being Lecturer in S. Stephens Church in that City, was prosecuted for preaching publickly in a Sermon there, That Pictures or Images were no more ornaments to a Church, then Stewes to a Common-wealth; That for a man to have any Image of any Saint, especially of our Saviour in his house, is unlawfull; and that if any man kept such pictures in his house, if it were not flat Idolatry, yet it was little better. This was the maine charge against him: to which was added, that he used some harsh expressions against lascivious mixt dancing, especially on the Lords day, citing only the words of the * Waldenses in their censure against Dancing, (borrowed from * Vincentius Belvacensis, & * Gulielmus Perardus, two Popish Writers of great note; and justified by Bishop Babington in his exposition upon the seventh Commandement) and that he prayed for the States of Holland the King of Sweden, and other Generals beyond the seas in his prayer, before he prayed for the King that now is over us; which was but according to the usuall course of all or most Ministers, who first prayed for the whole Catholick Church in generall, next for the Protestant Churches and Princes beyond the seas, and then for the Church and King of England, and agreeable to the forme of the very Common-prayer book, in the prayer for the whole state of Christs Church, &c. which runs thus, We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes and Governours, (which comprehends all foreine Princes in the first place) and especially thy servant Charles our King, &c. who is remembered last of all, but yet in a more speciall manner. But these two last particulars, though mentioned in his sentence, were no inducements to it, but only the first passage against Images, which M. Workeman justified out of divers of our owne English

M. Iohn Workemans case.

* Hist. of the waldens. par. 3. l. 2. c. 9.

* Speculum morale, l. 3. p. 9. dist. 9.

* Summa virtutum & vitiorum. tom. 2. Tit. de luxuria.

c. 3.

English Authors, and the very *Homilies against the perill of Idolatry, Part .3. p. 41. to 63 1.* which determine thus : *That no Image of God, or the Trinity, or of Christ, may or ought to be made ; that such Images are not only defects but lyes, and teach nothing of God or Christ, but lyes and errors. That Images placed publickly in Temples, cannot possibly be without danger of worshipping and idolatry : wherefore they are not publickly to be, or suffered in Temples and Churches, &c.*

We infer and say for the Adversative, that all our Images of God, our Saviour Christ, and his Saints, publickly set up in Temples and Churches, places peculiarly appointed to the true worship of God, be not things indifferent nor tolerable, but against Gods law & commandment, taking their own interpretation and exposition of it. First, for that all Images so set up publickly, have bin worshipped of the unlearned and simple sort, shortly after they had been publickly so set up, and in conclusion of the wise and learned also. Secondly, for that they are worshipped in sundry places now in our time also. And thirdly, for that it is impossible that Images of God, Christ, or his Saints, can be suffered (especially in Temples and Churches) any while or space without worshipping of them, and that Idolatry which is most abominable before God, cannot possibly be escaped and avoided, without the abolishing and destruction of Images and Pictures in Temples and Churches, for that Idolatry is to Images, specially in Temples and Churches an inseparable accident (as they tearm it) so that Images in Churches, and Idolatry, go alwayes both together, and that therefore the one cannot be avoided except the other (specially in all publick places) be destroyed. Wherefore to make Images, and publickly to set them up in the Temples and Churches, places appointed peculiarly to the service of God, is to make Images to the use of Religion, and not only against this precept, *Thou shalt make no manner of Images, but against this also, Thou shalt not bow downe to them, nor worship them :* for they being set up, have been, be, and ever will be worshipped, &c. That it is not possible if Images be suffered in Churches and Temples, either by the preaching of Gods Word or by any other means to keep the people from worshipping of them, and so to avoid idolatry, &c. What can we do, I say, or bring to passe to the stay of Idolatry, or worshipping of Images, if they be allowed to stand publickly in Temples and Churches? And if so many, so mighty Emperours, by so severe Lawes and Proclamations, so rigorous and extreame punishments and executions, could not stay the people from setting up and worshipping of Images, what will ensue thinke you, when men shall commend them as necessary books of the Laymen? Let us therefore of these latter dayes learn this lesson of the experience of ancient Antiquity, That Idolatry cannot possibly be separated from Images any long time, but that as an inseparable accident, or as a shadow followeth the body when the Sunne shineth, so Idolatry followeth and cleaveth to the publick having of Images in Temples and Churches. And finally, as Idolatry is to be abhorred and avoided, so are Images which cannot be long without Idolatry, to be put away and destroyed. Besides the which experiments and proof of time before, the very nature and origine of Images themselves draweth to Idolatry most violently, and mens nature and inclination also is bent to Idolatry so vehemently, that it is not possible to sever or part Images, nor keep men from Idolatry, if Images be suffered publickly, &c. For if the origine of Images and worshipping of them, as it is recorded in the eight Chap. of the Book of Wisdom, began of a blind love of a fond father, framing for his comfort an Image of his Sonne being dead ; and so at the last men fell to the worshipping of him whom they did know to be dead : how much more will men and women fall to the worshipping of the Image of God, our Saviour Christ, and his Saints, if they be suffered to stand in Churches and Temples publickly. For the greater the opinion is of the majesty and holinesse of the person to whom an Image is made, the sooner will the people fall to the worshipping of the said Image. Wherefore the Images of God, our Saviour Christ the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Apostles, Martyrs, and other of notable holinesse, are of all other Images most dangerous for the perill of Idolatry, and therefore greatest heed to be taken, that none of them be suffered to stand publickly

Note.

to stand publikely in Churches and Temples. For there is no great dread least any should fall to the worshipping of Images of *Annas, Caiphas, Pilate, or Judas* the Traitor; if they were set up.

But to the other, it is already at full proved; That Idolatry hath been, is, and is most like continually to be committed. Now as the Nature of man is none otherwise bent to worshipping of Images (if he may have them and see them) then it is bent to whordome and Idolatry in the company of an harlot. And as a man given to the lust of the flesh, seeing a wanton harlot, sitting by her, and imbracing her, it profiteth little for one to say beware of fornication; God will condemn fornicators and adulterers: for neither will he, being overcome with greater intisements of the strumpet, give eare or take heed to such godly admonition, and when he is left afterwards alone with the harlot, nothing can follow but wickednesse: Even so, suffer Images to be set in Churches and Temples, ye shall in vaine bid them beware of Images, as Saint *John* doth; and flee Idolatry as the Scriptures warn us: ye shall in vaine preach and teach against Idolatry. For a number will notwithstanding fall headlong unto it, what by the nature of Images, and what by the Inclination of their own corrupt Nature.

Wherefore as for a man given to lust, to sit down by a strumpet, is to tempt God. So is it likewise to erect an Idoll in this pronesse of mans nature to Idolatry, nothing but a tempting. Now if any will say, that this similitude proveth nothing, yet I pray them let the Word of God, out of the which the similitude is taken, prove something. Doth not the Word of God call Idolatry spirituall fornication? Doth it not call a gilt or a painted Idoll or Image, A strumpet with a painted face? Be not the Spirituall wickednesse of an Idols enticing, like the flatteries of a wanton Harlot? Be not men and women as prone to spirituall fornication (I mean Idolatry) as to carnall Fornication? If this be denyed let all Nations upon the earth which have been Idolaters (as by all stories appeareth) prove it true. Let the Jews and the people of God, which were so often and so earnestly warned, so dreadfully threatened, concerning Images and Idolatry, and so extremely punished therefore, (and yet fell unto it) prove it to be true, as in almost all the books of the Old Testament, namely, the *Kings*, and the *Chronicles* and the *Prophets*, it appeareth most evidently. Let all Ages and times, and men of all ages and times, of all degrees and conditions, Wise-men, Learned-men, Princes, Ideots, unlearned and Commonalty prove it to be true. If you require Examples; for wise men you have the *Egyptians*, and the *Indian Gymnosophistes*, for the wisest men of the world, you have *Solomon* the wisest of all other: For learned men the *Greeks* and namely the *Athenians*, exceeding all other Nations in superstition and Idolatry, as in the History of the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, Saint *Paul* chargeth them. For the Princes and Governours, you have the *Romans* the rulers of the roast, (as they say) you have the same fornamed King *Solomon*, and all the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah* after him, saving *David*, *Ezechias*, and *Josiah*, and one or two more. All these (I say) and infinite others, wise learned Princes and Governours, being all Idolaters, have you for examples and a proof of mens inclination to Idolatry. That I may passe over with silence in the mean time, infinite multitudes and millions of Idiots and unlearned, the ignorant and grosse people, like unto horses and mules, in whom is no understanding, whose perill and danger to fall on heapes to Idolatry by occasion of Images, the Scriptures specially fore-shew and give warning of. And indeed how should the unlearned, simple, and foolish, scape the nets and snares of Idols and Images; in the which the wisest and best learned have been so entangled, trapped and wrapped? Wherefore the Argument holdeth this ground sure, that men be as inclined of their corrupt nature to spirituall fornication, as to carnall, which the wisdom of God fore-seeing, to the Generall prohibition, that none should make to themselves any Image or similitude; addeth a cause, depending of mans corrupt nature, lest (saith God) thou being deceived with error, bowest and worship them.

1 Cor. 6.

1 Cor. 4.

Heb. 13.

1 Joh. 5. 21.

1 Cor. 10. 14.

Levit. 17. 8.

20.

Numb. 25.

Deut. 31.

Barach 6.

Acts 17.

Rom. 1.

Psal. 32.

Wisd. 13. 14.

Deut. 4.

Deut. 4.

Aug. in Ps. 36.

& 113. & l. 4.

c. 3. De civitate

de Dei.

Isay 41. 8.

Deut. 27.

' And of this ground of mans corrupt inclination, as well to spirituall fornication
 ' as to carnall, it must needs follow, that as it is the duty of the godly Magistrate,
 ' loving honesty and hating whoredome, to remove all Strumpets & Harlots, speci-
 ' ally out of places notoriously suspected or resorted unto of naughty persons for the
 ' avoiding of carnall fornication; so it is the duty of the same godly Magistrate, af-
 ' ter the example of the godly Kings, *Ezekias* and *Josias*, to drive away all spirituall
 ' Harlots (I mean Idols and Images) especially out of suspected places, Churches,
 ' and Temples, dangerous for idolatry to be committed to Images placed there, as
 ' it were in the appointed place and height of honour and worship (as *S. Augustine*
 ' saith) where the living God only (and no dead stones and stocks) is to be wor-
 ' shipped. It is (I say) the office of godly Magistrates likewise to avoid Images
 ' and Idols out of Churches and Temples, as spirituall Harlots out of suspected pla-
 ' ces, for the avoiding of idolatry, which is spirituall fornication. And as he were
 ' the enemy to all honesty that should bring Strumpets and Harlots out of their lea-
 ' cret corners into the publick Market place, there freely to dwell and practise their
 ' filthy merchandize; So is he the enemy of the true worshipping of God, that
 ' bringeth Idols and Images into the Temple and Church, the House of God, there
 ' openly to be worshipped, and to rob the jealous God of his honour, who will not
 ' give it to any other, nor his glory to carved Images; who is as much forsaken, and
 ' the bond of love between man and him as much broken by Idolatry, which is spi-
 ' rituall fornication, as is the knot and bond of marriage broken by carnall fornicati-
 ' on. Let all this be taken as a lye, if the Word of God enforce it not to be true;
 ' Cursed be the man saith God in *Deuteronomy*, That maketh a carved or molten
 ' Image, and placeth it in a secret corner. And all the people shall say, Amen. Thus
 ' saith God, for at that time no man durst have or worship Images openly, but in cor-
 ' ners only: and the whole World being the great Temple of God, he that in any
 ' corner thereof robbeth God of his glory and giveth it to stocks and stones, is pro-
 ' nounced by Gods Word accursed. Now he that will bring these spirituall Harlots
 ' out of their lurking corners into publick Churches and Temples, that spirituall for-
 ' nication may there openly of all men and women without shame be committed
 ' with them, no doubt that person is accursed of God, and twice cursed; and all
 ' good and godly men and women will say, Amen, and their Amen will take effect
 ' also. Which is thus seconded in the second part of the *Homily of the place and time*
 ' of prayer, p. 130, 131. The Jewes in their time provoked justly the vengeance of
 ' God, for that partly they abused his holy Temple with the detestable idolatry of
 ' the Heathen, and superstitious vanities of their own inventions, contrary to Gods
 ' Commandment, &c. And have not the Christians of late dayes, and even in our
 ' dayes also, in like manner, provoked the displeasure and indignation of Almighty
 ' God? Partly because they have prophaned & defiled their Churches with Heath-
 ' enish and Jewish abuses, with Images and Idols, with numbers of Altars too too su-
 ' perstitiously and intollerably abused, &c. Finally Gods vengeance hath been and is
 ' daily provoked, because much wicked people passe nothing to resort to the Church,
 ' either for that they are so sore blinded that they understand nothing of God & god-
 ' linesse; and care not with divelish example to offend their neighbours; or else for
 ' that they see the Church altogether scowred of such gay-gazing sights, as their
 ' grosse phantasie was greatly delighted with; because they see the false religion a-
 ' bandoned, and the true restored; which seemeth an unfavoury thing to their un-
 ' favoury taste, as may appear by this that a woman said to her neighbour: Alas
 ' Gossip, what should we now do at Church, since all the Saints are taken away,
 ' since all the goodly sights wee were wont to have are gone, since wee cannot
 ' hear the like piping, singing, chaunting, and playing upon the Organs that we
 ' could before? But (dearly beloved) we ought greatly to rejoyce and give God
 ' thanks, that our Churches are delivered out of all those things which displeased
 ' God so sore, and filthily defiled his holy House, and his place of prayer, for
 ' the which he hath justly destroyed many Nations, according to the saying of
 ' *Saint*

* Saint Paul, * If any man defile the Temple of God, God will him destroy. And 1 Cor. 3.
 * this ought we greatly to praise God for, that such superstitions and idolatrous
 * manners as were utterly naught, and defaced Gods glory, are utterly abolished,
 * as they most justly deserved: and yet those things that either God was honoured
 * with, or his people edified are decently retained, and in our Churches comely
 * practised, &c.

Mr. Workman, by all these and such other passages in our Homilies (ratified and
 subscribed unto by all our Ministers in the 35 Article of our Church, as containing a
 godly and wholesome doctrine necessary for these times, and established by the statute
 of 13 Eliz. ca. 12. which confirms the Articles) justified every syllable in his
 Sermons against Images (in which he used only the words of our Homilies) yet not-
 withstanding by the Archbishops violence against him (who went highest in his sen-
 tence) on the 25 of April 1635, in the High Commission held at Lambeth, was Sus-
 pended from the execution of his office and function in the Ministry, excommunicated,
 ordered to make his submission and recantation of his erroneous and scandalous doctrine,
 at Lambeth the next Court day, in such manner and forme as should be set down by the
 Commissioners, and delivered to him in writing under the Registers hand of the Court;
 and after this submission made publickly in Court, the same to be sent down to Gloce-
 ster, and there openly published in the Cathedrall Church of Glocester, and in the
 Church of S. Michaels immediately after Divine Service ended, when as the Congre-
 gation shall be then and there assembled; and condemned in costs of suit to be taxed the
 next Court day, and likewise imprisoned. Which sentence of his for the cause afore-
 said, was proved by the Register-Book of the High Commission, out of which it was
 read at the Lords Barre; by the testimonies of Mr. Thomas Pury, a Member of
 the House of Commons, and of Mr. John Langley, late Schoole-matter of Glocester,
 and now of Pauls-Schoole in London; who further witnessed upon oath, That
 Mr. Workman having been a most painfull diligent Preacher of Gods Word in the
 City of Glocester for above 15 years, and a man of singular piety, learning, wisdom,
 and moderation (as the Archbishop himself confessed) the Corporation of Glocester
 to help support his great charge of children, in consideration of his great paines in
 preaching and visiting the sick, about September 1633. granted him an Annuity
 of 20 l. per annum, under their Common Seale with one unanimous consent; a
 little before his troubles in the High Commission. For which act of justice and
 charity, John Buckston the then Mayor, Master Wise the Town Clerk, and some
 other of the Aldermen of that City, were by the Archbishops procurement sent for
 by a Pursivant, to appear before the Counsell Table as Delinquents; where they ap-
 pearing, were fully heard concerning the granting of this Annuity, before the King
 himselfe and his Councell, who seemed fully satisfied, approving of their grant, and
 were ready to dismisse them from thence, as seeing no just cause for their molest a-
 tion: Whereupon the Archbishop moved, that they might be transmitted from
 thence to the High Commission, which by his means was ordered accordingly. Af-
 ter which, in January following, Mr. Pury himself, together with M. Henry Browne,
 Mr. William Prise, Aldermen, Mr. Anthony Edwards, and others were arrested by
 a Messenger out of the High Commission, who exacted and received 20 Marks in
 Fees from them, to whom they gave bonds to appear in that Court the Terme fol-
 lowing, which they did: Where they were then articted against, for consenting to
 the grant of the said Annuity to Mr. Workman, to which Articles they answered;
 and the cause being brought to hearing not long after their Counsell alleaged,
 That the said grant of 20 l. per annu to M. Workman ought first to be proved illegall,
 or obtained by illegal practise, and the whole Corporation, whose act it was, & under
 whose Seal it was granted to be made parties to the suit, before these Defendants, su-
 ed only as private men, ought, as they conceived, to be censured for consenting there-
 unto; or the said deed, made void, and cancelled: yet notwithstanding the said Mr.
 Edwards & one M. Nelme for consenting to this grant only, were fined 10 l. a piece,

and the grant ordered to be cancelled, which was done accordingly; and thereupon a 100. l. expence the rest were dismissed the Court, and M. *Workman* deprived of his Annuity. After which M. *Workman* himself being censured and put from his Ministry, and imprisoned by the High-Commission, for Preaching against making and setting up the Images of the Trinity, and of Christ and Saints in Churches; having after some moneths Imprisonment, with much solicitation obtained his Liberty, to support himself his wife and many small children from perishing, was necessitated to teach children in private, having no other livelihood left him after his former Annuity, granted him by the City of *Glocester*, was by the Arch-bishops potency, unjustly wrested from him; of which the Arch-bishop being informed, inhibited him to teach any children at all in publike or private, as he would answer the contrary at his perill; whereupon he fell to practise Physicke for his necessary support: which being informed of to the Arch-bishop, he thereupon prohibited him likewise to practise Physick: Whereupon he having no meanes of subsistence left; and being debarred to Preach, teach School, or administer Physick to maintain himself and his charge, was so afflicted with these tyrannicall and unjust pressures (of which he oft complained to Master *Langley* and others,) that they drew on crasiness and sickness of body upon him; and as his most intimate friends were verily perswaded, shortened his dayes, and procured his death, to the great griefe and losse of that City. So zealous was this Arch-Prelate in defence of Idolatrous Images; as thus most unjustly and tyrannically to ruine a most godly painfull Minister with his family, and destroy this living speaking Image of God and Christ, for preaching against dead, false, unlawfull, Images, and representations of them according to our Homilies, and the established Doctrine of our Church.

Moreover it was then fully proved at the Lords Bar, by the oathes of Doctor *Featly*, and Master *Bourne*, that the Arch-bishop was so mad upon Images, Pictures, and their worship; That Doctor *Featly* having Printed by license, 70. Sermons of his, preached upon severall occasions, in one whereof he had cited a passage against worshipping Images, out of the *Homily against the Perill of Idolatry*, in refutation of the Papists; the Arch-bishop sending for the Doctor commanded him to carry his said Sermons to Doctor *Bray* his Chaplaine to peruse, before they were published, lest there should be any offensive passages vented in them; which he doing accordingly, the said Doctor purged out of the 788. page thereof, this ensuing clause therein cited out of the very *Homely* against the perill of Idolatry, as scandalous, and heterodox, causing the whole sheet to be new Printed, which expunction was openly read at the Bar by Doctor *Featly* himself in these following words.

* Homily against the perill of Idolatry. Part. 3.

And howsoever some of late mince the matter, and beare us in hand that the framing, drawing, carving, melting, gilding, erecting, clothing, and censing, bowing down, and praying before Images and Pictures, is but the excrecencie of Romish devotion, and no proper fruit of Idolatry and superstition: yet they who laid the first stone in the happy Reformation of our Church of England and penned the Homilies appointed by Authority to be read in all Churches condemne these practises of the Romane Church, as no lesse idolatrous than the like of the Heathen. * The full proof of that which in the beginning in the first part of this Treatise was touched is here to be made good and performed, to wit, that our Images and the Idols of the Gentiles be all one, as well in the things themselves, as also in that our Images have been before, be now, and ever will be worshipped in like forme and manner, as the Idols of the Gentiles were, so long as they be suffered in Churches and Temples: whereupon it followeth, that our Images in Churches have been, be, and ever will be, no other but abominable Idols. And every of these parts shall be proved in order, as hereafter followeth. And first that our Images and the Idols of the Gentiles are all one concerning themselves it is most evident, the matter of them being gold, silver, or other mettelle, stone, wood, clay or plaister, as were the Idols of the Gentiles: and so being either molten or cast, either carved, graven, hewen or otherwise formed and fashioned, after the similitude or likenesse of man or woman, they be dead and dumb works of mens hands; having
mouthes

mouthes and speak not, eyes and see not, hands and feel not, feet and go not, and so as well in form as matter, be altogether like the Idols of the Gentiles: insomuch that all the titles that be given to the Idols in the Scripture, may be verified of our Images. Wherefore no doubt but the like curses which are mentioned in Scriptures, will light upon the makers and worshippers of them both. Secondly, that they have been & be worshipped in our time, in like forme and manner as were the Idols of the Gentiles, is now to be proved: and for that idolatry standeth chiefly in the minde, (which shall in this part first be proved) that our Image-maintainers have had and have the same opinion and judgement of Saints, whose Images they have made and worshipped, as the Gentile idolaters had of their Gods. And afterwards it shall be declared that our Image-maintainers and worshippers, have used and use the same outward rites and manner of honouring and worshipping their Images, as the Gentiles did use before their Idols: and that therefore they commit idolatry, as well inwardly as outwardly, as did the wicked Gentile idolaters.

By these two evidences of the Archbishops persecuting Master Workman, for using the very words and expressions of our established Homilies against Images; and his Chaplaines purging out of Doctor Featlies printed authorized Sermons, this passage of our Homilies, against the worshipping of Images (no doubt by his direction) it is most apparent, that his designs and intentions were to subvert the established doctrine of our Church, against the setting up and adoration of Images, and to defile our Churches againe, not only with these Romish Idols, and Paganish inventions, but to make us all Idolaters in worshipping and adoring them, as the Popish or Gentile Idolaters did their Idol-gods.

Nota.

To put this out of question, we shall only adde one irrefragable evidence more concerning Images and Pictures. We have proved formerly that the Archbishop had in his own private Study a Book of Popish pictures of the Life, Passion, and Death of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Virgin Mary, printed by Boetius à Bolswert in forein parts, Anno 1623. These very Pictures were all licensed by the Archbishops own Chaplain Doctor Bray; printed by his own printer and Kinsman Badger, in the year 1638. for one Peake a Stationer (now in armes against the Parliament) and publickly sold and bound up in Bibles; as was testified by Mr. Walley Clerk of Stationers Hall, and Michael Sparke Senior. Master Willingham likewise attested upon oath concerning these Pictures and Crucifixes put into the Bibles: that Captain Peak at Holborne Cundit, Bookseller, who printed these pictures for Bibles, did affirme, that he printed them with the good liking, and by the speciall direction of the Archbishop, and his Chaplaine Dr. Bray: which Dr. Bray, as he said, carried him divers times to the Archbishop, to shew him the prints thereof, as they were cut and finished, who liked them all well, and gave his consent for the binding them up in Bibles; saying, That the Bibles wherein these pictures were bound up, they should be called THE BISHOP OF CANTERBURIES BIBLES; (titing them after his own name, so much did he owne this fact, not the Bibles and Book of God, who abhorres such Images :) and further deposed, That he found two Bibles bound up with these Pictures in them, the one among Secretary Windebanks, the other among Sir John Lambes and Dr. Ducks chiefe papers and treasure (two of the Archbishops bosome friends and favourites) who highly esteemed them: both of which Bibles seized by Mr. Willingham, and richly bound up with these pictures in them, were then produced and shewed to the Lords. Master Walley further deposed, that these pictures bound up in Bibles giving great offence and scandall to many well affected people, himselfe with some other Stationers repaired to Lambeth to the Archbishop and complained against these pictures, and the binding of them up in Bibles, demanding his Graces direction therein; whether they should seize such Bibles with pictures which gave offence, or suffer them to be sold? To which the Archbishop answered, That they might doe well not to lay them out publickly upon their stalls to be sold as yet, lest they should give offence; but if any come to ask for them or to buy them in your shops, in Gods name sell them freely to them, without any

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Note.

any scruple; adding the second time, sell them to such in Gods name, but lay them not upon your stals in publick view. Upon which testimony the Archbishop demanded of Mr. *Walley*, who it was that gave him this direction concerning the sale of those Bibles with pictures? To which he readily replied; Your Grace with your own mouth, as you may well remember. Whereunto the Archbishop answered, it was true; he did so; but the pictures were printed & bound up with Bibles before he knew of it; and that the first time he saw one of these Bibles, was in a Ladies hand in the Chappell at *Whitehall*; which he looking upon, when he came to *Lambeth*, sent for one of those Bibles himself; after which, the Stationers comming unto him about the sale of them, he gave them such directions as aforesaid, not to sell them openly for fear of giving offence, but only privately in their shops to such as asked for them: As most evident confession of guiltinesse. For if such pictures in Bibles were good & usefull, why should they not be exposed to open sale, & the view of all men? if ill and unlawfull, why should any of them be priated, or sold to any in private, and not totally suppressed, demolished, burnt? being contrary to our Statutes, Homilies, Writers, and the received Doctrine of our Church? These directions then of his, shewes his good affection to popish and idolatrous pictures: he had polluted his own English Bible with an embroydred Crucifix on its cover, before these Pictures printed; and now he would corrupt, pollute all our Bibles and New Testaments with these Romish Images bound up in them, to which they are most repugnant. He would suffer no English Bibles to be printed or sold with marginall Notes to instruct the people, all such must be seized and burnt, as we shall prove anon: but himself gives speciall approbation for the venting of Bibles with Popish pictures taken out of the very Masse book, to seduce the people to popery and idolatry.

Dr. *Bastwick*,
Mr. *Prynne*,
and Mr. *Bur-*
tons Cases.

The last case we shall instance in touching the Archbishops persecuting of such who opposed his Popish Innovations, is the cases of Dr. *John Bastwick* a Physician, and Mr. *William Prynne* a Lawyer, Mr. *Henry Burton* a Divine: who were all brought into the Star-chamber by this Archbishops prosecution, and there most inhumanely censured for opposing his popish Innovations, in Trinity Terme 1637. In which case all the injustice, oppression, and cruelty that could be imagined, were combined both in the proceedings, sentence, and execution, not to be parallel'd in any age, as will appear by the ensuing particulars, attested by the severall oathes of M. *Prynne*, M. *Burton*, Sir *William Belfore*, M. *Tomlins*, M. *Sappe*, M. *Wickins*, Mistrisse *Bastwick* and others; backed with the Orders and Decree of the Court it self. First M. *Burtons* house was broken open by force by a Serjeant at Armes, his Study ransaked, his person apprehended and committed close Prisoner's long before any information against him, contrary to *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right*, & so continued without Baile, during all the time of the prosecution against him. Secondly, though the information against them three was joynt, and license granted them to repaire to Counsell with their Keepers, by an Order of the whole Court; yet they were denied liberty to conferre one with another, even with their Counsell themselves, or to make a joynt answer or defence, and soon after restrained all access to Counsell by a verball Order. Thirdly, the Counsell assigned to them were so terrified and threatned, that they durst not draw or signe any answer for them: who thereupon petitioning the Court for liberty in their Counsels default to put in their answers under their own hands, according to former presidents & orders of that Court, they were absolutely denied this right and justice, contrary to law and presidents. Dr. *Bastwicks* answer under his own hand left at the Office, and another copy of it tendred and left in open Court rejected, and he taken *pro confesso*, for a pretended contempt in not putting in his answer under Counsels hand. Fourthly, Mr. *Prynnes* Chamber in the Towre, by a speciall direction from the Archbishop, was searched by Mr. *Nicholas* Clerk of the Councell, and a Pursevant of the Archbishops, who supervised Mr. *Nicholas*, and was more active, peremptory then he, not leaving the very Close-stoole unsearched; his instructions for his answer seised and carried away by them, himself shut up close prisoner; pen, inke, and paper to draw

draw either his answer or new instructions for his Counsell denied him; his Clerk that solicited his businesse seized on by a Messenger, and kept close prisoner; of purpose to hinder him from following his Masters businesse; examined frequently by the Kings Attorney & Sollicitour to pick out some crime or accusation against his Master, and never admitted to returne unto him (though he tendred sufficient baile for his forth-coming, and no accusation was then pending against him) no not to attend him during his sores after execution of the sentence on him. Fifthly, M. Prynne was denied all accesse to Counsell; liberty to draw up and signe his own answer (though a Counsellor at Law) in default of Counsell; albeit he twice petitioned the Court to have leave to do it, producing sundry reasons and presidents in that Court to warrant it; yea the very Clerk that writ but a Petition from his mouth by the Lieutenants permission, that he might put in his answer under his own hand, was for this very cause seized on by a Pursevant, and molested divers weeks after. Sixthly, when Mr. Holt, (Mr. Prynne's assigned Counsell) had by direction of the Court taken his fee, drawne his answer, and given order for the engrossing of it, promising to signe it the next morning; he was privately commanded not to signe it; & thereupon refused the signing of it, contrary to promise, alleaging that he had order given him to the contrary, and that he durst not do it for an hundred pieces: After which M. Tomlins another of M. Prynnes Counsell signing his answer, it was refused both at the Star-chamber office & in open Court, where it was tendred, upon pretence it came too late, and Mr. Prynne taken *pro confesso*, for a supposed contemptuous refusall to answer; when as they would neither permit him to put in an answer under his own hand; and ordered one of his assigned Counsell not to signe his answer when ingrossed contrary to his promise, nor accept it, when signed by another of his Counsell, and twice tendred. Seventhly, Mr. Burtons Answer, when drawn, engrossed, and subscribed by M. Holt (his assigned Counsell) by order of the Court, and accepted at the Office without any exception against it, was after nine dayes space, when perused by the Archbishop, pretended to be scandalous, and thereupon referred to the two chiefe Justices, Sir John Bramston and Sir John Finch, who gave it such a purgation without calling M. Burton to it, or suffering his Counsell to defend it (whom Sir John Finch threatned with pulling his Gowne over his head and putting him from the Barre) as was never heard of in any Age; expunging no lesse then 64 whole sheets (containing his justification and defence) out of it, as scandalous, leaving only some three lines in the beginning of it, and two in the end, amounting to a generall not guilty, when as he confessed and justified all he was charged with: And because Mr. Burton would not acknowledge this purged answer, directly contrary to that he put in upon oath, and answer to Interrogatories grounded on it, quite contrary to his answer as they had altered it, whereby he must of necessity have been perjured: therefore he was likewise taken *pro confesso*, and censured for a contempt in not answering, though he had an answer in Court. What the scandalous matter contained in, and expunged out of his answer by the Judges was, is very observable: truly it was no other then the very Oathes of Supremacy & Allegiance, prescribed by severall Acts of Parliament; (engaging the Defendants and others who had taken them against popery and popish Innovations;) his Majesties Declarations before the 39 Articles, and to all his loving Subjects, printed Anno 1628. prohibiting all back-sliding to Popery, or any Innovations or alterations in the Religion by law established among us: The Petition of Right, and his Majesties Answer thereunto, for preservation of the Subjects rights and liberties; (extending as wel to secure them against these illegal popish Innovations which the Bishops by an Arbitrary power would obtrude upon them and their consciences by Suspensions, Excommunications, Fines, Imprisonments, and other vexatious courses; as to the liberty of their persons and estates of which they were deprived for opposing their Innovations): the statute of 3 Jac. c. 1. intituled, *An Act for a publick thanksgiving to Almighty God every year on the 5 of November, for the great deliverance of the King, Kingdome, State and Parliament, from the horrid Gunpowder*

der Treason, (on which day Mr. Burton preached these two Sermons, against the severall Popish Innovations and Doctrines mentioned in it, lately brought into the Church by the Archbishop and his confederates, for which he was questioned in the Star-chamber.) The statute of 3 Jac. cap. 4. intituled, *An Act for the better discovering and repressing of Popish Recusants*. The statute of 1 Eliz. cap. 2. intituled, *An Act for the uniformity of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments; which excludes all new Ceremonies and Innovations in Gods service, introduced by the Bishops, not comprized in the Book of Common prayer; with an enumeration of those severall Innovations, in point of doctrine and ceremonies, (as setting up Altars instead of Communion Tables, removing Lords Tables from their ancient stations, and rayling them in Altarwise against the wall, bowing downe to them, reading second Service at them; licensing, printing Popish and Arminian Books, altering and purging the Books for the Gunpowder Treason, for the publick Fast, Coronation, and Book of Common prayer, &c.) with other particulars specified at large in his printed Sermons. All this was totally expunged as scandalous out of Mr. Burtons Answer, for feare the proof thereof should have made the Bishops scandalous. Eighthly, these Defendants, when they perceived they should not have liberty to defend themselves, nor to prove or justifie the Archbishops and his Confederates popish Innovations by their Answers, exhibited a crosse Bill against them under their hands, which they offered to make good at their uttermost perils, Mr. Prynne tending the same both to the Lord Keeper, and in open Court, desiring it might be admitted, being both for their own just defence, the honour of his Majesty, and preservation of our Religion, and that a Court of publick justice which ought to be as open for, as against them: yet this their Bill was twice refused without cause, and delivered over to Mr. Attourney Generall to draw up a Charge against the defendants out of it, if possible, and to question them for their lives for exhibiting it. Ninthly, at the hearing, the Archbishop and Bishop of London though chiefe prosecutions of this cause, in which they were specially concerned, professed enemies to the Defendants, and challenged in open Court by Mr. Prynne as unfit to sit Judges there in their own cause, contrary to all law and presidents, were yet admitted to sit in Court as Judges, where the Archbishop himself in a tedious Oration of two houres long (larger then ever any Sermon he preached in the Pulpit) professedly justified all the forementioned Innovations wherewith he was charged; as *Setting up Altars, rayling in Communion Tables Altar-Wise, reading second-Service at them, bowing downe towards them, as the Monks and Popish Fryers did of old, because there 'tis Hoc est corpus meum, &c. Standing up at Glory be to the Father, bowing at the Name of Iesus, altering and purging the Books for the Gunpowder Treason and the publick Fast, in favour of Papists, the licensing of Popish and Arminian Books, charged against him, &c.* And yet reviled, condemned these Defendants, as Libellers, and thanked the Lords for their justice against them for falsely objecting these very Innovations to him, which himself in his Speech confessed himself guilty of, justified in open Court; and after that in print to all the World; dedicating this his Speech to his Majesty, and making him the Patron of all these Innovations, contrary to his own royall Protestations. Tenthly, these Defendants, for opposing those very popish Innovations which himself thus publicly confessed, defended, being deprived of their proove and just defence by taking them all *pro confesso*, for a pretended contempt, in not answering the Information, (which they would not permit them to put in their Answers to, as you heard before) were without any proof or testimony at all produced to prove them guilty of ought objected against them, fined 5000 li. a peece unto his Majesty, adjudged to stand in the Pillory at Westminster, and there to lose their Eares, which was accordingly executed, Mr. Burton was after deprived of his Living, degraded from his Ministry, Mr. Prynne stigmatized on both cheeks, though nothing at all was charged against him; and all of them deprived the liberty of pen, inke and paper; and before their wounds were healed, they were sent away close prisoners to the 3 remote Castles of Lancaster, Lancaster, and*

and Carnarvan, and there shut up close prisoners, neither Wife, nor Childe, nor Brother, nor any other but their Keepers having any access unto them: and soone after by extraordinary Letters from the Councell Table (to which the Archbishops hand was first) sent close prisoners by Sea in the Winter-season, to the hazzard of their lives into the Islands of Sylly, Garnesey and Iarsey, and there mued up close prisoners without pen, inke, paper, or allowance of necessities, their friends being prohibited al access unto them, & D. Bastwicks & M. Burtons Wives especially restrained so much as to set footing in the Islands where they were close imprisoned, under paine of imprisonment: so penall and fatall was it for them to oppose the Archbishop in these his Innovations, who detained them thus close prisoners in exile till they were released by this present Parliament. That this prosecution was by the Archbishops instigation, was evidenced. First, by the Testimony of Mr. John Cocksbute, then servant to Sir John Banks, his Majesties Attorney Generall, to whom he committed the prosecution of all Star-chamber businesses; who attested upon oath; that the Arch-bishop gave him direction, for drawing the Information against Doctor Bastwick, Mr. Burton, and Mr. Prynne, and that he was commanded to give an account to him of all the proceedings therein, which he did from time to time, either to himself in person, or to his Chaplains, by his direction. Secondly, by the Copies of Doctor Bastwicks and Mr. Burtons Answers found in his study by Mr. Prynne, the first whereof was disallowed and would not be admitted though twice tendred; the second expunged by the Arch-bishops direction, who had drawn a line with black lead under all that which should stand in Mr. Burtons Answer, as appeared by the Coppy it self produced at the Bar, giving Order to expunge the residue, which was done accordingly. Thirdly, by the whole Tenor of his speech in Star-chamber, especially this latter clause thereof, pag. 77. *I humbly crave pardon of your Lordships, for this my necessary length, and give You hearty thanks for Your noble patience, and your just and honourable censure upon these men, and your unanimous dislike of them, and defence of the Church. But because the businesse hath some reflection upon my selfe, I shall forbear to censure them, and leave them to Gods mercy, and the Kings Justice.* And by his ensuing Epistle to his Majesty prefixed to this Speech. Fourthly by Subsequent Motions and Warrants under his hand, for their Exile and close Imprisonment, in which he was onely active and inexorable.

What great encouragement and hope of a relapse to Popery; the Archbishops introducing of Altars, Crucifixes, and other forementioned Innovations gave to Jesuits, Papists, and what was his reall designe in promoting them, we shall evidence by two notable passages, in two late English Jesuites printed books.

The first, intituled, *A Paraphrasticall and devout Discourse upon the Psalm, Miserere*, written by Ch. M. (an English Jesuite, as appears by the Jesuites Badge in the Frontispiece of it) printed and licensed at Doway 30 Maii 1635. wherein there is this passage in the Epistle to the Reader, *Thesemy Paraphrasticall, Discourses and pitefull lamentations of King David, I intend for all sinners in England, as well Catholicks as not Catholicks, of what religion soever, I being a debtor to all: and because I would have them all peruse these Discourses, I abstaine from controversies in religion, lest I should avert any from the reading of them: only in paraphrasing the two last verses of this Psalm, occasion being offered, I speak of the unbloody and daily Sacrifice of the Altar, but so, that I rather touch it then handle it, mention it, then treat of it, suppose it, then prove it in that manner as I might; hoping that this doctrine NOW will not be distastfull (mark the Reason:) For seeing now in England in very many Churches, Altars, which heretofore were thrown down, are againe erected, according to the landable example and pious use and custome of the Catholick and even Primitive Church, to averre a true Sacrifice will not be ill taken; because to allow of Altars, is, to allow of a true Sacrifice which useth to be offered on them; an Altar and a true proper Sacrifice being Co-Relatives, of which the one inferreth the other; and so the one cannot be averred without the other, nor the one denied without the other. Loe here we have the true reason why the Archbishop was so zealous for Altars; even to bring in the Papists unbloody and dayly sacrifice of the Masse.*

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The second book was inscribed, *A direction to be observed by N. N.* written by an English Jesuit, and printed secretly by him in London (as was supposed) *An. 1636.* wherein, after some applauses of the Archbishop, whom he propounded as a Pattern of imitation for all others in England, in prohibiting the sale of books tending to Socinianisme, p. 14. (which he p. 16. interprets to be Protestantisme,) p. 20. 22. he proceeds thus: And to speak the truth what learned judicious man can after unpartisall examination embrace Protestantisme: 'Which now waxeth weary of it selfe? Its professors, (they especially of greatest Worth, learning, and authority,) declare themselves to love temper & moderation; allow of many things which some years agoe were usually condemned as Superstitious & Antichristian: and are at this time more unresolved where to fasten, then in the infancy of their Church: For doe not the Protestant Churches begin to look with another face? their wals to speak (by Images, Crucifixes, Laymens books,) with another language: their Preachers to use a sweeter tone? their annuall publick Tenents in the Universities to be of another stile and matter? their books to appear with Titles and Arguments which once would have caused much scandall among the Brethren? their Doctrine to be altered in many things, and even in those very points for which their progenitors forsook the then visible Church of Christ? their 39 Articles, the Summe, the Confession, and almost the Creed of their faith are patient: patient! that is, they are ambitious of some sense wherein they may seem to be Catholick, (that is of that Romish sense which Francisus à Sancta Clara, thrice printed in England, and presented by the Archbishop to his Majesty, hath put upon them in his Commentary on them:) to allege wife, and children in these dayes, is but a weak plea for a married Minister to compass a Benefice: Firy Calvinisme, once a Darling in England, is at length accounted Heresie, yea, and little lesse then Treason (by the Archbishop and his Brethren, in their censure of Dr. Bastwick in the High Commission:) Men in word & writing willingly use the once fearfull names of Priests and Altars: nay if one do but mutter against the placing of the Altar after the old fashion, for a warning he shal be well warmed with a Cole from the Altar; (over against which there is this marginall note, *A little book so intituled, printed 1636.*) English Protestants are now put in minde, that for exposition of Scripture by * Canon, they are bound to follow the ancient Fathers: And to conclude all in one main point, The Protestant Church in England possesseth so small antiquity, and so weak substance in it self, that they acknowledge no other visible being for many Ages, but in the Church of Rome. These were the advantages the Papists, Jesuits, and Popish party made of the Archbishops Romish Innovations, formerly proved.

* Sunday no Sabbath, printed 1636.

His Innovations in consecrating Churches & Chappels after the Popish manner.

We shall next proceed to other Innovations of this nature, somewhat different from the former, to wit, to his Consecrating of Churches and Chappels after the popish manner, wherein the case stands briefly thus. The Pope & his Romish Prelates had in times of ignorance & superstition, for their own proper lucre, introduced solemn consecrations of Churches, Chappels, with all furniture belonging to them, & appropriated these Fopperies to Bishops, as a jurisdiction peculiar to them alone; though we reade in Scripture, that the Tabernacle & all the furniture thereto belonging was consecrated only by Moses, and the Temple at Jerusalem by King Solomon, the chief temporall Magistrates; not by Aaron or the High Priests, as they were among the Romans by the Senate. These formes of consecrations, full of Ethnicall ridiculous superstitions, exorcismes, & conjurations, were contained only in Roman Pontificals, Missals, Ceremonials, which were wholly abolished upon the reformation of Religion in King Edwards daies, by the expresse statutes of 3 & 4 E. 6. cap. 1. 5. 5 & 6 E. 6. cap. 1. and after that by the statute of 1 Eliz. cap. 2. 8 Eliz. cap. 1. which abrogated all rites, ceremonies, and consecrations whatsoever, but those comprised in the Books of Common Prayer and Ordination of Ministers; where there is not one syllable to be found touching consecration of Churches or Chappels, or Churchyards, nor any forme of such consecrations retained or prescribed, which by these Acts were wholly discontinued & abolished in our Church, till this Popish Prelate

to renew them, and to assume a Papall power of making Churches, Chappels, Altars, and their furniture, holier then other places, by his solemne consecrations of them; as if the meere sequestering of them from a common or prophane, to a sacred use, were not a sufficient consecration of them without a Bishops Benediction, and exercising of those creatures suspended thereunto.

We shall begin first with his consecration of Churches, next of Chappels, Anno 1630. St. Katherine's Creed-church in London being repaired only by the parishioners, not new built from the ground, when Mountain was Bishop of London; and the Church thought holy enough by him without any new consecration, not requisite in such a case by the very Canon law; this popish Prelate succeeding Mountaine in the Bishoprick of London suspended this new repaired Church for a time from all Divine service, Sermons, and Sacraments, till it was re-consecrated by himself; of which he writ down this speciall memoriall with his own hand in his Diary, read in the Lords House in manner following; January 16. 1630. Sunday I consecrated S. Katherine Creed-church in London: In what a popish, ridiculous, bedlam manner, was thus attested upon oath by M. Willingham a parishioner there, who then took special Notes of all the passages in short-writing, thinking some good use might be made thereof in after-times, the particulars whereof he thus expressed.

The Arch-bishops Innovations in consecrating Churches and Chappels.

That the Archbishop (then of London) on the 16 of January 1630. being the Lords day, came in the morning about nine of the clock in a pompous manner to Creed-church, accompanied with Sir Henry Martin, Dr. Rive, Dr. Duck, and many other High-commissioners and Civillians, there being a very great concourse of people to behold this novelty: the Church doores were garded with many Halberdiers; at the Bishops approaching near the West door of the Church, the hang-bies of the Bishop cryed out with a loud voyce, Open, open, ye everlasting doores, that the King of glory may enter in; and presently (as by miracle) the doores flew open, and the Bishop with three or four great Doctors and many other principall men entred in; and as soon as they were in the Church, the Bishop fell down upon his knees with his eyes lifted up, and his hands and armes spread abroad, uttering many words, and saying, This place is holy, and this ground is holy: In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost I pronounce it holy; and then he took up some of the earth or dust and threw it up into the aire (as the frantick persecuting Jewes did, when they were raging mad against Paul): this was done in the great middle Isle severall times as they came up Eastwards towards the Chancel, which Chancel was then paved: when they approached near to the Rayle and Lords Table, unto which was an ascent of two or three steps, the Bishop lowly ducked and bowed towards it some five or six times; and returning, went round about the Church in Procession on the inside thereof, they saying the 100 Psalm, and after that the 90 Psalm, (prescribed in the Roman Pontificall for this purpose, p. 261.) and then this Prayer.

His manner of consecrating Creed-Church.

Notes

Lord Jesu Christ, who art the eternall Word, of thy eternall Father, God Almighty to be blessed for ever, and diddest at first in the beginning of time create man out of the dust of the earth, to restore and repair in him the ruine and fall of Angels: and when as he by transgression had lost his originall state, diddest according to thy threatening returne him againe unto his dust, but so, that he should not perish everlastingly, but should in due time by an omnipotent power be raised againe out of the earth; and therefore in assurance of the resurrection, the bodies of men, the work of thine own hands, are in this place to be deposited in their sepulchres, graves, or vaults, as in a repository or resting place untill the end of all things, when that mighty Arch-angell shall sound his last Trumpet, with, Rise ye dead and come to judgement; accept we beseech thee this our holy service, who doe give and consecrate this beautifull Church unto thee; and we separate it unto thee and thy Church AS HOLY GROVND, not to be prophaned any more to common use; this we beseech thee to accept at our hands for Christ Jesus sake, &c.

Then was read aloud the 23 chapter of Genesis; which being read, then followed another prayer, taken almost verbatim out of the Roman Pontificall, beginning thus.

Q9 2

Merciful

Merciful God, the resurrection and the life of all that trust in thee, we most humbly intreat thee, to vouchsafe us of thy grace, that all those thy servants who from hence forth shall come into, or be interred within the Circuit of this holy and sacred place, now by our service HALLOWED unto thee, may so lead their lives in thy feare, that they may leave them in thy favour; and that their bodies resting in their Sepulchres in this Church in peace, untill thy coming unto Iudgment, may rise again unto immortall life, and live with thee for ever in those glorious mantions of eternitie: Heare us O Saviour for thy passion sake; heare us O Father for thy Christs sake; heare us O Sanctifying Spirit for thy comforts sake, who livest and reignest one God: &c. Then, The peace of God followed. &c.

* Were not
their spiritual
Bawdy-courts
commonly
kept in Churches
such.

After all this, the Bishop betook himselfe, to sit under a cloath of State in an Isle of the chancell neare the Communion Table, and taking a written book in his hand, (in imitation of the Roman Pontificall and the Councell of Trents Decrees therein cited pag. 247, &c.) He pronounced many curses upon all those which should hereafter any way prophane that holy and sacred place, by any Musters of Souldiers, or keeping any * prophane Law-courts, or carrying burdens through it; At the end of every curse (which were some 20. or 30. in number,) he bowed himselfe lowly towards the East or Table (saying, Let all the people say, Amen). When the Curses were ended, he then pronounced the like number of Blessings to all those that had any hand in the culture, framing and building of that holy, sacred and beautifull Church, and pronounced Blessings to all those that had given any Challices, Plate, Ornaments, or Utensills, and that should here-after give any. At the end of every Blessing hee also bowed downe himselfe towards the East, Saying; Let all the people say, Amen.

After this followed the Sermon, which was worthily performed by Dr. Stephen Dennyson, he taking for his theame the 19 of Luke 46. wherein he bitterly inveighed against setting up Pictures and Images in Churches; saying, it was Popish and heathenish Superstition and Idolatry Which Sermon after-wards when Bishop Laud came to the high chaire of Canterbury he remembered at Dr. Dennysons censure in the high Commission upon another occasion, and passed a heavy Censure upon the said Dr. under which he hath ever since groaned.

After the Sermon which was but short, the Bishop and two fat Doctors consecrated and administred the Sacrament, with a number of bowings, duckings and cringeings; in manner following.

(As first) when the Bishop approached neare the Communion Table, he bowed with his nose very neare the ground some six or seven times; Then he came to one of the corners of the Table, and there bowed himselfe three times; then to the second, third and fourth corners, bowing at each corner three times; but, when he came to the side of the Table where the bread and wine was, he bowed himselfe seven times, and then, after the reading of many praiers by himselfe and his two fat chaplins (which were with him, and all this while were upon their knees by him, in their Sirplisses, Hoods and Tippetts) he himselfe came neare the Bread, which was cut and laid in a fine napkin, and then he gently lifted up one of the corners of the said napkin, and peeped into it till hee saw the bread, (like a boy that peeped after a bird-nest in a bush) and presently clapped it downe againe, and flew backe a step or two, and then bowed very low three times towards it and the Table: when he beheld the bread, then he came neare and opened the napkin againe, and bowed as before; then he laid his hand upon the gilt Cup which was full of wine, with a cover upon it; so soone as he had pul'd the Cupp a litle neerer to him, he lett the Cupp goe, flew backe, and bowed againe three times towards it: then hee came neere againe, and lifting up the cover of the Cupp peeped into it, and seeing the wine, he let fall the cover on it againe, and flew nimble backe and bowed as before: After these and many other Apish Anticke Gesturs he himselfe received, and then gave the Sacrament to some principall men onely they devoutly kneeling neere the Table, after which more praiers being said, this Sceane and Enterlude ended.

Mr.

Mr. Hope likewise deposed the same that Mr. Willingham did, in all particulars touching the manner of the Archbishops consecrating Creed-Church; at which consecration he was present, and tooke speciall notice thereof.

Upon which evidence the Committee of the house of Commons observed and urged before the Lords. First, that it appeared by the praier used by the Archbishop, that he consecrated this Church rather for a Churchyard or a burying place, then for an Oratory or place of praier and preaching using the same praier in substance as are prescribed in the *Roman Pontificall*, at the consecration of a Churchyard to inter dead bodies in. Secondly, that the consecration of Churches after this sort, is a meere Popish and Superstitious Ceremony, prescribed onely by Popes and Popish Councels, Canonists, for their owne gaines and luche, and not by any Protestant Canons, Synodes, Authors: witnesse Gratian, *De Consecratione Distinct. 1.* and the Glosses on it, *Summa Hostiensis. lib. 3. Tit. De Consecratione Ecclesie et Altaris*; Angelus De Clavasio, his *Summa Angelica. Tit. Consecratio Ecclesie. Summa Rosella. Tit. Consecratio. Iuo Carnotensis Decretalium. pars. 3. De Ecclesia. C. 8. to. 38.* Bochellus *Decreta Ecclesia Gallicana. lib. 4. Tit. 1. Iohannis De Aton: Constitutiones Ecclesiasticae. Tit. 1. De Consecratione Ecclesiarum*: with divers other Popish Canonists. Thirdly, that the forme and manner of consecrating Churches, was no where to be found but in the *Roman Pontificall*, set out by the Popes authority, wherein it is at large described: P. 209. to 280. Cap. *De Ecclesia Dedicatione, seu Consecratione*; and not extant in the Booke of Common-praier, or of the Ordination of Ministers, or in any other Records or Rituals of our Church; which abollished the *Roman Pontificall*, and Ceremony of consecrating Churches by the Statutes of 2. & 3. E. 6. C. 1. 3. & 4. E. 6. C. 10. 1. Eliz. C. 1. 8. Eliz. C. 1. Fourthly, That the very forme the Archbishop used in consecrating Creed-Church, was taken from the *Roman Pontificall* published by command of Pope Clement the eight, (found in this study:) P. 214. 217. 219. where the Bishop comming to the doore of the Church he is to consecrate *Percutit illud semel cum inferiori parte baculi pastoralis super luminare, dicens intelligibili voce. Attollite portas, Principes, vestras, et aperiamini porta aeternales, et introibit Rex gloria &c.* The very words the Archbishop now used: and then entring the Church pronounceth it holy and blessed, in the name of the Father, Sonne & holy ghost. After which he useth many Praiers, Psalmes, bowings, Ceremonies; and *Unus ex Ministris spargit cinerem per pavimentum, in modum crucis*; as this Archbishop did; who followed the *Roman Pontificall* in all the particulars he there practised; exceeding it in his blessings and cursings (which are not so fully expressed in the *Pontificall*) and in his re consecration of this Church, upon the repairing onely of the wals, in which case the forecited Canonists all accord, it is not to be re consecrated but the wal onely to be exorcised and sprinkled with holy water. Fifthly, That our owne Protestant Bishops and writers condemne the consecration of Churches, Chappels and Church-yards by Bishops, to make them holier then other places, as a meere Popish, Iewish, ridiculous, and absurd practise.

The first, they instanced in, was reverend Dr. Pilkington (a fugitive for Religion in *Queene Maries*, and Bishop of *Durham* in the beginning of *Queene Elizabeth* reigne) in his Exposition of *Aggeus c. 1. v. 7. 8. & cap. 2. v. 2. 3.* where he determines thus. *IT IS POPISH TO BELEEVE that which the Bishops doe teach:*
 ' That place to be more holy then the rest which they have hallowed, as they say,
 ' with their conjured water, Crossings, Censings, Processions, &c. But blessed be
 ' that God our Lord which by the light of his Word doth confound all such wicked
 ' and fond fantasies, which they devise to fill their bellies and maintaine their
 ' Authority by. Although these Ceremonies in the old Law were given by *Moses*, for
 ' the hardnesse of the peoples hearts, & to keep the exercised, that they fall not to the
 ' Idolatry, of the Gentiles, yet is there no mention of them in the New Testament,
 ' nor yet commanded now, either to us or them, but forbidden to be used of all both
 ' of us and them. We be no longer under shadowes, but under the truth, Christ
 ' hath

, hath fulfilled all, and taken away all such darke kind of Ceremonies and hath placed the cleare light of his Gospell, in the Church, to continue to the end.

Note.

Acts 17.24.

John 4.23,24.

1 Tim.2.8.

Note.

John 4.

, The Popes Church, hath all things pleasant in it to delight the people, but where the Gospell is preached, they knowing that God is not pleased but onely with a pure heart, they are content with an honest place, appointed to resort together in, though it were never hallowed by Bishops at all. It is written; that God dwells not in Temples made with hands; nor is worshipped with any worke of mens hands; but he is a spirit an invisable substance, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth; not in outward words onely of the lippes, but with the deepe sighes and groanes of the heart, and the whole power of the mind; and earnest hearty calling on him in praier, by faith. And therefore he doth not so much require of us to build him an house of stone and timber, but hath willed us, to pray in all places; and hath taken away the Iewish, and Popish holynesse, which is thought to be more in one place then another. All the earth is the Lords and he is present in all places, hearing the Petitions of them that call upon him in faith. Therefore those Bishops, which thinke with their conjured water, to make one place more holy then the rest, are no better then the Jewes, deceiving the people and teaching that onely to be holy, which they have censed, crossed, oyled, and breathed upon; for as Christ said to the woman; thinking one place to be more holy to pray in then another, Woman, beleeve me, the time is come when yee shall worship neither at Jerusalem, nor in this Hill; but the true worshippers shall worship God in spirit and truth: So it is now said, the place makes not the man holy, but the man makes the place holy: and ye shall not worship your Idols, Stocks, and Stones, neither at Wiltingham, Ipswich, Canterbury, nor Sheen; for God chuses not the people, for the places sake, but the place for the people sake; But if yee be in the midst of the field God is as ready to heare your faithfull praiers, as in any Abbey, or Proiry; yea, a thousand times more, for the one place he hates, as defiled with Idolatry; and the other he loves, as undefiled and cleane. If the good man lie in prison, tyed in Chaines, or at the stake burned; for Gods cause, That place is holy, for the holynesse of the man, and the presence of the holy Ghost in him; as Tertullian saith; yet there should be common places appointed for the people to Assemble and come together therein, to praise our God &c. Those who in the Apostles times were buried in no Church or Church-yard, nor Christen-moldes, (as they be called) when it is not better then other earth, but rather worse, for the conjuring that Bishops use about it. It appeares in the Gospell by the Legion living in graves, the Widdowes sonne going to buriall, Christ buried without the City, &c. That they buried not in hallowed Churches by Bishops, but in a severall place appointed for the same purpose, without the City, which custome remaineth to this day in many godly places, &c. A most expresse Authority against Bishops Popish consecrations of Churches and Church-yards, to make them holier then other places.

The second Authority they produced was, Mathew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury in the beginning of Queene Elizabeths reigne; who was of a quite contrary judgment to this his Popish Successor, condemning this manner of consecrating Churches, Altars, &c. as Superstitious, Paganish, childish, ridiculous, in his *Antiquitates Ecclesie Britannicae*. p. 85. 86. 87. in these termes; *Legat enim qui vult recentiores et nostro praesertim aeo editos Pontificales ac Missales libros, reperiet eos, et Ceremoniarum multitudinem, et peragendi difficultatem atque tadio, et exorcisationis amentiam priores illos longe superare. Quibus enim non dicam verbis sed portentis has et ejusmodi a Pontificiis adhuc adjurantur, &c. Dedicatio recentis Ecclesiae, Altaria, vasa, indumenta, Linteamina et ornamenta Ecclesiastica. Hac omnia, quam solemni ritu sanctarum scripturarum sententiis ad suas decantationes perperam adhibitis, Potificij peragunt paucis videamus, &c. In dedicatione Ecclesiae jam exstructae Episcopus ter circumiens, ostium baculo pastorali ferit hoc Psalmi carmine. Attollite Portas, &c. Cui Diaconus intus existens respondet fere exanimatus. Quis est iste Rex gloriae, &c. Deinde ingrediens Episcopus, in fundamento Ecclesiae Cineribus sparso. Alphabetum Gracum et Latinum baculo describit, tum variis multisque Episcopi Clerique*

Note.

Clerique incessibus, rectis, obliquis, retrogradis & transuersis parietes ac pavimenta aqua sparguntur: cruces in parietibus chrismate cum dextro Episcopi pollice depinguntur: & infinitis penè completis ceremoniis ad extremum precatur; ut populus in ea conveniens, per sacerdotum libamina celesti sanctificatione salvatus, anime salutem perpetuam consequatur: & discedens portam his verbis Episcopus ungit chrismate: porta sis benedicta, sanctificata, consecrata, consignata & Deo commendata, &c. Altaria autem innumeris hujus generis precibus consecrantur, &c. Et sane valde desuenda est hujus temporis conditio quod Ecclesia Patres eadem mentis acie ab ecclesia refecare has & hujusmodi ceremonias, seu potius nugas, aut nolunt, aut non possunt, qua priora illa Ordalii vitia cernebant atque corripiebant, sed illis ut superstitionis damnatis & deletis, hæc quæ mordicus retinent * quamvis puerilia & deliria * Notæ sint, ex illis tamen fabricantur atque struunt. Quanto modernis Pontificibus æquior fuit Gregorius, qui scribit. Quomodo regula sanctorum Patrum pro tempore, loco, & persona & negotio instante necessitate tradita sunt. Hi autem nulla neque temporis, neque loci, neque negotii, neque persone, neque cujusquæ rei quàm sua voluntatis atque gloriolæ rationem habentes, ne pusillis in rebus veritate cedere volunt. A very good character of the Prisoner at the bar, and his proceedings in this kinde. To these two Prelates might be added M. William Tyndal, a learned Martyr, his Obedience of a Christian man, p. 136. 152. William Wraughton, his Hunting and rescuing of the Romish Fox; John Bale, Bishop of Osyrus in Ireland, in his Image of both Churches; Thomas Becon, a Prebend of Canterbury, in his Reliques of Rome; M. Calfhill, in his book against Marshal, f. 61, 92, 93. M. Fox his Acts and monuments, Edit. 1610. p. 210. 414. with sundry other of our learned Writers, who expressly censure the Consecration of Churches and Church-yards, as superstitious, Jewish, Popish, Antichristian, ridiculous, styling them rather a conjuration then a consecration; invented only by and reserved to Bishops for lucre sake alone. And the Homily for repairing and keeping clean Churches, pag. 78, 79. resolves thus, The Church or Temple is counted and called holy, yet not of it selfe, but because Gods people resorting thereto are holy, and exercise themselves in holy and heavenly things: Not because it is hallowed by a Bishop, of which the Homilies make no mention.

From these Authorities they concluded; the Arch-bishops consecration of Churches (especially of this but newly repaired) to be both Popish and Superstitious, by the received Doctrine, Writers of our Church, and Statutes of our Realm, which abandon and condemne the same.

Yet notwithstanding this Arch-Bishop was so zealously bent upon it, that he rested not in the consecration of Creed-Church, but proceeded further to consecrate Saint Giles Church in the fields; where the case stood thus:

The Church of Saint Giles being in decay, was re-edified and part of it new built and finished in Bishop Mountaines time, Divine Service, Preaching, and Administration of the Sacraments after its repaire having been used therein for 3. or 4. yeares space together without any exceptions: After which Bishop Laud being advanced to the Bishoprick of London, by a solemn proceffe under his Episcopall seal interdicted this Church, and suspended Divine Service, Sermons, and Sacraments in it for 2. or 3. weeks together, so as the Church-doors were shut up even on Lords Dayes, and the Parishoners forced to repair to other Churches, onely because the Church had not been re-consecrated after its reparation: some of the Parish opposed the consecration of it in respect of the charge and Fees, but at last they were enforced by the Bishop to submit, else they must have no Divine Service, Sermons, nor Sacraments in it, after all their costs bestowed thereon: Whereupon the Bishop the very next Lords Day after he had consecrated Creed Church, repaired to Saint Giles Church, and there consecrated it in the self-same manner; with the self-same gestures, bowings, prayers, ceremonies, as he consecrated Creed Church: After which he likewise consecrated the Church-yard, and a peece of ground which was bought and added to it; for consecration whereof the Parish paid ten pound fees

His Consecration of Saint Giles Church.

fees to the Bishop himself, to wit, 5 l. for consecrating the Church, and 5 l. for hallowing the Churchyard, besides fees to his Officers, and a Dinner which cost the Parish near 30 l. more; all which was attested upon oath, by Master Hope, and some others: and likewise proved by the Archbishops own Diary, wherein he registred this speciall memoriall of this Consecration with his owne hand, Sunday January 20. 1630. *I consecrated the Church of S. Gyles in the Fields.*

Upon which evidence the Committee of the Commons made these Observations. First, That this Church was used three or four years together in B. Mountains time after its repair without any new-Consecration, and thought holy enough by him: but this Popish Prelate after all this space was of another judgement, and must needs suspend and re-consecrate it, contrary to the very Canon law, and the resolution of the fore-cited Canonists. Secondly, that he and his Officers extorted unreasonable excessive fees from the Parish besides their costly Dinner, for this pious work on the Lords day; himself taking no lesse then 10 l. fees for consecrating the Church and Churchyard, which is direct Symonie by the * Canon Law, and extortion by the Commonlaw, there being no fees due by either law for such a Consecration. Thirdly, that this Prelate was so wilfull and superstitious in this Innovation, that God must lose his publick worship in this Church, and the whole Parish the use of it for the benefit of their soules, for two or three whole weeks during its interdiction, rather then this Prelate not enjoy his popish ends & exorbitant fees for the re-consecration of it.

* See Summa
Angelica &
Rosella. Tir.
Symonia.

After this, July 17. 1632. he consecrated another Church in Middlesex, in the same manner as he had done the former two: of which he makes this speciall Memento in his own Diary: July 17. 1632. *I consecrated the Church at Stanmore Magna, in Middlesex, built by Sir John Wolstenham.*

As this Arch-prelate was thus superstitiously and popishly active in consecrating Churches, so likewise in consecrating Chappels, for which these instances were produced.

The first Chappel he consecrated, was a Chappel built by himselfe at Aberguilla in Wales, whiles he was Bishop of S. Davids, dedicated by him to S. John Baptist, concerning which he registers this passage in his own Diary.

August 28. 1625. *Dies erat Solis: consecravi Capellam sine Oratorium propriis sumptibus extructam, in domo mea communiter vocata Aberguille-House. Nomen indidi, Capella S. Joh. Baptistæ, in gratam memoriam Collegii S. Joh. Baptistæ, Oxon cujus primo socius, & dein Praeses fui. Et hoc consulto feci. Interventit autem aliud non mali ominis spero (it seems he then little dreamed of his own beheading, or that the decollation of the Baptist, to whose memory he dedicated this Chappel could be any ill Omen of his own decapitation afterwards) de quo nunquam cogitavi, hoc fuit. Die Sabbati vesperti, immediate precedente consecrationem celebrandam, dum precibus eram intentus, nescio quàm violenter in mientem meam irrui, adesse diem DECOLLATIONIS S. JOHANNIS BAPTISTÆ. Finis precibus fasta consului; reperio diem illum in diem Luna, 29 scilicet Augusti, non in diem Solis incidere. Optassem, diem ipsum; sed gavissus sum me CONSECRATIONEM SOLENNEM peracturum VIGILIA SALTEM ILLIUS DIEI. Nam illa die Serenissimus Rex Jacobus, causam meam circa electionem in Presidentem Collegii S. Joh. Baptistæ Oxon: per tres integras horas ad minimum audivit, & me è manu inimicorum potentum justissime liberavit; No doubt to preserve him to a far other doome and censure.*

Mr. Prynne, deposed, that he found in the Archbishops Study this paper indorsed and corrected with his own hand, concerning the consecration of this his Chappell.

The form of the Act, where a Bishop consecrates a Chappell of his own Dedication.

In Dei nomine Amen. Cum Nos Gulielmus permissione divina Menevensis Episcopus, pia ac religiosa devotione ducti, hanc Capellam sive Oratorium intra ades nostras communiter vocatas Aberguilly-house, infra Parochiam de Aberguillye in Com. Carmarthen nostrarum Menevensis Dioces. & Iurisdictionis, continent. inter muros ejusdem, in longitudine ab Oriente ad Occidentem 30 pedes, & in latitudine ab Aquilone versus Austrum 17. pedes cum dimidio, super terris nostris, & cum propriis nostris sumptibus noviter erigi, & extrui procuravissimus; Eandemque suggesto, mensa Sacra seu Altari, Sedilibus convenientibus, aliisque necessariis ad divinum cultum decenter & sufficienter ornaverimus. Ad Consecrationem ejusdem Cappella auctoritate nostra ordinaria & Episcopali jam procedentes, eandem Capellam divino cultui, & divinorum celebrationi, ac tam ad Sacramenta, & Sacramentalia, tum Cane Dominica, tum etiam Baptismatis sacri in eadem ministranda, & ad matrimonium solemnizandum, quam ad divinas preces Deo fundendas, & verbum Dei pure & sincere proponendum & predicandum, ac cetera omnia sacra & divina perficienda in eadem qua de Jure divino, ac etiam legibus, sanctionibus, & Constitutionibus Ecclesia nostra Anglicana in ea parte sunt requisita & necessaria, ac si sigillatim essent in presentibus specificata, modo & forma in similibus jam de Jure visitatis in Dei honorem & usum nostrum & Successorum nostrorum, aliorumque nobiscum in adibus nostris predictis sive cum Successoribus nostris imposterum ibidem commorantium sive inhabitantium consecramus & dedicamus, per nomen Capella Sancti Johannis Baptista. Et sic consecratam, dedicatam & assignatam esse, & in futuris perpetuis temporibus remanere debere, palam & publice pronuntiamus & declaramus, & per nomen predictum perpetuis futuris temporibus nominandum & appellandum fore decernimus & sic nominamus. Privilegiis insuper omnibus & singulis in ea parte usitatis, & requisitis & Capellis ab antiquo fundatis competentibus hujusmodi Capellam sive Oratorium ad omnem Juris effectum munitum esse volumus, & quantum in nobis est & de Jure possumus, sic munimus & stabilimus per presentes. Salvo semper Jure & interesse Matricis Ecclesie in cujus Parochia dicta Capella sive Oratorium predictum scita, & scituata est, in omnibus & singulis decimis, oblationibus, vadiis, proficuis, privilegiis, Juribus & emolumentis quibuscumque ordinariis & extraordinariis ad dictam Ecclesiam matricem Jure vel consuetudinis quoquo modo debitis vel consuetis, aut spectantibus sive pertinentibus. Quae quidem omnia & singula praemissa quantum in nobis est, & de Jure possumus, pro Nobis & Successoribus nostris sic decernimus & stabilimus per presentes. In nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen.

With this Instrument, he likewise found a note of the dimensions of this Chappell, written with the Bishops own hand,

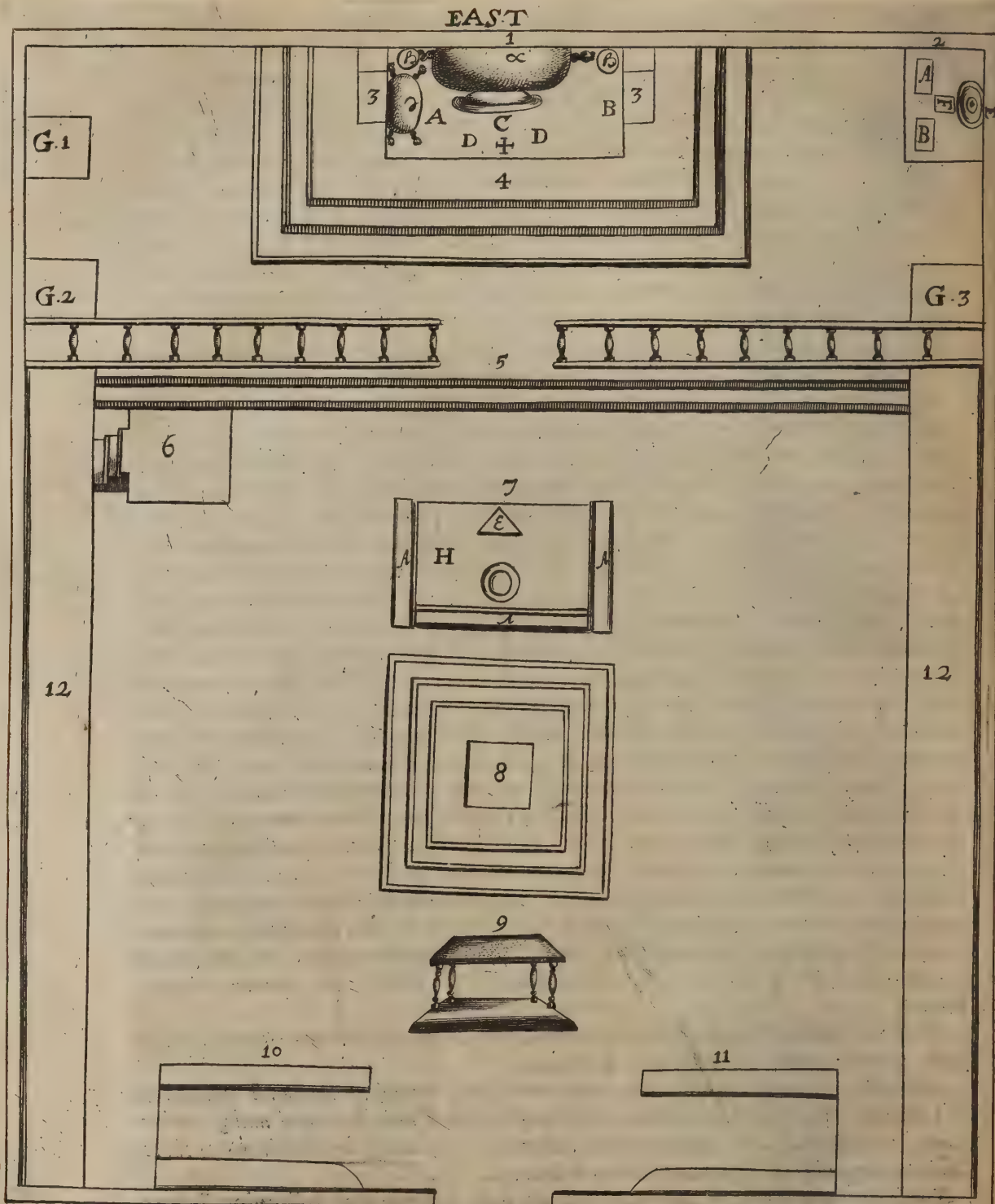
My Chappell at Aberguilly is 5. yards and a halfe broad at the East end. MY ALTAR FRAME, besides the thicknesse of the Table, is a yard and 3. inches high. And the Table is a yard and three quarters long; and in breadth it wants three inches of a yard; the foot-pace is two yards broad.

This note was inclosed and wrapped up within these two following Papers found together with it, thus indorsed with the Arch-bishops own hand. 1643. Chappell and furniture as it was in use by the right Reverend Father in God, Lancelot Andrews, Lord Bishop then of Winton: From whom the Arch-Bishop confessed at the Bar, he tooke his pattern of consecrating and furnishing Churches, Chappells, Altars. By which two papers publicly read and shewed in the Lords House; the Popish furniture both of Bishop Andrews and this Arch-bishops Chappells at Aberguilly, London-house, and Lambeth, will most evidently appear to all the world.

The portraiture of the first of these two papers, with the Popish furniture of the Altar in the Arch-bishops and Bishop Andrews Chappells, is expressed to the life in the following Copper peece.

R

EAST



1. The Altar $1\frac{1}{2}$ high $1\frac{1}{2}$ long $1\frac{1}{2}$ broad.
 A Cushion.
 B B. Two candlesticks with tapers } the daily furniture
 C. The bason for Oblations } for the Altar
 2. A Cushion for the service booke
 A The silver & guilt Canister for y^e wafers like a wicker basket
 & lined with Cambrick laced. B: y^e Tonne upon a cradle
 C: the Chalice haueing on the outside of the boll Christ
 with the lost sheepe on his shoulders on the top of the cover
 the wisemens Starr both engrauen it is couered with
 a linnen napkin (called the Aire) embrodere with
 colored filkes. D D. Two patens. E the Tri ca-
 nale being a round ball with a skrew cover where
 out y^e sue 3 pipes, and is for the water of mixture
 2. A tier table on which before the communion
 stand A & B upon two napkins E a bason & Ewer to wash before
 consecration F y^e towell apptaining 3. 3 the kneeling stooles covered
 and stuffed & the footpace wth three ascents covered wth a Turkey Carpett
 of firr boords G. G. G. Three Chaires used at Ordinations or prelates
 communicant 5 the Septum wth two ascents 6 the pulpit 7 the
 musique table wth (A A A) three formes. E: a Triquertall Censor
 wherein y^e Clarke putteth frankincense at y^e reading of the
 first lesson H: the naricula like y^e keele of a boat wth a
 halfe cover and a foot out of which the frankincense is poured
 8 a footpace with three ascents on which the Lectern standeth
 covered & thereon y^e great Bible 9 The Faldstorne where
 at they kneele to read y^e Litanie 10 is the Chaplins
 seate where he readeth service. II a seate wth a Canopie
 ouer it for y^e B. P. but at the communion time he sits on G. 3
 12. 12. two long formes for y^e familie

Loe here in this Peece and Chappell, you have first AN ALTAR. Secondly, strange Popish furniture on this Altar: viz. two silver Candlestickes with Tapers in them, (expressly prohibited by Queen Elizabeths Injunctions, Anno 1559. Injunct. 3. 23. which prohibit setting up of Candles; ordering all Candlesticks, Trindals, and Rols of Wax, to be taken away and extinct, as Monuments of superstition and Idolatry; by the Homily against the Perill of Idolatry, Part 3. pag. 50, 51. which condemnes the use of Tapers and Candle Religion, as foolish, superstitious Ethnical and Idolatrous, and generally censured by all our * Orthodox Writers as Popish and Heathenish.) A Bason for Oblations: a silver and gilt Candlesticke for W A F E R S. A Chalice with the Picture of Christ engraven on it: An Aire; A Tricanale or pot with three pipes for the Water of mixture; (that is, for water to mix with the Wine, and for Holy-water.) A Credertia or side Table: a Bason and Ewer, (for the polluted Priests and Prelates to wash in) before consecration, and a towell to wipe their unhollowed fingers: A Censer to burn Incense in, at the reading of the first Lesson, as in the Popish Masse and Churches. A little Boate out of which the Frankincense is poured, &c. (which Doctor Cosens had made use of in Peter house, where he burned Incense:) Furniture directly borrowed from the Roman Ceremoniall, Missab, and Pontificall, no where to be found but in Popish Chappels and Churches. You may judge of this Prelates Chappell and Popish Inclination, by this Romish furniture thereto belonging: and that mentioned in this next ensuing, being an Inventory of his Chappell furniture and Plate, found with the former, attested by Master Prynn.

* Ormerod his Pagano Papis. semblance. 37. 123, 124, 125. Francis de Grey his first conformity, c. 25. Dr. Reynolds his conference with Hart. c. 8. divil. 4. p. 492. to 514. Artic. of Ireland, Artic. 52. Bishop Latimer in sundry of his Sermons.

Furniture belonging to the Chappell.

- B**ehind the Altar: A peece of Hangings 11. foot deep, and 5. yards $\frac{1}{2}$ long.
 Another peece of Hangings. The story of Abraham and Melchisedeck; part of the story of David.
 A Table with a frame of deale used for the Altar, 1. yard $\frac{1}{4}$ high, 1. yard $\frac{1}{4}$ long 1. yard broad.
 A Back-peece of Crimofin and Violet Damaske paned. 1. yard $\frac{1}{2}$ deep, 3. yards long.
 A Front peece of the like. 1. yard $\frac{1}{4}$ deep, 3. yards long.
 A Pall of Violet Damaske. 1. yard $\frac{1}{4}$ broad. 3. yards $\frac{1}{4}$ long.
 A Cushion of Violet and Crimofin Damaske. $\frac{1}{2}$ yard broad, 1. yard long.
 A Rail of Wainscot bannisters before the Altar.
 Two Traverses of Taffeta Crimofin and Violet paned 3. yards $\frac{1}{4}$ deep, 4. yards $\frac{1}{4}$ broad.
 A foot-pace with two ascents of Deal, underneath the Altar, 3. yards $\frac{1}{4}$ long, 1. yard $\frac{1}{4}$ broad.
 A Turkey Carpet to it 4. yards $\frac{1}{4}$ long, 2 yards $\frac{1}{4}$ wide.
 Two low stooles to kneel on at each end of the Altar, stuffed and covered with purple Bayes.
 A square Pulpit of wainscot, 1 yard $\frac{1}{4}$ high, 1 yard square.
 A Pulpit cloath of Crimofin and Violet damaske paned, 1. yard $\frac{1}{4}$ deepe, 3. yards long.
 A Musique Table of Deal.
 3. Formes to it covered with purple Bayes.
 A Carpet of purple Broad-cloath, 3. yards long.
 A Carpet of purple Bayes. 3. yards long, and $\frac{1}{4}$ broad.
 A foot-pace with three Ascents, 2. yards $\frac{1}{2}$ square. And thereupon a Lectern with the Great Bible.
 A cloth to the Lecterne of purple broad cloth, 3. yards long.
 Another of purple Bayes. 3. yards long, 1. yard, $\frac{1}{4}$ broad.

A Faldstory of wainscot, 1. yard 1. neile high, 1. yard lacking a neile broad at top
 1. yard lacking two nailes breadth below.
 A cloath to it of purple broad-cloath, 2. yards, $\frac{3}{4}$ long, 1. yard $\frac{1}{2}$ broad.
 Another of Purple Bayes, 2. yards $\frac{3}{4}$ long, 1. yard, $\frac{1}{4}$ broad.
 Over the Bishops seate.
 A Canopie of Crimosin and Violet Damask paned, 2. yards $\frac{1}{4}$ long. 2. bredth.
 The Valens to it, 3. yards compasse $\frac{1}{4}$ deep.
 A Cushion to it of Violet Damaske, 1. yard long, $\frac{1}{4}$ yard broad.
 A folding Table of wainscot neer the Altar.
 A Carpet of Bayes on it, 1. yard $\frac{1}{2}$ wide, 1. yard $\frac{1}{2}$ long.
 4. Folding chaires of Leather.

Plate for the Chappell.

Two Candlesticks gilt for tapers	60. ounces	at 5. s.	6. d. the ounce.
A round Bason for Offerings, gilt and chased	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	6.	8.
A round Bason for Almes gilt, and chased	30.	6.	0.
An Ovall Bason and Ewer, gilt and chased	51.	6.	0.
Two Patens gilt	36.	10.	0.
For cutting the figure 13. s. 4. d.			
A Chalice and cover gilt	43.	10.	0.
For making the star on the Challice 3. s.			
A Tun gilt	47. 3. d. weight.	6.	11.
A Cradle to it gilt	18. $\frac{1}{4}$	6.	11.
A Funnell to it gilt	3.	6.	11.
A Canister gilt	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	10.	0.
A triquetrall Censor	85. lack	6. d.	7. 0.
For gilding it at 16. d. the ounce.			
A Laton pan for it	5. s.		
For making the knob of it	2. s.		
A Crewet gilt with 3. spouts	10. $\frac{11}{16}$	7. s.	9.
Another gilt with a Birds bill	4. lesse.	5. d. weight	6. 8.
Five Copes.			
Five Surplices.			
Two Altar-cloathes.			
Two Towels thereto.			
A cloath to lay over the Chalice wrought with coloured silke called the Aire.			

Linnen.

To which I shall onely adde this Passage of like nature of Doctor Wrens Propofalls found in the Archbishops studdy, thus indorsed with his own hand, and presented by him to his Majesty, touching the furnishing of the Altar at Windsor Chappell.

Septemb. 22. 1628. Doctor Wren Deane of Windsor, his Propofalls to his Sacred Majesty, concerning that Church, and the Order of the Garter.

Touching the Divine Service in his Majesties Chappell of Windsor.

Whereas also the Altar of the Chappell is not furnished according to the State and Magnificence of so great a Majestie; May it please his Sacred Majesty to call to minde that at a Chapter of the Order held, Aprill 23. 1618. by King James of Blessed memory, It was decreed, *Quod quilibet Militum offerret ac donaret pro Altari capelle ordinis in Windsor vas aliquod argenteum valoris (ad minimum) 20. l.* And again at the Chapter held, Novemb. 24. 1625. Under his Sacred Majesty that now is, it is thus Ordered; *Primum proposuit supremus, ut unusquisque Ordinis donaret aliquod vas Argenteum valoris, 20. l. in usum capelle. Hic acclamatum est ab omnibus.* The fulfilling of which Decrees would make a magnificent and worthy supply of all things necessary unto the service of the said Altar.

To

To which the Arch-bishop writ this Answer in the Margin with his own hands
These and all that concern the Order are to be remembered at the next Chapter.

Certainely were there no other Evidence to prove this Archbishop a direct Papist in heart and practise, but the consecration and Popish furniture of his Chappell with that forementioned in the windowes at *Lambeth* it were abundantly sufficient to satisfie all the world, and the greatest Patriots of his sincerity to the Protestant Religion; but we shall proceed to further proofes.

The next Chappell we finde the Archbishop consecrated, was the Chappell at *Hamer-Smith*; of which there was this memoriall read out of his Diary *June. 7. 1631. Tuesday I consecrated the Chappell of Hamer-Smith*; It was done with like Popish Ceremonies as he used at *Creed-Church*; and *Sr. Nicholas Crispe* setting two great silver Flagons with wine on the Communion Table when the Chappell was consecrated, without any intent to bestow them on the Chappell; the Archbishop told him after the consecration *they were now dedicated unto God, and it would be Sacriledge for him to commit them to his private use againe*: and so enforced him to bestow them on the Chappell.

There was great suite made to the Bishop, and a composition with *Dr. Cluet* Minister of *Fulham* and his successors, before way would be given by him, for the building of this Chappell of ease. At last all parties being agreed, and provisions made to build the Chappell; the Archbishop solemnly layd and consecrated the first stone thereof, using the ensuing praier at its consecration; as was proved by his *Booke of Praiers* written with his owne hand (sealed by *Mr. Prynne* in his Chamber at the Tower) where page 220. was written in the Margent. *Hamer-Smith Chappell March 11. 1629.* with this superscription and Praier.

At the laying of the first stone in A Chappell.

‘ O Lord Mercifull and gracious, these thy people are preparing to build a place *Hammer-*
 ‘ for thy service. Accept I humbly beseech thee, their present devotion, and make *Smith*
 ‘ them perfect both in their present and future duty; That while thou givest them *Chappell.*
 ‘ ease to honour thee, they may with the greater Alacrity goe on in thy service. And *March 11.*
 ‘ now O Lord I have by thy mercy and goodnesse put to my hand to lay the first *1629.*
 ‘ stone in this building. Tis a Corner stone, make it I beseech thee a happy founda-
 ‘ tion, a durable building; Let it rise up and be made and continue a house of praier
 ‘ and devotion through all ages, that thy people may be taught to beleieve in Jesus
 ‘ Ch. the true Corner stone, upon whom they and their soules may be built safe for
 ‘ ever. Grant this for the same Jesus Christ our most blessed Lord and Saviour. To
 ‘ whom with the Father; and the Holy Spirit be ascribed, all power majesty and
 ‘ dominion this day and for ever, Amen.

Now this Ceremony of consecrating and laying the first stone of a Chappell or Church by the Bishop, is expressly taken out of the *Roman Pontificall*, pars 2. cap. *De Benedictione & impositione primarij lapidis pro Ecclesia edificanda.* p. 199. &c. Where all the solemnity of this consecration is at large prescribed, and the substance of the Prayer the Bishop used upon this occasion, thence derived.

This ceremony of consecrating and laying the first stone of a Church or Chappell is severely censured as ridiculous, Popish, Superstitions, by *Matthew Parker*, his predecessor Archbishop of Canterbury, in his *Antiquitates Ecclesie Britannicae*, p. 85. *Quibus enim non dicam verbis sed portentis, hæc & hujusmodi à Pontificiis adorantur Q. Primarius lapis & cementum per Ecclesia edificanda: Lapis cum cemento Episcopi manibus primum aqua benedicta sparsus in sculpto Gracis signo his sententiis in fundamento positus est, lapidem quem reprobaverunt adificantes, hic factus est in caput Anguli Deivide, tu es Petrus, & super hanc Petram, &c. postea precabantur, ut qui ad perficiendam, Ecclesiam auxilium dederunt, corporis & animæ salutem consequantur, &c.* Yet notwithstanding the Popish Prelate, in contempt of his Predecessors Judgement, needs must introduce this Popish Innovation, not
 onely

onely at *Hammer-smith*, but even at the Cathedrall of *Pauls* it selfe; where he consecrated and laid the first stone at its reparation, with many prayers and Ceremonies: And not content herewith caused a second Edition of *Sir Tho. Riddels View of the Civill and Ecclesiasticall Law* to be re-printed at *Oxford*, Anno 1634. *Cum Privilegio*, with some Marginall Additions added to it by *J. G. Master of Arts* p. 51. 52, 191, 192, 193. Wherein he justifies the consecrating of Churches, Chappels, and the foundation-stone thereof, by the Bishop in these words: *The Bishop with Prayer is to lay the first stone of a Church or Monastery, and lift up his hands to heaven, and consecrate the place to God by prayer, and there erect the symbole of our Salvation, We mean the venerable and truly precious Rood. That this Ceremony of laying the first stone, hath been of ancient use in the Greeke Church, may be observed out of their Euchologue, where it is said, That the Bishop after some other Rites performed, standing in the place where the holy Altar shall be set, saith a prayer, which being ended he giveth the Ita missa est, and then taking up one of the stones, and having put a crosse upon it himselfe with his own hands layeth it upon the ground-work; then he pronounceth the, &c. and so the Workemen begin the building. That which followeth in the Euchologue, discovereth the forme and manner of setting up the Crucifix which the Law calleth *συνεμνιον*. The like ceremonies are used in the Latine Church at this day, as may be seen in their Pontificall page 281. of that which Clement the 8. set out at Rome in the yeare 1565. The crucifix must be sent to the place where the Church is to be erected; and there the Bishop useth certaine prayers, fumeth the ground with his Incense circular-wise, crosseth the corner stone, which he layeth for the foundation, and when he maketh the consecration, the crosse must be set up behinde the holy Altar, there being prepared for it some lofty structure, &c. Which addition was patched to Doctor Ridley, meerly to countenance and justifie the Arch-bishops consecrations of this kinde; of which we shall produce some other Instances.*

We read in his Diary under his own hand this Memoriall following, May 26. 1632. *Saturday, Trinity Sunday Eve, I consecrated the Lord Treasurers Chappell at Roc-hampton: And in an Abstract of the Arch-bishops Metropolitall Visitation, Anno 1635. (found in his study) we finde his Visitor and Vicar Generall interdicted the Chappell of Buckston and of Down in Derbyshire. (though long used) for want of consecration, and in some Visitation Articles this inquiry made, Whether any Chaplaines did Preach or administer the Sacrament in any Chappell not consecrated?*

* Articles to be inquired of in the Visitation of the Arch-Deacon of Buckingham Anno 1625. Artic. 27. touching the Ministry.

* See Speeds Hist. of Great Britain p. 1067 1668.

(a) Expos. in Aggeus, c 1. and 2.
(b) De Vita & Ob. tu. Mar. Bucer.
(c) Acts and Monuments, Edit. 1610. p. 1777. to 1788.

In the year 1636. there was a great contestation between the Arch-bishop and the University of Cambridge, heard before his Majesty and his Privy Councell at Hampton Court, whether the Archbishop meerly as Metropolitan, or the King alone as King and founder of the University should have the Visitation thereof: where it was ruled for the Arch-bishop, against the King and University. At which time the Arch-bishop declared, that one principall cause why he desired to visit the University of Cambridge was, because there were some Chappels belonging to Colledges where Divine Service had been used, and the Sacrament administred divers years, though they were never consecrated by any Bishop; as namely * *Emanuel Colledge Chappell*, built in the year, 1584. And *Sidney Sussex Colledge Chappell* built in the year, 1598. And ever since used as Chappels without any Bishops consecration, no Archbishop or Bishop, of the Diocesse taking any exceptions at it; yet now forsooth, the Archbishop as Metropolitan must become Visitor to the University of Cambridge to consecrate these Chappels; as if they were prophane before, and the holy Ordinances used in them not sufficient to hallow them, without his Popish Episcopall consecration-ceremonies, (a) Bishop *Pilkington*, (b) *Walter Haddon*, (c) *Mr. Fox*, and others, much jeer and deride the madnesse, folly, and superstition of *Cardinall Poole*, and his Deputy Visitors of this very University of Cambridge, for digging up *Mr. Bucers*, and *Paulus Fagius* bones, out of *S. Maries Church* in Cambridge, 3. yeares after they were interred, and interdicting

dicting and new consecrating the Church again, as prophaned by them for tear their Masses and Divine Service there used, should be nothing worth, the place being made prophane and unholy by these heretickes funeralls as they judged them, when as the Church was holy enough to say Masse in for three yeares space before; and all that would not heare it must be imprisoned, burned, although the parties lay there buried.

And is it not then a far greater madnesse, superstition, and ridiculous frenzie for this domineering Arch-Prelate to deem these two Chappels prophane places, unfit to administer the Sacraments, and celebrate divine Service in, because never yet consecrated by a Bishop, not onely after three, but almost three-score yeares use and practise of divine Service, Sermons, Sacraments in them? When as neither his predecessors *Whitgift*, *Bancroft*, and *Abbot* (men very ceremonious, and two of them much addicted to superstition) ever so much as moved any such question concerning the necessity of their consecration: Especially since there is no such Canon, Law, to enforce the consecration of them now, as was to justify there-hallowing of *S. Maries Church* in *Queen Maries* time, which the * Popish Canon Law then approved, in the case of *Bucer* and *Fagius*. We read in the *Ecclesiasticall Constitutions of Otho*, the *Popes Legat*, made in an *English Synode* in the Raigne of *King Henry* the third, that even in those dark times of Popery, there were not only divers Parish Churches, but some Cathedrals in *England*, which were used as such for many yeares, yet never consecrated by a Bishop, as appears by these words of the Constitution it self: * *Multas invenimus Ecclesias, & aliquas Cathedralas, qua licet fuerunt ab antiquo constructae, nondum tamen sunt sanctificationis Oleo consecratae*: Whereupon this Popish Legat for his own lucher, Enjoyed all Churches then built or to be built, to be consecrated within two years space, under pain of interdiction, from having Masse said in them; unlesse some reasonable cause were shewed to the contrary. By colour of which Popish constitution, this Prelate (it seems) urged the consecration of these ancient Chappels; there being no other shaddow of reason, Canon, or authority for it.

* See *Summa Angelica & Rosella. Tit. Consecratio Ecclesiae.*

* *Joan. de Aton Constit. Dom. Othonis. De consecr. Ecclesiae. c. 5.*

After this Archbishop had thus procured a power to himself to visit the University of Cambridge; *Matthew Wren* Bishop of *Ely*, Decemb. 1. 1639. Sent him up an account signed with his own hand, of some things amisse within his Diocesse and that University, which he left to his Graces consideration to amend: which account was seized by Master *Prynne* in his study at *Lambeth*, and thus indorced with the Arch-bishops own hand. *My Lord of Elyes Account: 1639* In which there were these two Passages, concerning consecration of Chappels. The first concerning a Chappell in *Sir John Cuts* house, in the town of *Childersley*; which Chappell the Knight said, was consecrated by Bishop *Heton*, producing an Instrument under seal, purporting that on such a day, at *Childersly*, Bishop *Heton* did consecrate a Chappell, by saying Service there himselfe, and having a Sermon: (this was all the Solemnity of its Consecration) I questioning the whole matter have required him to waite upon your Grace, to see whether that consecration must be allowed of? The second concerning some Chappels in Colledges never yet consecrated; which is thus expressed in this Account: It was presented unto me, That in the Colledges of *Emanuel*, *Sidney*, and *Corpus Christi*, there have been Roomes built within the memory of man, which are used for common Chappels, wherein they have dayly prayers and do Preach there, without any faculty or license granted unto them so to do; And wherein also they ordinarily celebrate the holy Communion, The said places never having been consecrated thereunto.

Ma. Elic.

The Scottish troubles, it seems, prevented his consecration of these Chappels, which were sufficiently hallowed before by the Divine Duties exercised in them. The last Chappell we finde consecrated, was that in *Covent Garden*, which

was

was hallowed or rather prophaned with all Popish Ceremonies expressed in the Roman Pontificall, and far more than were used at Creed-Church.

^a *Survius*
Concil. Tom.
2. p. 382.

Fox Acts and
Monuments.

(a) His Com-
munion Book
Chatechisme
expounded.
(b) History of
the Sabbath:
A Moderate
Answer to H.
Burton, p. 50.
to 56. 75. 80.
81. 110. 111. 112.
(c) Innovati-
ons unjustly
charged, c. 10.
11. 12. p. 73.
108.
The Declara-
tion for Sports
on the Lords
Day, &c. New
Printed, pub-
lished, pressed
by the Arch-
bishops pro-
curement.

The Arch-bishop having thus far advanced his Popish designs in consecrating Churches, Chappels, and Church-yards, proceeded one step further, even to set up the exploded *Annually Bacchanalian feasts of Dedication*, whereon Churches were hallowed, prescribed at first onely by the Decrees of * *Pope Felix, & Pope Gregory* recorded by *Gratian, De Consecratione, Distinct 1.* who Decreed thus: *Solemnitates Ecclesiarum dedicationem per singulos annos solemniter sunt celebrande.* Those Feasts of Dedication, turned by the people into meer *Bacchanals*, were exceedingly declaimed against, as necessary to be suppressed by *Nicholaus de Clemangis* in his *Tract, De Novis Celebritatibus non instituendis*; suppressed by the *Injunctions of King Henry the 8. An. 1535.* As the occasion of much idlenesse, excesse, riot, and pernicious to the Souls of men; Whereupon they were all of them restrained to the first Sunday in the moneth of October, not to be kept on any other day; and afterwards totally abolished by the statute of 5. and 6. E. 6. c. 3. Of holy-dayes. Which being revived again by degrees, with their *Bacchanalian* disorders in sundry places of this Realm, under the names of Wakes or Revels; and suppressed by some Judges in their Circuits and Justices of Peace in Sessions: this Arch-bishop in the year of our Lord 1633. by a Declaration compiled by himselfe, but published in his Majesties Name, intituled; *The Kings Majesties Declaration concerning Lawfull Sports to be used*; revived and enjoined the Observation of these Wakes and Feasts of Dedication, never formerly established by any Christian Prince; together with the use of divers Sports and pastimes on the Lords own Sacred day, after Divine Service ended; to the great Dishonour of God, of his Majesty, of our Religion, the disturbance of the Civill Government, encrease of all Licentiousnesse, prophane-nesse, impiety, and great grieve of all godly peoples Souls. This Book he enjoined all Ministers to read and publish openly in the Church, in time of Divine Service, though not commanded by the King; and those who out of conscience refused to read it in this kinde, were by his means suspended, excommunicated, prosecuted in the High-Commission, Sequestred from their Livings, yea many of them enforced to desert their Cures and depart the Kingdome; this book being made a snare onely to entrap or suppress most of the painfull, godly, preaching Ministers throughout the Realm, who were all more or lesse prosecuted about it: Yet such was this Arch-Prelates unparallel'd impiety, transcending all examples in former Ages, that he not onely caused his Instruments (a) *Edmond Reeve*, (b) *Dr. Heylyn*, (c) *Christopher Dowe* and others, to defend the Lawfulnessse and usefulnessse of this prophane licentious Declaration, but also to justifie the persecution, silencing, suspending, depriving of those Godly Ministers who out of Conscience refused to publish it, in sundry Printed Books authorized by him and his Chaplaines, for the Presse. *Quis talia fando, temperet à Lachrymis?* at leastwise can refrain from the heaviest censures against this prophane Arch-bishop.

That this Declaration (since ordered to be publicly burnt by the common hangman, by Order of both Houses of Parliament) was Printed published by the Archbishops procurement, and upon what Occasion, was thus attested upon Oath by Master *Edward Richardson*, and Master *Prynn*.

Sir *Thomas Richardson* Lord chiefe Justice of England and Baron *Denham*, riding the Western Circuit in the Lent Vacation, 7^o *Caroli*, there being at the Assises in the County of *Somerset*, many persons indicted for murdering Bastard children begotten at Wakes and Revels, with sundry other grand disorders occasioned by these intemperate meetings, the Justices of that County earnestly importuned the Judges to make a severe Order for the suppression of these disorderly Wakes and Revels, as divers of their Predecessors had done, without which they could never keep the Country in good Order, nor prevent the multitude of Bastards, murders, bloodsheds, drunkennessse, quarrels, and other disorders occasioned by them; whereupon these Judges made this ensuing Order in the publike Assises.

*An Order made by the Judges of the Assises for
the suppressing of all Ales and Revels, the
nineteenth day of March, Anno Regis
Caroli nunc Ang. &c. Sept.*

WHereas divers Orders have been
made heretofore by the Judges of
the *Assise* for the suppressing of all *Ales* and
Revels, the same Order is now confirmed at
this *Assises*, and again Ordered by the Court,
*In regard of the infinite number of inconveniences
daily arising by means of Revels.* That such *Re-
vels*, *Church-Ales*, *Clerks-Ales*, and all other
publick *Ales*, be henceforth utterly suppress-
ed; and if hereafter it shall be known to the
Justices of the Peace within this County of
such to be set up hereafter to be used, That
then the Justices of Peace within their severall
divisions take course, as well for the speedy
apprehending and punishing of Idle and lewd
persons, drawing together at such places, as
also for the binding over of such persons using
tipling, inflicting such punishment upon all
offenders in such places *as the Law doth inflict.*
And to the end this Order may be the better
observed, it is further Ordered, That the
Clerk of the *Assises* shall leave Coppies hereof
with the under-Sheriffe, and from the under-
Sheriffe every Constable of the hundred shall
take a Coppy for his severall Hundred and
Liberty, and shall deliver a Coppy to the
S Mini-

Minister of every Parish within his severall Hundred and Liberty, and shall take a note of every Minister under his hand the day when he received it; and shall publish it yearly within the Parish Church, the first Sunday in February, and likewise the two Sundayes before Easter, yearly. And it is further Ordered, That every Constable every Lent-Assises, present unto the Judges of the Circuit, a note of the same Order under the hands of the said Ministers: And for the avoyding the concourse of idle people, it is further Ordered, That Minstrels, and such other persons as usually carry up and down Bulls and Beares to bate (being Rogues by the Statute) shall be punished as Rogues, for the further preventing of such inconveniences as usually hapneth at such meetings.

*This is a Copsy of To Lawrence Musgrave
the Order. Constable.*

The now Arch-Bishop being informed of this good Order, was very much nettled at it, both in regard of the subject matter of it, (the suppression of Church-Ales, Wakes, Revels, commonly kept on the Lords Day) and likewise of the manner of publishing it, by the Ministers in the Church, which he conceived to be an Usurpation upon the Bishops Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, and an injury to the Church. Upon which grounds he had formerly quarrelled with Sir Nicholas Rainton when he was Lord Mayor of London, for prohibiting an Apple-woman to sell Apples on the Lords Day within Pauls Church-yard, threatening to complaine of him to the King and his Councell for usurping on his Jurisdiction; and telling him she should sell Apples there on the Sunday, notwithstanding his Command to the contrary, and let him punish her if he durst; as he likewise excepted against this pious Order of Richard Deane, Lord Mayor of London, Anno 1629. (found in his study by Master Prynn) thus endorsed with his own hand, Aprill 20. 1629. The Lord Mayor of London his Warrant against breakers of the Sabbath, MY JURISDICTION INTERESSED.

Lond. ss **W** *Hereas I am credibly informed that notwithstanding divers good Laws provided for the keeping of the Sabbath day holy, according*

ding to the expresse Commandement of Almighty God, divers Inhabitants and other persons of this City and other places, having no respect of duty towards God, and his Majesty, or his Laws, but in contempt of them all, do commonly and of custome greatly prophane the Sabbath day, in buying, selling, uttering, and venting their Wares and Commodities, upon that day for their private gain. Also Inholders suffering Markets to be kept by Carriers in most rude and prophane manner, in selling Victuals to Hucsters, Chandlers, and all other commers: also Carriers, Carmen, Clothworkers, Water-bearers, and Porters carrying of burthens, and Watermen plying their Fares, and divers others working in their ordinary callings. And likewise that I am further informed that Vintners, Alehousekeepers, Tobacco, and strong Water sellers, greatly prophane the Sabbath day, by suffering Company to sit drinking and bibbing in their houses on that day; And likewise divers by cursing and swearing and such like behaviour, contrary to the expresse Commandement of Almighty God, his Majesties Laws in that behalf and all good Government. For the Reformation whereof, I do hereby require, and in his Majesties name straightly Command all his Majesties loving subjects whatsoever, and also all Constables, Headboroughs, Beadles, and all other Officers whatsoever to be ayding and assisting to (I. S.) the bearer hereof, in finding out and apprehending all and every such person and persons, as shall be found to offend in any of these kinds; and them and every of them to bring before me or some other of his
Ma-

Majesties Justices of the Peace, to answer to all such matters as shall be objected against them, and to put in good security, for their good behaviour: whereof fail you not, as you or any of you will answer at your perill. Dated Aprill 20. 1629.

To all Constables and other his Majesties Officers & Ministers whatsoever within the City of London and liberties thereof, and to every of them.

*Rich. Deane
Major.*

The Arch-bishop much vexed at the Judges forementioned Order against *Ales* and *Revels*, complained of the Judges and it to his Majestie (as he had formerly done of the Lord Mayor of *London*) and procured a Commission to some Divines of that County, and Bishop *Pierce*, to enquire of the manner of publishing this Order in Churches, and what was done therein, and of the Lord Chiefe Justice *Richardsons* carriage in this businesse. Notwithstanding which Commission this chiefe Justice the next Assizes gave a strict charge against these *Ales*, and *Revels*, required an Account of the publication and execution of the foresaid Order, and punished some disorderly persons for breach thereof: Wherewith the Arch-bishop (then of *London*) being acquainted by Sir *Robert Philips* and others, he thereupon complained again to the King of the Judges, and writ the ensuing letter to the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, to make the better way for the publike authorizing of *Wakes* and *Revels*, even on the Lords own Day, and his Majesties subsequent Declaration for *Sports* and *Ales* to be kept thereon: of which *Christopher Dowe* his Champion, in his *Innovations* unjustly charged upon the present Church and State, or, *An Answer to the most materiall passages of a Libellous Pamphlet made by Mr. Henry Burton, and Intituled, An Apology of an Appeal, &c. London, 1637. chap. 5. p. 75.* writes thus: *I beleieve his Grace holds it no dishonour to be the meanes of procuring or urging obedience, to any Act, that so just, and religious a King shall avow to be His.* Propounding and justifying these five Propositions at at large concerning this Declaration, and the urging of it, p. 77. &c.

1. *That the Declaration is no inlet to prophanesse, or irreligion, or hinderance of the due Sanctification of the Lords Day.*
2. *That the sports permitted by it to be used, are Lawfull, and are not prohibited either by Gods Law, or the Law of the Land.*
3. *That it is no means of breaking the fift Commandement, nor doth allow any contempt of Parents, or Masters Authority over their children and servants.*
4. *That the reading of it by Ministers, in their severall Congregations, was enjoined and intended by his Majesty, and that it is a thing that may lawfully be done by them.*
5. *That such as refuse to publish it accordingly, are justly punished, and their punishment no cruelty or unjust persecution.*

The Extract of the Letter sent to the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, was as followeth.

My

My very good Lord, &c.

S. in Christo.

MY Businesse concerning my Translation are now almost over, and those of Tearme ready to begin. And in the interim I am commanded by His Majesty to put you to a little paines. There hath been of late some noyse in Somersetshire about the Feasts of the Dedications of Churches, commonly called the Wakes; and it seemes the Judges of Assize formerly made an Order to prohibit them, and caused it to be published in some or most of the Churches there by the Minister, without my Lord the Bishops consent or privy. The pretence of this hath been, that some disorders derogatory from Gods service and the Government of the Common-wealth are committed at those times: by which argument, any thing that is abused may be quite taken away. It seemes there hath been some heate stricke in the Countrey about this, by the carriage of the Lord Chiefe Justice Richardson, at the two last Assizes, especially the last, with which His Majesty is not well pleased. And for the preventing of outrages, or disorders at those Feasts, no man can be more carefull than His Majesty; but He conceives, and that very rightly, that all these may and ought to be prevented by the care of the Justices of Peace, and not leave the Feasts themselves to be kept, for the Neighbourly meetings and Recreations of the people, of which he would not have them debarred under any frivolous pretences. And farther, His Majesty hath been lately informed by men of good place in that Countrey, that the Humourists increase much in those parts, and raise themselves by banding against the Feasts; which course, as His Majesty no way likes, so He hath been informed also for this last yeare, since warning was given, there have not been any noted disorders at any of those Feasts kept in those parts. Yet for His better satisfaction, He hath commanded me to require you (which I here do by these Letters) to send for some of the gravest of your Clergy, and such as stand best affected to the Church and Government in the severall parts of your Diocese, and by them to informe your selfe, how these Feasts have been ordered for this last yeare, and how free they have been from disorders, and to send me up an accompt of it, such as I may shew to His Majesty, of which you must not fayle. And He doubts not, but that you will performe the same like a wise and a prudent Governour. Thus leaving this businesse to your care, and desiring you to make as much convenient haste with it as you can, I commend you to Gods Grace, and rest,

Lambeth, Octob. 4.

1633.

Your Lordships very loving
Friend, and Brother
W. Cant,

NOTE.

NOTE.

NOTE.

To which Letter, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, made this returne, thus endorsed with the Archbishops own hand. Rece. November 11. 1633. My Lord of Bathes Certificate, about the Wakes and other Feasts in Somersetshire, &c. found in his Study with his own forecited Letter.

MOST Reverend Father in God, and my very Honourable good Lord, my humble service presented to your Grace. I received upon the 11th of October last, a Letter from your Grace, dated the 4th of the same Moneth; wherein your Grace hath required me by a commandment from His Majesty, to send for some of the gravest of my Clergie, and such as stand best affected to the Church and Government, out of the severall parts of my Diocese, and by them to inform my selfe, how the annuall Feasts of the Dedications of their Churches have beene kept within their severall Parishes this last yeare, and how free they have beene from disorders. Now according to His Majesties pleasure and Commandment herein, presently after receipt of your Graces Letter, I sent forth my Letters into all the severall Deaneries within my Diocese, for some of the better sort of Clergy out of every Division, part and corner of Somersetshire to come unto me, and so they did upon certaine dayes appointed by me; And I finde by the severall Answers of threescore and twelve Ministers, Beneficed men, in whose Parishes these Feasts are kept, as followeth. First, that they have been kept not onely this last yeare, but also for many years before, as long as they have lived in their severall Parishes, without any disorders. Secondly, that upon the Feast dayes, (which are

They were
the deoyttest
and worst in
the Countrey.

for the most part every where upon Sundayes) the Service of the Church hath bin more solemnly performed, and the Church hath bin better frequented, both in the Forenoons, and in the Afternoons, than upon any Sunday in the yeare. Thirdly, that they have not known or heard of any disorders in the Neighbouring Towns, where the like Feasts are kept. Fourthly, that the people do very much desire the continuance of those Feasts. Lastly, that all these Ministers are of opinion, that it is fit and convenient these Feast dayes should be continued, for a memoriall of the Dedications of their severall Churches, for the civilizing of people, for their lawfull Recreations, for the composing of differences by occasion of the meeting of friends, for the increase of love and unity, as being Feasts of Charity, for the reliefe of the poore, the richer sort keeping then in a manner open house, and for many other reasons.

This is the summe of their severall free and voluntary Answers, which I have in writing under their owne hands, and will be ready to shew if they be required: which course I tooke, because it might not bee given our hereafter by those who condemne these Feasts, that I did mistake either their words, or their meaning. And I doe verily believe, that if I had sent for an hundred more of the Clergie within my Dioceffe, I should have received the same Answer from them all; because not one of those Ministers who appeared before me (although they are almost all of them as yet strangers unto mee, and most of them strangers one to another) varied in the substance of his Answer from the rest; nay most of them agrees in their very phrases and words, and yet all of them gave their Answers severally. So that I may liken these seventy and two Ministers in this matter, unto the *Septuagint*, or seventy two Interpreters, who agreed so soone in the Translation of the o'd Testament.

NOTE.

Now as I have made a true report of the Answers of these Ministers, so I desire to set downe some observations of mine owne, which I have collected out of their Answers.

I finde that throughout *Somersetshire*, there are not only Feasts of Dedication, but also in many places Church-ales, Clerkes-ales, and Bid-ales. The Feasts of Dedications are more generall, and generally they are called Feast-dayes, but in divers places they are call'd Revell-dayes, they are not knowne amongst the ignorant people by the name of Feasts of Dedication; but all Schollers acknowledge them to be in the memory of their severall Dedications, and some Ministers of late have taught them so: Divers Churches here are Dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and they are kept upon Trinity Sunday; but almost all those Feasts which are kept in memory of the Dedication of Churches unto Saints, are kept upon some Sundayes, either before or after the Saints dayes; because (as I conceive) on the weeke dayes the people have not had leisure to celebrate these Feasts. And I finde that almost all the Feasts of Dedication are kept in the Summer time, betweene our *Lady-day* and *Michaelmas*, because that time of the yeare is most convenient for the meeting of Friends from all places; in some places they have solemn Sermons Preach't by Divines of good note, and also Communion upon their Feast dayes; and in one place in this County, the Parish holds Land by their Feast: And one Minister (who hath been a great Travailer) hath inserted in his answer, that in some reformed Churches, namely in *Switzerland*, these Feasts of Dedication are observed.

I finde also that the people generally would by no meanes have these Feasts taken away, for when the Constables of some Parishes came from the Assizes about two years agoe, and told their neighbours that the Judges would put down these Feasts, they answered, that it was very hard if they could not entertain their kindred and friends once in a yeare, to praise God for his Blessings, and to pray for the Kings Majesty, under whose happy Government they enjoyed peace and quietness; and they sayd, they would endure the Judges penalties, rather than they would breake off their Feast dayes. It is found also true by experience, that many

Suits

Suits in Law have bin taken up at these Feasts by mediation of friends, which could not have bin so soone ended in Westminster Hall.

Moreover, I finde that the chiefest cause of the dislike of these Feasts amongst the Precier sort is, because they are kept upon Sundayes, which they never call but Sabbath dayes, upon which they would have no manner of Recreation, nay, neither Rost, nor Sod: And some of the Ministers who were with me have ingeniously confessed, that if the people should not have their honest and lawfull recreations upon Sundayes after evening Prayer, they would go either into tipling houses, and there upon their Ale-benches talke of matters of the Church or State, or else into Conventicles.

NOTE.

Concerning Church-ales, I finde, that in some places the people have bin persuaded to leave them off, in other places they have bin put down by the Judges and Justices, so that now there are very few of them left: but yet I finde, that by Church-ales heretofore, many poore Parishes have cast their Bells, repaired their Towers, beautified their Churches, and raised stocks for the poore; and not by the sins of the people (as some Humourists have sayd:) but by the Benevolence of people at their honest and harmlesse sports and pastimes; at which there hath not bin observed so much disorder, as is commonly at Fairs and Markets.

NOTE.

Touching Clerke-ales (which are lesser Church-ales) for the better maintenance of Parish Clerks, they have bin used (untill of late) in divers places, and there was great reason for them; for in poore Countrey Parishes, where the wages of the Clerke is very small, the people thinking it unfit that the Clerke should duly attend at Church, and lose by his office, were wont to send him in Provision, and then feast with him, and give him more liberality then their quarterly payments would amount unto in many years. And since these have bin put down, some Ministers have complained unto me, that they are afraid they shall have no Parish Clerks for want of maintenance for them.

There is another kinde of publike meeting call'd a Bid-ale, when an honest man decayed in his estate, is let up again by the liberall Benevolence and Contribution of friends at a Feast, but this is layd aside almost in euery place.

But I feare I have wearied your Grace with this impertinent discourse of Countrey Feasts: yet while I am in this discourse of Feasts, I may not forget one thing wherein I have bin desired by a grave and learned Divine dwelling neere Taunton, to move your Grace, and that is, that your Grace would be a means that the Judges in their Lent Circuit might not sit and condemne people on that great Feast day of the Annunciation.

And so having carefully endeavoured to performe His Majesties Commaundement; I cast my selfe down at His Majesties feet, humbly begging His gracious pardon if I have erred in any point: And I desire no longer to live, than I may be able to do God, and His Majesty service in the Church; which although other Bishops can performe with greater abilities than my selfe, yet none shall performe the same with more readinesse, diligence, and fidelity than I will doe: And so praying for the continuance of your Graces health and happinesse, I leave your Grace to Gods blessed Protection, and humbly rest,

Your Graces ever to be Commaunded,

Wells 5th Novemb. 1633.

Guil. Bath and Wells.

The next Assizes after this Certificate, the Archbishop sent for Chiefe Justice Richardson, and commanded him to revoke the former Order made at the Assizes, against Wakes, telling him, it was His Majesties pleasure he should reverse it: But he having no such command from the King Himselfe, neglected to do it; whereupon the Archbishop made a new complaint to His Majesty against the Judge; who thereupon sent for the Judge, and commanded him publikely to Reverse that Order the next Assizes, as he would answer the controay at his perill; notwithstanding he al-

leaged, hee had done it at the request of the Justices of Peace in the County, with the generall consent of the whole Bench, and upon view of diverse ancient presidents in that kinde: Whereupon Judge Richardson the next Sommer Assizes 1634. in his charge, informed the Justices, Grand-Jury, and Country; That hee at their Request, together with his Brother Denham, had made a very good Order for suppressing unruly Wakes, and Revells, wherein he thought he had done God, the King and Country good service; but some ill affected persons had misinformed His Majestie concerning this Order, who had given him an expresse command to reverse it; which he conceived was hardly in his power to do because it was no Order made by himselfe, but by the joynt consent of the whole Bench, and a meere confirmation and enlargement of diverse Orders made by the Judges and Justices in that Circuit, in Queen Elizabeths, King James, and King Charles their Reignes, before ever he came into those parts: for which he produced these following Presidents.

The first was an Order made at a Sessions in Somersetsshire in the 38. of Queene Elizabeth.

Orders made by the Iustices Assembled at Bridgwater Sessions the 10th of September, Anno Reg: Elizabethæ 38. &c.

That no Church Ale, Clerkes Ale, Bid Ale, or tipling be suffered, And that such only be suffered to tipples as be or shal be lawfully licensed according to the Order made in this Sessions.

SIGNED;

John Popham	George Sydenham,
Alexander Popham	Thomas Horner,
John Court	John Colles,
Henry Waldron	John May,
Edward Hext.	John Rodney.

The second was this Order of Sessions made at the same place, whereto he found the name of one Thomas Philips, subscribed; but he knew not who he was (at which Sir Robert Philips, his Sonne, who sticied for these Wakes, was much incensed, as conceiving it a meere jeare against him.)

At the Sessions at Bridgwater, the 28th of September 1594.

It is Ordered and agreed, that no Church-Ale be admitted to be kept within any part of this shiere. And that by the Justices of the Peace of the Lymits, notice thereof bee given to the severall parishes within their Lymits, and that such as shall offend in keeping any such be duely punished,

John Popham,	Lord Chiefe Iustice.
George Sidnam Knight,	Henry Barkley Knight.
George Speak	Henry Waldron,
Alexander Colles,	John Frances,
Alexander Popham	John Lancaster,
Edward Hext,	Thomas Phillips.

The third was an Order of Sessions made in the County of Devon, Anno 1599.

This Order was agreed on by all the Queenes Majesties Iustices of the Peace at the Chapter House Assembled the 10th day of January, 1599. Anno 41. Elizabethæ.

And for as much as it appeareth that many enormities [that with modestie cannot be expressed] heretofore have hapned by Church Ales and Revells in this County of Devon: It is therefore Ordered that Church-Ales and Revells shall bee hence forth utterly suppressed. And if contrary wise in contempt of this Order preparation

paration be made for any to be kept, any Justices of this County forthwith send for such as make preparation, to admonish them to make stay thereof, and upon their refusall in that behalfe, or proceeding therein, to bind them that make such preparation to the good behaviour, and to appeare at the next Sessions of the Peace to be holden within this County of Devon, then and there to endure such punishment as either by the Lawes of the Realme or Order of this Court shall bee inflicted upon them for their contempt and disobeying this Order.

The fourth was this following Order made at the Assizes in Devonshire, Anno 1615.

From the Assizes held at the Castle of Exeter, July 24. 1615. Anno 13.

Jacobi, &c. Sir Laurence Tanfield, and Serjeant Mountague,
Justices of Assize, &c.

THe severall Manslaughters committed at two Church-ales within this County, since the begining of this present Moneth of July, and further advertisements given now unto the Court of the continuall prophanation of Gods Sabbath, at these and other such like unlawfull meetings, ministers unto this Court just occasion to recite an Order formerly set downe by the Reverend Judges of Assize, at the Assizes holden for this County, the 19th day of July, in the yeare of the Reigne of our Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c. the 11th, and of Scotland the 46th, that Order being as followeth, viz. It is Ordered by the Court, in regard of the infinite number of inconveniencies daily arising, by meanes of Revells, Church-Ales, and Bull-baitings, that all such Revells, Church-ales, and Bull-baitings be from henceforth utterly suppressed; and if hereafter it shall be made known unto the Justices of the Peace of this County, of any such to be set up, or hereafter used, that then the Justices of the Peace within their severall Divisions, take course, as well for the speedy apprehending and punishment of idle and lewde people drawne together to such places, as for the binding over of the Persons using tipling, and for the inflicting of further punishment upon all offenders in such places, as in their discretion shall be thought fit. And to the end that this Order may be the better observed; It is Ordered, that this bee speedily published in every Parish Church within this County.

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The fift was an Order made in the same County, Anno 1627.

An Order made by Sir John Walter Knight, Chiefe Baron of his Majesties Exchequer and Sir John Denham Knight Justices of Assize for, &c. at the Castle of Exon the XXIII. of July 1627.

VHereas diverse Orders have bin heretofore made by the Judges of Assize for the suppression of all Ales and Revels, those same Orders are now confirmed at this Assize, and again Ordered by the Court in regard of the infinite number of inconveniencies daily arising by means of Revels, Church-Ales, Clerks-Ales and publicke Ales that they be from henceforth utterly suppressed. And if hereafter it shall be made knowne to the Justices of Peace of this County of any such to be kept or hereafter used, that then the Justices of the Peace within their severall divisions take course as well for the speedy apprehending and punishment of idle vagrant people, drawne together to such places, as for the binding over of the persons using such tipling, and for inflicting of such punishment upon all Offenders in such places as the Law doth inflict. And to the end that this Order may be the better observed, it is further Ordered that the Clerke of Assize shall leave a Copy hereof with the Clerk of the Peace, and the under Sheriffe, and from them or one of them, every Constable shall take a Copy for his severall hundred and liberty, and shall particularly deliver a Copy to the Minister of every Parish within his severall hundred and liberty, and shall take a note of every Minister under his hand, of the day upon which

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which hee received it from him ; and that every Minister which to receive it shall publish it yearly in his Parish Church the first Sunday in *February*. And it is likewise further Ordered, that every Constable shall at every Lent Assize present to the Judges of this Circuit, a note of the receipt of the said Order under the hands of the said Ministers. And for the further avoyding of the concourse of idle people, it is further Ordered, that such persons as usually carry up and downe Bulls and Beares to baite [*being Rogues by Statute*] shall be punished as Rogues, for the further prevention of such inconveniences as usually happen upon such meetings.

*Per me Symon Spatchurst
Clericum Assisor.*

The 6. an Order made by Baron Denham at the Assizes in Somersetshire, Anno 1627. upon a Petition of divers Ministers.

To the Honourable Sir John Denham Knight, one
of the Barons of His Majesties Exchequer, and Iustice
of Assize for the County of SOMERSET.

The humble Petition of the Ministers, whose names are subscribed.

Sheweth ;
That whereas at the last Summer Assizes held for the County of Dorset ; there was an Order made for the suppressing of all Revells, Church-Ales, and other publike Ales [*amongst other things*] as by the Copie of the said Order hereunto annexed appeareth.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly desire that Your Lordship would be pleased to grant the like Order at this Assizes for the suppressing of the like Ales and disorders in this County of Somerset.

So they shall alwayes pray for Your Lordships long
health and prosperity.

*Adam Abraham John Ford.
William Gyllet. John Fathers.
Ralph Turner. George Drake.*

15. Marcii 1627.

Let the Clerke of the Assizes draw up the like Order for his County.

John Denham.

Which former Order being warranted by so many Presidents, Judge Richardson said, hee conceived hee had no power absolutely to reverse ; but being commanded to do it, by His Majestie, he did as much as in him lay revoke it ; but yet doubted not, that if the Iustices of Peace would truly informe His Majesty of the grounds of the former Order, and of the great disorders occasioned by Wakes, and Church-ales, His Majesty would give Order to revive it ; but how ever, he must make this Order for the present, which he caused he Clerk of Assizes to enter.

VV Hereas divers Orders have been heretofore made by the Judges of Assize, for the suppressing of Church-ales, Clerks-ales, Wakes, Revells and such like within this County of Somerset, which were formerly made by the Judges, by reason of many disorders and misdemeanours arising upon the meeting of multitudes of people out of other Parishes. It is now Ordered by his Lordship, that all former Orders heretofore made by any Judges or Iustices, for the suppressing of Church-ales, Clerks-ales, Wakes and Revells be revoked [*as much as in him lyeth*] and made utterly voyde. And that it may be lawfull for all persons freely to use any lawfull Recreation or Exercise as
such

such meetings, but with this advice, that they be carefull that no outrages or misdemeanours commonly arising at such Church-ales, Clerk-ales, Wakes and Revells be done or committed.

Hereupon, all the Justices of Peace then present, immediately after they had dined, drew up this Petition to His Majesty, which they Signed with all their hands, and then sent it up to London by *John Harrington* Esquier, then *Custos Rotulorum* in that County, with order to deliver it to the Right Honourable Earle of *Pembroke*, Lord Lievtenant of the County, to present it to His Majesty. Who repairing to London accordingly, shewed the Petition to Master *Prynne*, and the Earle being then in the Country, whence he would not returne in twelve dayes space, he advised with him what course to take for presenting the Petition to His Majesty in the mean time, lest the Archbishop hearing of it, should prevent the same: The Archbishop having notice of this Petition from Sir *Robert Philips* and Bishop *Pierce*, to prevent the delivery and expected good effect thereof; presently caused the Declaration for Spotts published by King *James*, with some additions of his owne at the end concerning Wakes, and Feasts of Dedication, relating the Order of Judg *Richardson* for suppressing them, to be reprinted and published in His Majesties Name, before the Petition delivered, the Copy whereof, is here subjoynd.

To the KINGS most Excellent Majestie.

The most humble Petition of the Iustices of the Peace, of the County of Somerset.

Most humbly Shewing; That whereas heretofore there have bin from time to time severall good Orders made by the Iustices of Assize, and Iustices of the Peace, for the County of Somerset, for the restraining and suppressing of certaine disordered Assemblies in that County, called Church-ales, Clerkes-ales, Bid-ales, Wakes, and Revells, by reason of many disorders inseperably accompanying the same; whereby the said Assemblies have for the most part for a long time beene forborne and not used, to the great good and quiet of the said County.

Now so it is may please Your Majesty, that by occasion of a Declaration published the last Assizes by the Lord Chiefe Iustice of the Kings-Bench, for restoring of Wakes and Revells, and Revering of all Orders made against them, and by reason of a rumour thereof spread in the Countrey since the last Lent Assizes, not onely all the disorders aforesaid of Prophanation of the Lords Day, riotous tipling, contempt of **NOTE.** Authoritie, Quarrells, Murthers, &c. frequently overflowing the said Assemblies, have increased this Summer, but even the other disorderly Assembliss of Church-Ales, Bid-Ales, Clerkes-Ales, condemned by the Lawes, have againe beene set up to the great prejudice of the Peace, plenty, and good Government of the County.

May it therefore please Your most Excellent Majestie, to grant us some more particular Declaration herein, That Your Majesties Command concerning Revells may not be thought to extend farther then to the upholding of Civill Feasting betweene Neighbour and Neighbour in their Houses, and the orderly and seasonable use of manly Exercises and Activities, which we all shall be most ready to maintaine: And that we may have Your Majesties Favour and Allowance to suppress all the forementioned unlawfull Assemblies of Church-Ales, Clerkes-Ales, and Bid-Ales, and to punish all the forementioned disorders as heretofore we have done, wherein Your Petitioners have no other end, than to do Your Majestie faithfull service, and to preserve the good Government of the County.

JOHN

John Lord Pawler,	Richard Cole,	Francis Dodington,
William Portman,	Edward Powlet,	John Horner,
John Stowell,	William Every,	William Bassit,
Ralph Hopton,	Anthony Stocker,	John Windham,
John Symmes,	William Capell,	Robert Hopton,
William Frauncis,	George Powlett,	George Speke,
John Harrington,	Francis Popham,	Thomas Lutterell,
Robert Cusse,	Edward Rodeney,	William Walrond,
		Gerrad Wood.

NOTE.

The delivery and good effect of this Petition, was prevented by the publishing of this *Declaration* by this Archbishops meanes; who to justify himselfe herein, *ex post facto* procured this ensuing Warrant, without any Date at all, (written with his own hand, and found in his Study by Mr. Prynn, together with the Printed *Declaration for Sports*, endorsed with his owne pen) to be Signed by His Majesty, to justify himselfe, if questioned for it upon any future occasion.

CHARLES. R.

Canterbury, See that Our Declaration concerning Recreations on the Lords day after Evening Prayer, be Printed.

By all these Premised evidences, it is most apparent, that the Archbishop was the principall Actor in the publication of this Licentious Book, to Gods, and his Majesties dishonour, which we shal further evidence by this writing under his owne hand.

The Declaration concerning Lawfull Sports on the Lords day, His Majesty Comanded me to se it Printed. The motives to it were, 1. A generall and superstitious opinion conceived of that day. 2. A Booke set out by Thophilus Brabourne, 1628. *Judaisme upon Christian principles*, and perverted many. 3. A great distemper in Somerset-shire, upon the forbidding of iha wakes, in the soweraesse of this opinion; an Act of a Iudge that rid that Circuit, March. 15. 1627. And followed by another, 1630. And his Majesty troubled with Petitions, and motions by some cheife men of that County on both sides. 4. His Royall Fathers example upon the like occasions in Lancashire.

After the publishing of this Declaration, the Lord Richardson returning from his Circuit, was by the Archbishops means convented before the King and Lords at the Councell Table, about the forementioned Passages in his Charge, in justification of the order against Wakes, according to his duty, and for revoking it in such a slight manner, as much as in him lay; for which he was so shaken up by the Archbishop, that comming very dejectedly with tears in his eyes out of the Councel Chamber, the Earle of Derfet seeing him in such a sad condition, and demanding him how he did? he answered, *Very ill my Lord for I am like to bee choaked with the Archbishops Lawn-sleeves.* And for this cause alone, (as he and others conceived) he was by the Archbishops means (to his great grieve and losse) put from Riding the Westerne, and enforced to Ride the Essex Circuit, reputed the meanest of all others, which no Chiefe Iustice, but the puny Iudge, or Serjeants only used to Ride; notwithstanding the Lord Cottington and others earnestly moved His Majesty, that he might ride some other Circuit.

After this, the Archbishop intending to make this *Declaration for Sports*, an Engine to insnare, suspend silence, and root out all conscientious, preaching Ministers throughout the Realm, by degrees the better to usher in Popery, Ignorance and prophaneesse; enjoined all Ministers to read this Declaration personally in their Churches, in time of Divine Service; & such who out of conscience refused to read it, were by the Archbishops own speciall direction suspended from their office and Benefice, Excommunicated, vexed in the High-commission and some of them there sentenced and deprived of their livings for this pretended crime, though against no Law or Canon of God or man; for prooffe whereof, these ensuing testimonies were produced.

First, Sir Nathaniell Brent attested upon Oath, that when he was appointed by the Archbishop as his Vicar Generall, to Visit within the Diocesse of Canterbury, the Archbishop himselfe gave him a speciall charge to convent all Ministers before him, who would not read the *Booke for Sports on the Lords day*, and to suspend them

them for it; and that he gave them particular order, by name to suspend, Mr. Culmer, Master Player, and Mr. Hieron, three eminent preaching Ministers in Kent, for not reading the sayd Booke of Sports: Whereupon, he did (much against his will and judgement) suspend them all *ab Officio, & Beneficio*, and forced some of them to allow twenty pound a peice or more, to Officiate the Cure during their suspension. After which, he received another speciall command from the Archbishop, to suspend Mr. Wilcox, for the selfe-same cause, whereupon he did accordingly suspend him.

Mr. Culmers.
Mr. Players,
and Mr. Hierons cases.

Master Richard Culmer, deposed at the Lords Barre upon oath, that he being Minister of Goodneston in the Countrey of Kent, Mr. John Player Minister of Kennington, and Mr. Thomas Hieron Minister of Hornhill in the said Countrey, they were all three convented by the Archbishops direction before Sir Nathaniell Brent, for not reading the Booke for Lords-day sports, and after that, all three of them suspended from their Ministry and Livings in the Archbishops Consistory, for the same. Whereupon, they soone after repaired to Lambeth to the Archbishop, and there joyntly Petitioned him for Absolution from this unjust Suspension; who reading their Petition, and understanding the cause of their suspension, for not reading that unwarrantable Declaration, the Archbishop gave them this peremptory Answer; *If you know not how to obey, I know not how to grant*; whereupon they continued thus suspended about three whole yeares and seven Moneths, not being permitted to preach or instruct their people, to their great grieve, and the profits of their Livings were sequestred towards the maintenance of Deboist unedifying Curates, who seldome preached. And though this Deponent did divers times afterwards Petition the said Archbishop to take off his suspension, yet he refused to do it, calling him refractory fellow, and saying, it should continue; and so it did, he being not only deprived of his Ministry, but also of all the profits of his Living, having himselfe, his Wife, and 7. small Children to provide for; which suspension and sequestration continued upon him till the Scots comming in, and then the Archbishop Absolved him, more out of feare of the Scots, than good will; so as hee might justly say, *Gramercy good Scott*, for his liberty.

Master Thomas Wilson a godly learned Minister (now of the Assembly) deposed at the Barre; that the Archbishop himselfe sent for him to Lambeth, and demanded of him, whether he had publickly read the Booke of Sports in the Church? to which he answered, no; whereupon the Archbishop replied; *I Suspend you for ever from your office and Benefice till you read it*: whereupon hee was suspended, and his Living sequestred for foure years space. After which, he was brought into the high-Commission at Lambeth, by the Archbishops means, and there Articled against for not reading the said Booke, to his great cost and vexation.

Mr. Thomas
Wiltons case.

Master Prynce attested, that Mr. Wrath, and Mr. Erbery, were brought up out of Wales, Mr. William Jones out of Gloucestershire, and divers others from other parts into the High-Commission at Lambeth, for not reading this Declaration for Pastimes on the Lords day, and the keeping of Wakes, and Church-ales; and that hee found this following Petition concerning the same subject among Sir John Lambs sequestred papers, with an Answer to it under the Archbishops owne hand, manifesting his owne direction, for prosecuting of one Henry Page, a godly Vicar, in the high-Commission, for refusing to read this Declaration, and expressing his dislike thereof.

Mr. Wrath.
Mr. Erberies.
and Mr. Jones cases.

To the most Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, Primate, &c.

The humble Petition of Francis Thompson, Gent.

IN all Duty sheweth, That whereas one Henry Page Vicar of Sedbury in the County of Hereford, having taken upon him the Cure of Soules, there hath many times used divers and sundry scandalous and ignominious speeches in the Pulpit

and

and elsewhere, and more especially upon the fourth Commandment: both by preaching, and otherwise, he hath in contempt of the Kings most Excellent Majesties Declaration, concerning the lawfulness of Recreations upon Sundayes and holy daies after time of Divine Service, and in derision and scorne of the Booke set forth by His Majesty to that purpose, often amongst other his opprobrious and disgracefull speeches, uttered these words following concerning the same, viz. Is it not as lawfull to plucke at a Cartrope upon the Sabbath day, as at a Bell-rope? Is it not as lawfull for a Weaver to shoot his shuttle on the Sabbath day, as for a man to take his Bow to shoote? And is it not as lawfull for a Woman to spinne at her wheele, or for a man to go to Plough or Cart, as for a man on the Sabbath day to dance that devilish round? All which words, and divers other of the like kind, your Petitioner will be bound to prove unto your Grace, and the honourable Court of high Commission.

May it therefore please your Grace for the Reformation of the sayd Mr. Page, and satisfaction of his Parishioners consciences, and other Inhabitants thereabouts, who daily flocke unto him, by reason of inveigling them with such his Doctrine, to grant an Attachment or Letters Missive to issue out against him the sayd Page, to bring him to Answer to such Articles as shall bee exhibited into the said Court against him. And your Petitioner as in duty, shall daily pray for your Graces long life and happinesse.

NOTE.

I desire Dr. Merrick to consider of the suggestions of this Petition, and take order for Letters Missive if he see cause.

Aug. 30. 1638.

W. Cant.

Among which Papers he likewise met with this Certificate, manifesting that not only Sir Nathaniell Brent, but Sir John Lambe in the Archbishops Metropolitickall Visitation, did peremptorily enioyne all ministers in the Archbishops name to read this Declaration for sports on the Lords Day to the people in Churches, to animate them to prophan it, though not prescribed in his printed visitation Articles.

To the Right VVorshipfull Sir John Lambe,
Knight, Doctor of Law, Commissary to the Lords
Grace of Canterbury, for the Archdeaconry
of Huntington, &c.

These are to certifie, that Thomas Gibbs Master of Art, and Curate of Hitchin in Hartfordshire, within the Archdeaconry of Huntington, according to your Injunction at the Visitation there holden, did distinctly and treatably read upon the 29th of Aprill, being Sunday at Morning Prayer, after the reading of the first Lesson, appointed for the day (most of the Parish then being present) the Booke intituled, The Kings Majesties Declaration to His Subjects, concerning lawfull sports to be used.

William Lindall D. D.
Edward Radcliffe Esq;
John Skinner.

Edward Hurst, } Churchwar-
Thomas Draper, } dens.
William Hurst }

And with 3. Petitions of Mr. Valentines to the Archbishop, suspended for not reading the Booke of sports, referred to Sir John Lambe, who endorsed on one of them with his owne hand, that he had received inclosed therein A Bribe of five pound.

Besides, in the Abstract of the Archbishops Metropolitickall Visitation, in the yeare 1635. found in his Study by Master Pryne, there are these Passages concerning the Booke of sports. Master Fairfax Curate of Rumborough, Charged with incontinency, hath faithfully promised to read the Declaration for lawfull sports. I suspended

NOTE.

pende one Master Pegges of VVeeford, *ex nunc prout ex tunc*, in case he did not read the Kings Declaration for sports on Sunday seven night following. There are divers in Surrey that refuse to read the Kings Declaration for lawfull sports on Sundayes, besides those that stand suspended for the fault. Doctor Howell a very worthy Divine, gave me a note of their Names; they are Master Whitfield of Ockly, Mr. Garth, of Wouersh, Mr. Ward of Pepper-harrow, and Mr. Fartoll of Purbright, all of them of the Lecture of Guilford, and some of them of the Lecture of Darking, who were afterwards prosecuted for it. All these are unfallible Evidences, that the Archbishop was the originall principall Author & enforcer of this Declaration upon Godly Ministers against both Law and conscience, himselfe & his Servants playing some times at Boules upon the Lords own day, to give good example unto others, and persecuting those with infinit severity to the ruine of their Flocks, Families, who out of conscience durst not publish it: Of which we shal produce one signal example more in the case of Mr. Lawrence Snelling a reverend, Godly, learned Minister deprived in the High Commission, for not reading this Declaration. Mr. Snelling himselfe testified upon Oath, that he was suspended from his Ministry, Living, excommunicated, and soone after that brought into the High Commission at Lambeth, and there sentenced to be deprived from his benefice, loosing the profits thereof, full foure yeares space, only for refusing to read this Declaration for sports. That Hee there pleaded in his owne defence the Law of God & of the Realme, the Authorities of Councells, Fathers, and late Writers of all sorts. That the Declaration it selfe appeared not to be his Majesties, though published in his name, it being not enrolled in any Court, nor published under his great Seale as all Proclamations, & Briefes to be read in Churches are: that there was no command at all of the Kings it should be read by any in Churches, much lesse by Ministers; no punishment threatened, nor prescribed for not reading it, no authority given to Archbishops, Bishops, High Commissioners, or any other persons to question, suspend or punish any Minister for not reading it; and being a meere civill, not Ecclesiasticall Declaration, nor enjoined by any Ecclesiasticall Canon or Authority, but temporall only, no Ecclesiasticall Judges could take cognisance of it, much lesse inflict any ecclesiasticall censure for it, especially in the high Commission, it being no offence with in the Statute of 1. Eliz. ch. 1. or the Kings Commission Ecclesiasticall, whereby the High Commissioners sit, & so not questionabl by them. At which particulars he put into his answer & defence, but the Archbishop gave order not to accept his Answer or defence as he tendred them, saying openly in Court, *That whosoever should make such a Defence as he had don, it should be burnt before his face, and he laid by the heels for his paines*; whereupon the Commissioners expunged what they pleased out of his Answer and defence, and then censured him: Mr. Gellibrand, deposed the same, with Mr. Snelling, whose censure was there produced out of the High-Commission records, and here subjoyned.

Mr. Snelling's
Case.

Die Luna, viz. nono Die mensis Februarii Anno Dom. 1637. coram Commissionariis Regiis ad causas Ecclesiasticas apud Hospitium Advocatorum &c. Iudicial: seden. presentibus Stephano Knight Deputato & Iohanne Greenhill Notario publico.

Officium Dominorum con. Laurent. Snelling Cleric. Rectorem de Paulserai in Com. Cantii; Dr. Ryces.

The Cause is to be informed in, and finally sentenced out of the said Master Snelling's answer, and he is to appeare this day to heare and receive the finall order and judgement of the Court. at which day and place the said Lawrence Snelling being publicquely called for, appeared personally in whose presence the Articles in this cause exhibited against him with his answers made thereunto, were publicquely read and then Mr. Doctor Ryces

his Majesties Advocate pressed and enforced the proofes against the said Master Snelling according as they appeared confessed out of his answers, and after that the said Mr. Snelling was heard what he could say in his owne defence, and after a mature and deliberat hearing of this cause, it appeared to the Court;

That the said Mr. Snelling was here charged, for that he being a Minister in holy orders of Priesthood, constituted by the Authority of the Church for these 30. yeares last past and upwards, Rector of Paulscray aforesaid for all that time and upwards, was within these foure or five yeares last past made acquainted that a cer-

NOTE.

There was no such command of his Majesties.

taine Booke intituled, *The Kings Majesties Declaration for lawfull recreations after Evening Prayers on Sundayes and Holy dayes*, was come forth and commanded by his Majesty to be read by all Ministers in their respective Parish Churches, and presented to Mr. Doctor Wood Chauncellor of Rochester, his Ordinary, on the 20th. of November 1643. for refusing to read and publish the same in his Parish Church of Paulscray.

That upon the said presentment, he was by his said Ordinary personally monished to read the same within three weekes following, That on the eleventh of December, 1634. aforesaid, he the said Laurence Snelling being againe Convented before his said ordinary, was *primo, secundo, & tertio*, personally and Judicially monished in Court to read and publish the said Booke in manner aforesaid, which he refusing, was suspended *ob officio & beneficio*, and hath so continued untill this present, and doth so still continue unreleased, that on the third of Aprill 1635.

NOTE.

These were but meere additaments to his Charge, he being only questioned and excommunicated for not reading the Booke of Sports.

the said Laurence Snelling being present in Court before his Ordinary was 10. 20. and 30. Judicially admonished to read and publish the said Booke for Lawfull recreations as aforesaid, but did againe utterly refuse to publish or read the same, & was thereupon then excommunicated by his said Ordinary, and hath so continued ever since & doth so stil continue excommunicated: that witbin the time articulate the said Mr. Snelling hath divers times omitted to read the Lerany, and some other parts of Divine service, and to weare the Surplice, & further, that he hath not bowed his body, nor made any corporall obeysance at the reading or hearing read the Blessed name of our Saviour Iesus.

All which the premises appearing to be true in Substance and in effect out of the said Mr. Snellings answers, the Court proceeded to the giving of their sentence in this Cause, and for the present, did order, that unlesse the said Mr. Snelling shall conforme himselfe to the aforesaid requisitions of his Ordinary, and read and publish the said Booke for lawfull recreations, &c. and do all due obeysance and Reverence at the blessed name of our Saviour Iesus, betwixt this and the second Court day of the next Terme, he should be *ex nunc, prout extunc, &c.* deprived of his Rectory of Paulscray aforesaid, but pay no costs of suit in case he be deprived; and to this end and purpose, he the said Mr. Snelling being present in Court, was Judicially admonished to read and publish the said Booke, and to make corporall reverence at the name of our Saviour Iesus *sub pena Iuris, & deprivationis*. And to the end that he may safely repaire to his Parish Church to practise, & certifie of his conformity in the premises in case he shall be willing to conform accordingly, it was by the Court referred to the foresaid Ordinary Mr. Doctor Wood to absolve the said Master Snelling from the said sentence of Excommunication, under which he now stands, in case he shall come and desire it of his said Ordinary, and take his oath *de parendo In-ri, & stando mandatis Ecclesie, &c.* according to the forme in this case provided.

NOTE.

For not doing whereof, he was accordingly deprived; and continued sequestred excommunicated, and deprived of his living divers yeares, to his intollerable oppression and prejudice.

When the Archbishop had thus privily by secret Instructions to his Visitors enjoined the reading of this *Book of sports* to Ministers, and suspended, censured, molested divers of them for not reading it, he then conspiring together with many other popish Prelates, to suppress all painful preaching Orthodox Ministers by colour of it, encouraged, directed, if not enjoined them and their Archdeacons to insert this

clause

clause into their printed Visitation Articles, to be inquired of, and presented by Church-wardens upon Oath, *Whether the Kings Declaration for sports had been read and published among them by the Minister?* To prove this we shall instance only in the Visitation Articles of *Matthew Wren* Bishop of *Norwich*, printed at *London*, 1636. and in *Richard Mountague* his successors Visitation Articles for the same Diocese, printed at *Cambridge*, 1638. both which prescribe this following Interrogatory to be inquired of upon oath, the later clause whereof, contradicts the former, Sect 7. *Do any in your Parish prophane any Sunday or holy-day by any unlawfull gaming, drinking or Tipling in Taverns, Innes, or Ale-houses, in the time of Common Prayer or Sermon, or by Working or doing the worke of their Trades and occupations? Do any in your Parish buy or sell, or keepe open their Shops, or set out any Wares to be sold on Sundayes or holy dayes by themselves, their Servants or Apprentises, or have they any other wayes Prophaned the said dayes? And hath the Kings Declaration concerning the use of lawfull sports and recreations been published among you, yea, or no? If so, when was it done, in what manner, and by whom?*

NOTE.

The like Interrogatories in effect, if not in *terminis*, we find in *Bishop Pierces*, *Bishop Curles*, *Bishop Skinners*, the *Arch-Deacons of Middlesex*, with other Visitation Articles, which for brevity we pretermit: How many hundred Godly Ministers in these & other Bishops Diocese were suspended from their Ministry, sequestred driven from their Livings, excommunicated, Prosecuted in the High Commission, and forced to leave the Kingdome upon these Articles, for not publishing this Declaration, is so experimentally known to all, that We shal pretermit it, without any enumeration of their names, or cases. Only we shal discover what hand and influence the Archbishop had in their severall suspensions, persecutions, by these ensuing Accounts, given up to him by other Bishops of their proceedings herein, found in his Study endorsed with his owne hand, and witnessed by *Mr. Prynn* who seized them. In *Bishop Wrens* account to the Archbishop December 17. 1636. (which begin thus. *In the name of God, Answer: An account touching the Royall Instructions given by the Kings most Excellent Majesty, to the most Reverend Father in God VVilliam Laud Archbishop of Cant. his Grace, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, concerning Orders to be observed by all the Bishops of that Province. To the severall Articles of which Instructions, I Matthew Lord Bishop of Norwich thus humbly make Answer and in Order,*) VVe finde this observable Answer given.

To the 12. Article. *That upon enquiry at my Visitation, whether the Kings Majesties Declaration for lawfull sports had been published? I found it had not beene done in very many places of the Diocese, having therefore about 60. Bookes at hand, I caused them to bee proposed to such persons, as I had most doubt of, but many of them refused to publish the same, and were suspended for their refusal: yet divers of them presently promised conformity, and so were absolved. So that now in the whole Diocese (consisting of about 1500. Clergie men) there are not passing twice 15. Excommunicated or suspended; whereof, some so stand for contumacie in not appearing at the Visitation and Synod, and still refuse to submit, some for obstinate denying to publish the Kings Declaration.*

NOTE.

By the Title and answer of which it is most evident; That the Archbishop, sent severall Articles of Instructions in his Majesties name, though made by himselfe, to all the Bishops of his Province, who were to return an Annuall account of them unto him in writing; whereof this was one: *That they should inquire, whether the Declaration for sports had beene published in every parish Church by the Minister? and directed them to excommunicate or suspend all such who refused to read it.* Which how barbarously and unchristianly, it was executed in most places, needs no further evidence then that already produced, and what all men know.

Now wee appeale to all Ecclesiasticall Histories, from Christs Nativity till this instant, whether there was ever such a monstrous impiety or persecution as this heard of in the Christian world, that Archbishops, and Bishops (who profess themselves the very Fathers of the Church, and Pillars of Religion,) should thus impiously: First of

In his Metro-
politickall Visi-
tation Articles

all abuse a Christian Prince to farre, as to publish a *Declaration for the free use and encouragement of such Sports and Pastimes on the Lords-Day, as are (some of them) unlawfull on any day, and constantly prohibited, condemned by Fathers, Councells, Imperiall Lawes, Edicts of most Christian Emperors, Kings, Princes, States, and the whole torrent of Christian Writers, as altogether unsufferable on the Lords Day.* Secondly, to injoyne Bookes expressly tending to the prophanation of the Lords day, by sports and pastimes, to be publickly read in Churches by the Ministers to their Congregati- ons on this very day, to encourage, authorize them (though over-prone thereto with- out any such instigation) to prophane it. 3. To suspend, sequester, excommunicate, censure, persecute, deprive, even hundreds of Godly Ministers as capitall Offenders, for refusing (meerely out of Conscience towards God, and love to their owne and peo- ples soules,) to contribute their voyces or personal assistances to such a publication, and against all Law, Justice, Piety, to silence Ministers three or foure yeares together from preaching Gods Word to their people, for the salvation of their soules according to their duties. because they durst not publish this Declaration for *Lords-Day Sports* un- to them to further the damnation of their soules, both against their duties and consci- ences. Such a Monster of most desperate unparalleld impiety, prophanesse, persecuti- on as this, was never borne in the Christian world till this *Ghostly Father, Archbishop Laud*, begot and nourished it in our Church: for which how well hee demerited the Popes Titles, of *YOUR HOLINES* and *MOST HOLY FATHER*, let the *Universty of Oxford*, and Mr. *Croxton* seriously consider, who bestowed them on him severall times. Doubtlesse his more then Popish superstition in *Consecrating Churches, Church-Yards, Chappells, and prohibiting all prophannations of them by En- terludes, Dancing, Musters, Lects teaching of Schollers, and the like*, might have lessio- ned him to have beene as zealous against prophaning *Sacred dayes as places*, with *unholie Pastimes, or secular Negotiations*: But because the *Lords-Day Sabbath* was not hallowed by Bishops themselves (as Churches, Chappells, or Church-Yards were according to the Modell of the *Roman Pontificall*) but by *Christ and his Apostles*, who never authorized Bishops or any else to Consecrate Churches, or other places in this sort; they presume to authorize men thus openly to prophane the one without check or punishment, but not the other, under the severest *Anathema Maranatha*. Enough eternally to stigmatize this Arch-Prelate with the blackest brand of *Arro- gancy and Impiety*, who made but a meere sport of prophaning Gods owne day with sports, and silencing Godly Ministers for not being so prophane in this kinde as him- selfe was, (who used to play at bowles on this very day, a pretty Archipiscopall Sab- bath Recreation) or so prophane as he would have them to be, against the dictate of their owne Consciences.

We have given you in a very full and copious evidence of the Archbishops endea- vours, practises to subvert our established *Protestant Religion*, and usher in Popery among us, by introducing severall *Popish Innovations, superstitious Ceremonies, Ido- latrous impieties, practises and prophannations into our Church*, being all meere matters of fact notoriously visible to the world, and eyes of all men.

The Archbi-
shops proceed-
ings to subvert
Religion, by
introducing
Doctrinall
Points of Po-
pery.

We shal now proceed in the second place to discover his attempts, and manifest his proceedings in this kinde by bringing in Popish Tenents and doctrines by degrees; wherein we shall so fully uncase this *Romish Fox*, as notwithstanding all his shifts and subterfuges) to evidence him the most *Pestilent Jesuiticall underminer, subverter of the established doctrines of the Church of England, the Archest advancer of the Erro- neous Positions of the Church of Rome*, that ever breathed in our *English Ayre*. And here we meet not onely with a *Narrow Episcopall See*, but vast boundlesse Ocean of evidence to saile in.

That there hath bin for many yeares last past, a secret plotted Conspiracy, and serious endeavour between sundry pretended members of the Church of England, and reall Sonnes of the Church of Rome, to extirpate the *Protestant Religion*, and instead ther- of to set up *Popish superstition and Idolatry*; hath beene already abundantly manife-
sted

ited to the World, in *A necessary Introduction to the History of the Archbishop of Canterbury his Tryall*, by sundry forraigne and domestick evidences: how farre this Archbishop was an Arch-agent in promoting this conspiracie in point of Doctrinall Popery, and by what Jesuiticall Policies and degrees he proceeded in it, comes now in Order to bee proved; wherein wee shall steare the course of our evidence, according to the compasse and method of his proceedings.

It is the common Policy of all wise experienced Commanders, when they intend to undermine any strong well-fortified defensible Fortresse, not desperately to begin their Mines at the very foundation of the Workes at first, for feare of discovery, danger, prevention, but at a competent distance, and then to make their approaches by insensible degrees, till at last they have undermined, or blowne up the very Walls and Workes themselves; The selfe-same Policy was used by this Arch-Roman Engineer to undermine and blow up our established Religion: Hee had learnt from Abbot Bernard: *A minimis incipiunt, qui in maxima prouunt*; and from ** Chrysostome: * De Ordine Id eeri e moris est apud hereticos, ut adumbrant seipos & occultent in principijs, quousque * Homil. 47. maiorem fiduciam capeant, & quodam favore multitudinis iuventur: & tunc contra- in Matth. giosa sua venena intrepidè effundunt.* Wherefore he began his mines at some seeming distance, and let blindes before them, to prevent discovery. To this purpose combining with the Jesuites, & prosecuting their very method to ruine our Religion, he first bent all his force & indutry to introduce *Arminianisme* (the most plausible lesse-discernible Doctrinall part of Popery, yet a ready Jesuiticall Potterne to let in all the rest) and that under a specious pretence of opposing *Puritanisme* and *Puritans* onely, against whom he laboured to engage some Prelates, and the Duke of Buckingham first, then next His Majestie. This practise of his he began in Oxford in a Sermon preached by him on Shrove-Sunday, Anno 1614. for which he was then publikely (though not by name) taxed by Learned Dr. Robert Abbot, Dr. of the Chaire in Oxford, in his Sermon all Saint Peters, on Easter day, 1615. as appeares by a † Letter, and Notes of this Sermon under his own hand, sent by him to the then Bishop of Lincoln his great Patron: viz. That men under pretence of truth, & preaching against the Puritans, strike at the heart and root of Faith and Religion now established among us. That this preaching against the Puritans, was but the practise of Persons, and Champions Council, when they came into England to seduce young Students. And when many of them were afraid to loose their places, if they should professedly be thus, the council they then gave them was, that they should speake freely against the Puritans, and that should suffice. And they cannot intend that they are accounted Papists, because they speake against the Puritans, but because THEY INDEED ARE PAPISTS, they speake nothing against them. If they do at any time speake against the Papists, they do beat a little upon the bush, & that softly too for feare of troubling or disquieting the Birds which are in it. They speake of nothing, but that in which one Papist will speake against another; as against *Equivocation*, the Popes temporall Authority, and the like: and perhaps against some of their Blasphemous speeches: But in the point of Free-will, Justification, Concupiscens being sinne after Baptisme, Inherent Righteousnesse, and certainty of Salvation, &c. (wherein Papists and Arminians concur) the Papists beyond the Seas, can say; They ARE WHOLLY THEIRS, and the Recusants at home make their braggs of them. And in all things they keepe themselves so neare the brinke, that upon any occasion they may step over to them: &c. From this Passage of Doctor Abbot (which Land then confessed in his Letter, the whole Vniversity applyed unto him, as himselfe did too) you may readily guesse both at his Popish Innovations and practises in the Vniversity of Oxf. in those dayes, wch he hath continued ever since. After this we find him taking special notice of Dr. Prideaux his questions against the Arminians, found in his Study thus endorsed with his own hand. An. 1617. Questions given to be disputed of. at Exeter Colledge of Oxon, by Doctor Prideaux Rector and at that time appointed to Answer Barkleyes Paraphrase;

** De Ordine Vita lib. * Homil. 47. in Matth.*

NOTE.

Thus endorsed by him: April 18. 1615 The Copy of a Letter which I sent to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, concerning a Sermon, in which Dr. Abbots had wronged me in the Vniversity.

NOTE.

Occult.

Questiones Arminianæ.

1. { 1. Paulus ad Rom. cap. 7. loquatur in sua Persona de serenato? *AF.*
 2. Analysis Arminij 9. cap. ad Rom. sit probanda? *Neg.*
2. { 1. Prævisio fidelitatis & infidelitatis præcedat æternum decretum prædestinationis? *N.*
 2. Objectum Electionis sit fidelis ad finem perseveraturus? *N.*
3. { 1. Justitia originalis Adamo fuerit ante lapsum naturalis? *A.*
 2. Lapsus Adami diverso respectu dici possit necessarius & contingens? *A.*
4. { 1. Peccatum Originale infantes sine actualibus peccatis morientes condemnat? *A.*
 2. Homo post lapsum retinuerit liberum arbitrium ad bonum? *N.*
- An. { 5. { 1. Ponenda sit in Deo scientia media de futuris conditionatis a scientia simplicis intelligentia & visionis distincta? *N.*
 2. Facienti quod in se est ex natura viribus, denur infallibiter auxilia ad salutem necessaria? *N.*
6. { 1. Gratia sufficiens ad salutem concedatur omnibus? *N.*
 2. Gratia regenerationis sit resistibilis? *N.*
7. { 1. To Credere sine meritorum Christi imputatione nos justificet? *N.*
 2. Aliquis possit a fide penitus excidere? *N.*
8. { 1. Renatus possit & debeat esse certus de sua salute? *A.*
 2. Fideles possint in hac vita vivere sine peccato? *N.*
9. { 1. Deus author peccati statuatur ex sententia Orthodoxorum de prædestinatione?
 2. Arminianismus sit merè Semi-Pelagianismus? *A*

These questiones, it seemes did much displease him, as crossing his Jesuiticall design of propagating Arminianisme.

Besides, we find in his own Diary these Passages under his own hand in pursuance of this designe, Dec. 23. 1624. The same day I delivered my L. Duke of Buckingham, a little tract *ABOUT DOCTRINALL PURITANISME*, in some ten Heades, which his Grace had spoken to me that I would draw for him, that he might be acquainted with them; in which he branded the Anti-Arminian Tenets, for Doctrinall Puritanisme, that so the Arminian might be imbraced, as *Orthodox*.

Immediately after King James his death (a bitter Enemy to the Arminians, whom he branded with the titles of **Atheisticall Sectaries, and pestilent Heriticks, who dare take upon them that Licentious Liberty, to fetch againe from Hell the ancient Heresies long since condemned, or else to invent new of their owne braine, contrary to the beliefe of the true Catholick Church*, Bishop Laud to ingage the King and Duke against the Anti-Arminians, under the title of Puritans, and ingratiate the Arminians in their favour under the Title of Orthodox Divines, presented the Duke with a Catalogue of the names of Clergy men, who were Orthodox, (to wit Arminians,) and who Puritans, which he thus expresseth in his Diary.

April 5. 1625. Die Martis, Schedulam exhibui Duci Buckinghamia, in qua Nomina erant omnium Ecclesiasticorum sub literis O. & P. (that is Orthodox and Puritans.) Nomina ut sic digererem, jussit ipse Dux Buckinghamia, traditurus ea (ut dixit) Regi Carolo.

Within foure dayes after, the Duke of Buckingham sent this Prelate to Bishop Andrews to consult about the 5. Arminian Articles condemned in the Synod of Dort, to promote, and propagate them in our Church, and to returne his Answer to him, as is cleare by these Passages in his Diary, written with his owne hand.

April 9. 1625. Eodem die in mandatis accepi ut Rever. Episc. Winton: adirem, & quid vellet in causa Ecclesie sciscitare: Responsum referem: *PRÆCIPVE IN 5. ARTICVLIS, &c.* April 10. die Solis, post concionem finitam adij Episcopum, qui tum Camera sua in Aula Regia erat; protuli qua accipi in mandatis; responsum dedit

Aprill

*Declaration
against Vor-
times.

Aprill 13. die Mercurij. Retuli ad Ducem Bux. quid responderit Episcopus Winton.

These Bishops of the Arminian & Popish party, after serious consultation among themselves concluded, that for the better introducing, advancing of the *Arminian and Popish Errors* in our Church, *Richard Mountague* then Batchelor of Divinity, having the Repute of a great Scholler (being formerly engaged in this Quarrell by the complaints of Mr. *Ward*, and Mr. *Tates* against him for the Arminian & Popish Tenets broached in his *Gagge*,) should in a new Book of his, intituled *Appello Casarem* (compiled by all their consents, as appeared by their subscriptions to it, which they afterwards cunningly with-drew when they had procured, Dr. *Francis Whites* approbation of it, leaving him in the fudds alone) as he oft complained, publicly broach, justify, maintaine all the Arminian Tenets condemned in the Synod of *Dort*, as the received Doctrines of the Church of *England*, and impaire the Reputation of that Synods determinations, as the privat opinions only of some few, illiterate Puritans. This book of his was disallowed by Dr. *Abbot* then Archbishop of Canterbury and his Chaplines, who stopped it at the Presse: but the now Archbishop by his owne and the Dukes power, procured it notwithstanding, to be printed, and dedicated to his Majesty in the very beginning of his Reigne, thereby to ingage him in the Actuell Patronage of the *Arminian Points*, and patty, which *Mountague* impetrated at his hands in his *Epistle Dedicatory*.

This Book giving great and just offence to most men, Dr. *Prideaux* soon after upon a fittie occasion, spake somewhat against it in the Scholes at *Oxford*; admonishing young Schollers, to be cautelous in reading it: of which there was present notice sent to the Prisoner (then Bishop of *St. Davids*) by way of complaint, as these two letters (found in his Study by Mr. *Prjane*) most clearly manifest.

My very good Lord.

I Received your Letter, The Coppy of the consecration of the Chappell shall be sent, according to your Lordships appointment. We had Disputations in Divinity Schooles Wednesday: one Mr. *Dampott*, a great Preacher in London, but no Graduat, was Respondent. One of his Questions, this.

An Renati possint totaliter & finaliter excidere a Gratia?

His Opponent (one Mr. *Palmer* of *Lincoln Colledge*) urged, out of Mr. *Mountague* his Appeale, the Article of our Church, The Homilies; The Booke of Common-prayer. The Doctor of the Chair handled the Appellator (so they termed Him) very courtly: putting it upon Him, that he is Merus Grammaticus; a Fellow that studies Phrases more than matter: That He understands neither the Articles nor Homilies; or, at least, perverts both. In answering one of the Arguments, He had a Digression, to this purpose. So (quoth He) He attributes I know not what vertue to the externall sign of the Crosse, Dignus cruce, qui asserat. He concluded with an admonition to the Juniors (whereof there come good store to that Exercise, and well furnished with Tablebookes, and to the Seniors too; That they would be cautelous in reading that, and the like Bookes: That they would begin in the Study of Divinity, with some Systematicall Catechisms: (I suppose he meant *Bastingius*, *Fenner*, &c.) and not to apply themselves at first to the Fathers, &c. Thus with my daily prayers for your Lordships health and happinesse, I rest.

St. Iohn, Oxon.

May 23. 1625.

Your Lordships in all humblnesse
of duty and service.

Thomas Turner.

My Cosen Walker remembers his
humble service to your Lordship.

Y

My

My very good Lord,

NOTE.

What I wrote to your Lordship concerning Mr. Mountague, I have it by me; and before I sent it, I consulted with my Cousin Walker, who was present at the Exercise as well as I; and we both agree, that I wrote nothing but what is true in the substance; the very Terms we cannot recall. For my part, as I desire not to be produced, so I am not afraid of it, if it might doe Mr. Mountague any pleasure. Doctor Radcliffe was present at the Disputations, what other Doctors there were I know not. Thus wishing your health and happinesse, I humbly take my leave, and remaine.

St. Io. Oxon. Your Lordships in all dutifull obligation
May 30. 1625. Thomas Turner.

NOTE.

This last letter intimates an intention to question Dr. Prideaux for these Passages; but the Parliament following soone after, this Booke was publickly complained of in the Commons House, and Mountague himselfe there questioned for it, of which this Archbishop tooke speciall notice, and thereupon gave all encouragement & protection he could to Mountagu, as his own Diary manifestts in these following clauses, *Iulij. 7. 1625. Die Iovis R. Mount. inductus est in Domum Parliamenti inferiore, &c. Iulij 9. Die Saturni, placuit Serenissimo Regi CAROLO, intimare domui illi, SIBI NON PLACERE qua de Montacutio dicta ibi vel statuta fuere. Se inconsulto, Iulij 13. Iter mihi eo facienti obviam casu factus est R. Montacutius; PRI-MVS FVI qui eum certiore feci de REGIS ERGA IPSVM GRATIA, &c.* A pregnant evidence under his owne hand. First that himselfe was a principall Patron of Mountague and his Booke. 2. That he was the first that acquainted him of the Kings Royall favour towards him, for writing this Book, notwithstanding the complaints against it in the Parliament, if not a procurer of the King to intimate his dislike to the Commons House of their proceedings against him; which being discontinued by the dissolution of that Parliament at Oxford, were againe revived in the next Parliament; at which time the Bishop procured the Duke to sound his Majesties opinion concerning Mountagues Cause and Booke; which to please the Parliament the King then seemed willing to leave to their censure, whereat the Bishop was very much troubled, as this Passage in his Diary manifestts.

NOTE.

January 29. 1625. *Dias solis erat, intellexi quid D. Buck: collegit de Causa, Libro & opinionibus, Rich. Montacutij R. C. (King Charles) apud se stansisset. Videor videre nubem surgentem & minantem Ecclesie Anglicana. Dissipet pro Misericordia sua Deus.*

Soon after there were two Conferences held at York house, before the Duke, and divers Nobles about Mountagues Bookes and opinions, which were there oposed, by Dr. Preston, and Bishop Morton, but defended by Doctor White, and Bishop Laud, who records this memorial of these Conferences in his Diary, *Feb. 11. 1625. Die Sabati ad instantiam Comitum Warwicensis Colloquium fuit in causa R. Montacutij in adibus Ducis Buckinghamiae, &c. Febr. 17. Die Veneris, Colloquium pradiatum secundum habitum est, non paucis & Proceribus Regni presentibus, loco pradiato.*

On the 18. of Aprill 1626. Mr. Pym made a Report in the Commons House from the Committee of Religion concerning Mountagues Appeale, and his Arminian and Popish Tenents therein comprised: whereupon it was voted in the House.

1. That he had disturbed the Peace of the Church by publishing Doctrine, contrary to the Articles of the Church of England, and the Booke of Homilies.
2. That there are divers Passages in his Booke (especially against those hee termeth Puritans,) apt to move sedition betwixt the King and his Subjects, and between Subject and Subject.

NOTE.

3. That the whole frame and scope of his Booke is, to discourage the wellaffected in Religion, from the true Religion Established in the Church, and to incline them, and as much as in him lay TO RECONCILE THEM TO POPERY.

This

This Report was no sooner made, but this Bishop (*Mountagues* great Patron who engaged him in this Popish service) had a Coppy thereof, and of all other proceedings therein delivered to him, which he endorsed with his owne hand: but the Parliament being soone after dissolved, *Mountague* instead of a severe censure for the Arminian Popish Assertions in his book, was punished with the Bishoprick of *Chichester*, to which he was advanced by this Prelates meanes, to affront the Parliament and his Predecessor Bishop *Carleton*, who answered *Mountagues* Booke in print, during the Parl. which book was then likewise answered by *Francis Rouse* Esquier in a Booke called *King James his Religion*; No sooner was the Parliament ended, but both these Bookes were suppressed by this Bishops meanes, though recommended to the Presse by the House of Commons order, and *Mountagues* offensive Booke publicly sold without restraint. *Michaell Sparke* the Elder deposed, that Bishop *Carlton* lent for him, sitting the Parliament, and desired him to print his Book against *Mountague*; and to encourage him the more, granted him a protection under his owne hand; whereupon he printed it: After which Doctor *Goad*, Archbishop *Abbots* Chapline, Doctor *Ward*, and Dr. *Belcankwell* licenced it for the Presse, with a special recommendation, whereupon he reprinted it: yet notwithstanding immediately after the Parliament ended, by Bishop *Lauds* meanes, this Licenced booke was called in, seised on, and burned in private, and he questioned in the High Commission for printing it. After which this Book of *Mountagues*, and his Arminian Popish Tenents were severally answered by Dr. *Featley* and Doctor *Goad* (Chaplins to Archbishop *Abbot*, in their *Parallels*; by Mr. *Henry Burton* in his *Plea*, by Mr. *Ward*, Mr. *Tates* and Master *Wotton*, in severall Tracts by Master *Prynne* in his *Perpetuity*, and by Doctor *Sutcliffe*; But these Bookes of theirs, though licenced by Archbishop *Abbots* Chaplines, were called in and suppressed by this Bishops meere Arbitrary Power, & the Authors, Printers, sellers of most of them, brought into the High Commission (as Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Burton*, Mr. *Sparkes*, Mr. *Jones*, Mr. *Bowler* M. *Bourn*, with others, as was attested by the three first of them upon Oath, and manifested by the Articles in the High Commission;) yet these their authorised orthodox bookes were all seized on, and some of them burnt in private, and Dr. *Sutcliffe*s Booke against *Mountague* suppressed in the Presse, when foure sheets thereof were printed, which printed sheets Mr. *Prynne* found in this Archbishops Study, with this endorsement under his own hand, read at the Lords Barre, *The beginning of Dr. Sutcliffes Censure upon Mr. Mountagues Appeale: It was prohibited in the Presse.*

Here upon the Arminian party both in Court, our Vniversities, and else where, grew very great bold, insolent, & their opinions spread themselves like a dangerous Leprosie, over the whole body of our Church, to the grand exultation & advantage of the Iesuits, who first planted this soveraigne drugg of Arminianisme among us, to reduce us backe to Rome, as appeares by these Passages in a * *Jesuites letter sent to the Rector at Brussels*, a little before the Parliament wch begun at Westminster the 17. of Mar. 1627. The Copy of which Letter, endorsed with the Archbishops own hand, was seized on in his Study at Lambeth, and attested before the Lords by Mr. *Prynne*.

Father Rector, &c. We have now many strings to our Bow, and have strongly fortified our faction; and have added two Bulworkes more; For when King James lived (we know) he was very violent against Arminianisme; and interrupted with his Pestilent wit, & deep learning our strong designs in Holland, &c. NOW WE HAVE PLANTED THE SOVERAIGNE DRUGGE ARMINIANISME, which we hope will purge the Protestants from their Heresy: and it flourisheth and beares fruit in due season, &c. For the better prevention of the Puritans, the Arminians have already locked up the Dukes eares, and we have those of our Religion which stand continually at the Dukes Chamber to see who goes in and out. We cannot be too circumspect and carefull in this regard. I cannot chuse but laugh to see how some of our own rank have encountred themselves: you would scarce know them if you saw them; and tis admirable, how in speech and gesture they At the Puritans. The Cambridge Schollers to their wofull experience shall see we can att the Puritana little better then they have don the Iesuits,

Y 2

I am

* See a necessary Introduction to the Archbishops trial, p. 89. 90.

Note.

I am at this time transported with joy to see how happily all instrument and meanes as well great a lesser, co-operate unto our purposes. But to returne unto the maine Fabrick, O V R FOUNDATION IS ARMINIANISM E: The Arminians affect mutation, this we second and enforce by probable arguments, &c.

NOTE.

From which Letter was observed;

1. That the Jesuites were the Originall planters of Arminianisme among us:
2. That they reputed it the foundation of their Romish Fabricke intended to bee here erected among Vs: the chiefe instrument to effect their Jesuiticall purpose, and to purge out the Protestant Religion.
3. That the Arminians were but the Jesuites Agents to promote their ends, & that both of them were very intimate with the Duke of Buckingham, at whose lodgings they usually mette.

4. That this Archbishop knew all this, he receiving the Copy of this Letter upon the 27. of Mar. 1628. as appeares by his own endorment of it; yet notwithstanding hee promoted *Arminians* and propagated *Arminianisme* all he could; but in a most cunning Jesuiticall way: for perceiving the whole Parliament generally bent against *Arminianisme* and Mountagues Booke, hereupon this Jesuiticall Prelate abusing both the Parliament and His Majesty, to set up *Arminianisme* more securely projected a new way of advancing it, under a specious pretence of silencing both sides: by which policy hee inhibited all writing, preaching and disputes against it, and quelled the opposite *Anti-Arminian* party. To which end he procured His Majesty by a printed Declaration prefixed to the 39. Articles, compiled by himselfe and other Bishops, of which the most part were *Arminians* (pretended principally to suppress *Arminianisme*, but intended really for advancing it) to prohibit all unnecessary disputations, altercations, or questions to be raised, which might nourish faction both in Church and Common-wealth. That in these both curious and unhappy differences, which had for so many hundred yeares, in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ, all further curious search should be layd aside, and these disputes shut up in Gods promises, as they be generally set forth to Vs, in the holy Scriptures, and the Generall meaning of the Articles of the Church of England, according to them. And that no man hereafter shall either print or preach, to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plaine and full meaning thereof: and shall not put his owne sense or Comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the litterall and Grammaticall sense: That if any publike Reader in either our Universities, or any Head or Master of a Colledge, or any other person respectively in either of them, shall affix any new sense to any Article, or shall publicly read, determine, or hold any publike disputation, or suffer any such to be held *EITHER WAY*, in either the Universities or Colledges respectively: or if any Divine in the Universities shall preach or print any thing *EITHER WAY*, other then is already established in Convocation with our Royall Assent; He, or they the Offenders, shall be lyable to Our displeasure, and the Churches censure in our Commission Ecclesiasticall, as well as any other; & We will see there shall be due execution upon them, &c.

NOTE.

That this Declaration was made by this Bishops instigation, procurement, and so generally reputed not only at home but abroad, is evident by this passage of Doctor Barons Letter of *Aberdeen*; concerning the pacifying of the 5. Articles, sent to this Arch-Bishop, and found in his Study endorced with his owne hand, dated the 20. of Aprill 1634. *Piam hanc Ampl: tua de Pace Ecclesia tuenda & conservanda, sollicitudinem, illustri specimine JAMPRIDEM NOTAM OMNIBUS ET TESTATAM fecisti, cum Majestas Regia TE AVTHORE ET SVASORE exitiali isti diffidio de Predestinatione & annexis Articulis, quoribus hic Britannicus fere collidebatur, sua autoritate finem imposuit, & impetuosos exulceratorum animorum motus ita compefcuit, ut dispersis & dissipatis rixarum indies gliscentium nebulis, nunc optato pacis sudo fruamur. &c.*

NOTE.

By colour of this Declaration and pretended *Amnistie*, of silencing both sides the

the *Anti-Arminian* truths and received Doctrines of our Church came to be totally silenced, suppressed in Presse, Pulpit, Schooles, Vniversities, and the *Arminian Errors* found free passage in them all without any or very little opposition; this being the highest conquest the *Arminian faction* could aspire to; yea more then they could hope for in so short a space. Hereupon their prevailing party having greatest power at Court, and in the *High Commission*, (*Archbishop Abbot* being then by their power and policy sequestred from both, and from his Archiepiscopall authority, delegated to Bishop *Laud*, and others of the *Arminian* combination) by colour and abuse of this *Declaration* all Bookes against the *Arminians* were suppressed, the Authors prosecuted in the *High Commission*, those who preached or disputed against them in the Vniversities, City, Court or Ccountry, silenced, suspended, banished, imprisoned, enforced to recant or ruined, at least kept from all preferments: on the contrary those of the *Arminian* confederacy were advanced, applauded, countenanced, protected, and freely tolerated to vent their Erronious Tenets every where in Presse, Pulpit, Court, both Vniversities, without any reall convention or suspension, as we shall prove anon.

And to set on this designe with greater advantage to the *Arminian* party, His Majestie being pressed to publish a *Proclamation* for the calling in of *Bishop Mountagues Booke*, (no lesse than three yeares after its publication, upon sundry complaints made against it in 3. successive Parliaments, after all the books dispersed, vented and out of all danger of seizure) hee so ordered the matter, that there was no execution of it in regard of the Booke, this *Proclamation* was so cunningly and partially penned, that *Mountagues* Popish and *Arminians* opinions were no wayes censured, nor his Books condemned to the fire by it (for feare of hindering the project then in hand) so that all intelligent men might at first view discern the main end of it, was not to suppress and call in the Book, or discredit the Author (who was then advanced to a Bishopricke for his paines by *Lauds* recommendations) but meerly to suppress all Bookes in answer of it, and silence all preaching, writing, disputes against the *Arminian Errors*, as unnecessary questions, and needlesse controversies; which appears by the *Proclamation* it selfe, thus endorsed with the Archbishops owne hand (who had the penning or correcting of it) Janu. 17. 1628. *A Proclamation for calling in Bishop Mountagues Booke.*

A Proclamation, for the suppressing of a Booke, INTITVLED, *Appello Cæsarem, or, An Appeale to Cæsar.*

VHereas Wee, out of Our care to conserve and maintaine the Church, committed to Our Charge, in the unity of true Religion and the bond of Peace and not to suffer unnecessary disputes, which may trouble the quiet both of Church and State, have lately caused the Articles of Religion to be reprinted, as a rule for avoiding of diversities of opinion and for the establishing of consent in true Religion; Wee continuing Our desire to compasse this wished effect, and considering that the Book written by Richard Mountague, * now Bishop of Chichester, then but Batchelor of Divinity, intituled, (*Appello Cæsarem, or, an Appeale to Cæsar,*) and published in the Yeare (1625.) was the first cause of those disputes & differences, which have since much troubled the quiet of the Church; have thought it fitting to take away the occasion by calling in the said Booke: And therefore Wee do hereby will and straightly command all and singular persons whatsoever, who have, or shall have any of them in their hands or custody, that upon paine of Our high displeasure, and the consequence thereof, they doe deliver the same presently upon this publication, to the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, or his Chancellor,

* It was a very fore punishment, to advance him from a Batchelor of Divinity to be a Bishop for Writing so ill a Booke.

NOTE.

if it bee out of the Universities; or if it be in either of the two Universities, to the Chancellour or Vice-Chancellor there, whom We straightly command to suppress the same; hoping thereby, that men will no more trouble themselves with these unnecessary questions, the first occasion being taken away: But if We shall be deceived in this Our expectation, and that by reading, preaching, or making Bookes, either pro or contra, concerning these differences, men begin a new to dispute, We shall take such Order with them, and those Bookes, that they shall wish they had never thought upon these needlesse Controversies.

Given at Our Court at *White-Hall*, The seventeenth day of *January*, in the fourth Yeare of Our Reigne, of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland.

The Commons then Assembled in Parliament discovering both the sinister end and abuse of this His Majesties Declaration and Proclamation, in favour of the *Arminians*, drew up a notable Declaration to His Majestie concerning the increase of Popery and spreading of *Arminianisme*, &c. concerning the latter whereof, they made this following complaint, wherein they charged this Prelate, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, with favouring Arminians and their opinions:

See a necessary Introduction to the Arch-Bishops Tryall, pag. 90 to 94.

NOTE.

As our feare concerning Change or Subversion of RELIGION is grounded upon the daily increase of Papists, the only professed Enemies thereof, for the reasons formerly mentioned; so are the hearts of Your Subjects no lesse perplexed, when with sorrow they behold a daily growth and spreading of the faction of the Arminians, that being, (as Your Majestie well knowes) but a cunning way to bring in Popery and the professors of those opinions, the common disturbers of the Protestant Churches and Incendiaries of those States wherein they have gotten any head, being Protestants in shew, but Jesuites in Opinion and practise: which caused Your Royall Father (with so much pious wisdom and ardent zeale) to endeavour the suppressing of them as well at home as in our Neighbouring Countries: and Your Gracious Majestie imitating his most worthy example, have openly and by your Proclamations, declared your dislike of those persons and of their opinions; who notwithstanding are much favoured and advanced, not wanting friends even of the Clergie neere to Your Majestie, namely Doctor Neale, Bishop of Winchester, and Doctor Laud Bishop of Bath and Wells, who are justly suspected to bee unsound in their opinions that way; And it being now generally the way to preferment, and promotion in the Church, many Schollers do bend their Studies to maintaine these Errours; their Bookes and opinions are suffered to be printed and published, and on the other side the impressions of such as are written against them, and in defence of the Orthodox Religion, are hindered, and prohibited, and (which is a boldnesse most incredible) this restraint of Orthodox Bookes is made under colour of Your Majesties (formerly mentioned) Proclamation, the intent and meaning whereof we know was quite contrary, &c.

NOTE.

To which Declaration Bishop Laud returned a Peremptory answer in His Majesties Name, written and endorted with his owne hand, the Originall whereof (attested by Master Prynne) was read at the LORDS Barre in these following words, so farre as concerned the charge of Arminianisme.

See a necessary Introduction to the Arch-Bishops Tryall, pag. 93 94, 95.

NOTE.

The next feare is the daily growth and spreading of the *Arminian* faction, called, 'a cunning way to bring in Popery. But We hold this charge as great a wrong 'to Our selfe and Our Government, as the former: For our People must not bee 'taught by a Parliament Remonstrance, or any other way, that We are so ignorant 'of Truth, or so carelesse of the profession of it, that any opinion, or faction, or what 'ever it be called, should thrust it selfe so far & so fast into Our Kingdomes, without 'Our knowledge of it: This is a meere dreame of them that wake, and would make 'Our Loyall and loving People thinke, We sleepe the while. In this charge there is 'great

great wrong done to two eminent Prelates, that attend Our Person ; for they are accused without producing any the least shew or shadow of proofe against them ; and should they or any other attempt Innovation of Religion, either by that open or any cunning way, we should quickly take other order with them, and not stay for Your Remonstrance.

To helpe on this, Our People are made believe there is a restraint of Bookes, Orthodoxall. But wee are sure since the late Parliament began, some whom the Remonstrance calls Orthodox, have assumed to themselves an unsufferable liberty in printing. Our Proclamation commanded a restraint on both sides, till the passions of men might subside and calme, and had this beene obeyed as it ought, wee had not now been tossed in this tempest. As for any distressing or discourtenancing of good Preachers, Wee know there is none, if they be, as they are called good : But Our good people shall never want that spirituall comfort which is due unto them, And for the preferments which VVee bestow, Wee have ever made it our great care to give them as rewards of desert and paines : but as the preferments are ours so will wee bee Judge of the desert our selfe, and not bee taught by a Remonstrance.

After which the Commons in pursuance of their Opposition against the growing Arminian Faction, On the 28. of January 1628. (but 11. dayes after the forementioned Proclamation concerning *Montagues Booke*, and prohibiting books against it) passed this notable Vote in Parliament after a large debate ; which the Archbishop in his indorsment on it styles ; *The Challenge of the lower House in matters of Religion.*

An Order made by the lower House of PARLIAMENT
the 28th. of IANVARY 1628.

VVEE the Commons now Assembled in Parliament doe claime, professe and avow for Truth, the sence of the Articles of Religion, which were established in Parliament the thirteenth yeare of Queene Elizabeth, which by the publicke Acts of the Church of England, and the generall and currant exposition of the Writers of our Church have beene delivered unto Vs ; and we reject the sence of the Iesuites, Arminians, and all others wherein they doe differ from Vs.

To which Challenge of theirs this pragmaticall Bishop then returned this bold peremptory answer, written with his owne hand, produced, attested by Master Pryn, and read at the Lords Barre in Evidence against him.

1. The publique Acts of the Church in matters of Doctrine are Canons and Acts of Councils, as well for expounding as determining ; the Acts of the High Commission are not in this sence publicke Acts of the Church, nor the meeting of few or more Bishops *Extra Concilium*, unlesse they be by lawfull Authority called to that worke, and their decision approved by the Church.

2. The Currant exposition of writers is a strong probable Argument *de sensu Canonis Ecclesie, vel Articuli*, yet but probable : The Currant exposition of the Fathers themselves hath sometimes missed *sensum Ecclesie*.

3. Will ye reject all sence of Iesuit, or Arminian? may not some be true? may not some be agreeable to our writers, and yet in a way that is stronger then ours to confirme the Article?

4. Is there by this Act any Interpretation made or declared of the Articles, or not? If none, to what end the Act? If a sence or Interpretation be declared, what authority have lay-men to make it? for Interpretation of an Article belongs to them only that have power to make it.

5. Tis manifest there is a sence declared by the House of Commons, the Act sayes

it, (wee avow the Article, and in that sence, and all other that agree not with us in the aforesaid sence, wee reject; (these and these, goe about misinterpretation of a sence, Ergo there is a Declaration of a sence, yea; but it is not a new sence declared by them, but they avow the old sence declared by the Church.) The publike authenticke Acts of the Church, &c. yea; but if there be no such publike authenticke Acts of the Church, then heres a sence of their owne declared under pretence of it.

NOTE.

6. It seemes against the Kings Declaration, 1. That sayes, we shall take the generall meaning of the Articles; this Act restraines them to consent of VVrighters. 2. That sayes, the Article shall not be drawne aside any way, but that we shall take it in the Litterall and Gramaticall sence: This Act tyes to consent of VVrighters, which may; and perhaps do goe against the Litterall sence; for heres no exception; so wee shall bee perplexed and our consent required to things contrary.

7. All consent in all Ages, as farre as I have observed, to an Article or Canon, is to it selfe, as it is layd downe in the body of it, and if it beare more senses then one, it is lawfull for any man to choose what sence his judgment directs him to, so that it be a sence, *secundum analogiam fidei*, and that he hold it peaceably without distracting the Church, and this till the Church which made the Article determine a sence: And the wildome of the Church hath beene in all ages or the most, to require consent to Articles in generall as much as may be, because thats the way of unity, and the Church in high points requiring assent to particulars, hath been rent. As *de Transubstantiatione*, &c. So he, in affront of the Commons.

This Parliament also being soone after broken up in discontent by this Bishops power and policy, the Arminian and Popish party grew more bould, numerous, potent, and prevalent every where, so as the Pulpits at *White-hall*, *Pauls Crosse*, *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, and else where, echoed againe with *Arminian Paradoxes*, without restraint and none could or durst oppose them without exemplary punishment, if not all most certaine ruine: Bookes in defence of Arminianisme, and Semi-plagianisme were published, printed with publike allowance, and all impressions against them most diligently suppressed; the Recantations of Arminian Tenets in former times made in our Vniversities, were embesled as *Barrets* Recantation in *Cambridge*, May 10. 1595. and new Recantations enjoined to, and registred against their opposites, of all which we shall produce some remarkable instances.

The Ministers in and about *London*, being restrained by Colour of His Majesties forementioned Declaration and Proclamation, to Preach any thing concerning Election, Predestination, Perseverance, or any thing opposite to the Arminian Errors, thereupon framed this ensuing Petition to his Majesty (about the end of the Parliament, 1628.) for liberty to Preach against the Arminian errors in point of Predestination &c. which this Bishop being informed off, anticipated, and frustrated, two of the Copies, of which Petition were found in his Study by Mr. *Pryn*, thus endorsed with his owne hand. *The Copy of the intended Petition about liberty of Preaching Predestination, &c.*

To the Kings most Excellent Maiesty,
The humble Petition of divers Ministers of Gods Word, in and
about the City of *London*, and else where.

Most Humbly sheweth,

That whereas your royall Majesty out of your Religious zeale for the conserving of the Church committed to your Charge in Peace, and for the confirming of the Doctrine of the same agreeable to Gods word, and conteyned in the Articles established; did publish both a Proclamation, and a Declaration, therein prohibiting all opinions, either against or besides the Orthodoxall grounds of Religion expressed in the said Articles, as also all raising of doubts and disputations which

which may nourish faction in Church and Common wealth. And yet your Majesties said edicts are so interpreted, and pressed upon us, as we are not a little discouraged and deterred, from preaching those saving Doctrines of Gods free Grace in Election, and predestination which greatly confirme our faith of eternall salvation, and fervently kindle our Love to God, as the 17th. Article expressly mentioneth. So as we are brought into a great strait either of incurring Gods heavy displeasure if we do not faithfully discharge our Embassage, in declaring the whole Councell of God, or the danger of being censured for violators of your Majesties said Acts, if we preach these constant Doctrines of our Church, and confute the opposite Pelagian and Arminian Heresies, both preached and printed boldly without feare of Censure. As if the saving Doctrines of Christ were prohibited, and these impious Heresies priviledged, which Councells both old and new have condemned, and the admired judgement of our late Sovereigne your Royall Father *K. James*, of blessed memory, hath for ever branded, calling the maintainers thereof, Arrogant and Atheiticall Sectaries, who are not ashamed to lye so grossly, as to avow that their Heresies are agreeable with the Religion, and profession of the Church of England, which corrupt seeds of Heresie & Faction, (if not the more speedily rooted out) the wise King tells the neighbour States, will of necessity bring utter ruine to their State by the too bold, and frequent Disciples, and followers of that enemy of God, *Arminius*. NOTE.

Wee therefore your Majesties faithfull, obedient, peaceable and conformable Subjects to all your Majesties Lawes, being most tenderly sensible of the dishonour of Christ, and of your Majesty his Vicegerent over us, infinitely more deare untous then our lives, most humbly on our bended knees, beseech your Gracious Majesty to take into your Princely consideration the forenamed Evills and Greivances under which we groane; and as a wise Physitian to prescribe and apply such speedy Remedies, as may both cure the present Maladies, and secure the Peace of Church and Common-wealth, from all those Plagues which our neighbours have not a little felt, and more may feare if the Councell of the most judicious King be not the better followed.

And according to our bounden dutie we shall daily pray for the continuance of your Majesties peaceable, prosperous, and religious Raigne over us.

About March: 1628. Dr. Hall then Bishop of Exeter published a Booke called the *Reconciler*, in the close whereof, he inserted two Letters, to vindicate himselfe from the imputation of *Arminianisme*, wherewith some had then aspersed him; to witt, his owne letter to Dr. Davenant, then Bishop of Salisbury, and his Answer thereunto; which Letters comming to belicensed Doctor Thomas Turner the Bishops Chaplain, who authorized it (no doubt by the Bishops directions and command) expunged, these two Passages out of the Letters against the Arminian Tenets, and in approbation of the Synod of Dort. containing the principle Subject matter of the Letters, and the end for which they were written, the Copy of which Purgations was seized in the Archbishops Study by Mt. Prynn who attested it, thus endorsed with his owne hand. That which my Chapline Mr. Turner left out of the letters of the Bishop of Exeter, and Sarum ABOUT ARMINIANISME.

In my Lord Bishop of EXON S Letter, to the Lord Bishop of SARUM, there was this Passage obliterated.

YEA, as if this calummie were not enough there want not those whose secret whisperings cast upon me the foule aspersions of an other Sect, whose name is as much hated, as little understood: My Lord, you know I had a place with you, though

NOTE.

though unworthy) in that famous Synod of Dort, where (however sicknelle bereaved me) of the honour of a conclusive subscription) yet your Lordship heard me with equall vehemency to the rest, crying downe the unreasonableness of that way. I am still the same man, and shall live and die in the suffrage of that Reverend Synod, and doe confidently a vow; that those other opposed opinions cannot stand with the Doctrine of the Church of England. But if for the compoling of our differences at home (which your Lordship knowes to be far different from the *Netherlandish*) there could have been rendered any such faire propositions of accordance, as might be no prejudice to Gods Truth, I should have thought it an holy and happy project; wherein if it bee not a fault to have wished a safe peace, I am innocent.

In my Lord Bishops of *SARVMS* Answer.

Dated January 30. 1628.

This passage was expunged.

NOTE

AS for the asperitions of *Arminianisme*, I can testifie, that in our joynt imployment at the Synod of Dort, you were as farre from it, as my selfe. And I know that no man can embrace it, in the Doctrine of Predestination and Grace, but he must first desert the Articles agreed upon by the Church of England: nor in the Point of Perseverance, but he must vary from the common Tenet, and received opinion of our best approved Doctors in the English Church. I am assured, that you neither have deserted the one, nor will vary from the other; and therefore be no more troubled with other mens groundlesse suspirions then you would be in like case with their idle Dreames. Thus I have, &c.

Nathaniell Butter, the Stationer, perceiving these two letters not only extreemly mutilated, but made altogether uselesse, and his Book lesse vendible by these Purgations of the Licencer, adventured to print these expunged passages in them, whereupon he was apprehended and brought before Bishop *Land* by a Pursivant, committed Prisoner by him to the Fleet, without Baile or maineprize, contrary to the Petition of Right, though he tendred baile, his Bookes seized, and afterwards Articled against in the High Commission, and there almost ruined, only for printing those deleted Passages in two of our owne Bishops Letters; as was proved by the Testimony of Master *Henry Burton* and *Michaell Sparkes* senior, committed to the Fleet by the Bishop at the same time; by the Warrant of his commitment, under the Bishops owne hand, the Articles in the High Commission against *Butter*, Artic. 4. 5. and his Answer thereunto, produced in Court.

About the same time *Nathaniell Carpenter* Chapline to *Archbishop Vsher*, published a Book intituled *Achitophel*, or the Picture of a wicked Polititian, printed at Oxford by *Lycence*, wherein were divers passages against *Arminianisme*, averring it to be planted among us by *Iesuiticall Polititians* to undermine our Religion by degrees, and covertly to introduce Popery it selfe: which Booke was presently called in, and all the Passages against *Arminianisme* expunged by this Bishops Agents, which done, it was reprinted at London without them, Anno 1629. to the great injury both of the truth and Author: as was attested by Mr. *Prynne*, & *Michaell Spark Senior*, and evident to all who will compare these two Editions. What other passages against the *Arminians* and their Tenet have beene expunged in other Authors; shall begiven in evidence elsewhere.

We shall next produce some memorable Instances what countenance was given to *Arminian* Bookes and Sermons, notwithstanding his Majesties Declarations and Proclamations to the contrary, by this Archbishops meanes. Doctor *Thomas Jackson*, Chapline in Ordinary to his Majesty, even sitting the Parliament, soone after the Kings Declaration and Proclamation, published, *A Treatise of divine Essence, and Attributes: part first*, printed at London, 1628. for *John Clerke*. Licensed by this Prelates Chaplaine, dedicated to the Right honourable *William Earle of Pembroke*

In the very Epistle Dedicatory, to this Noble Peere, hee professeth himselfe *AN ARMINIAN*, and Patron of their Tenets: And Chap. 8. to 20. he professedly maintaines: *A mutability in Gods eternall Decrees of Election and Reprobation, depending upon the actions, and wills of men; Universall Grace and Redemption; with other Arminian Errors.* This Book though publicly complained of, was never called in by the Bishop; but the second part thereof printed by Licence, An. 1629. and the Author of it advanced to the Presidentship of *Corpus Christi* Colledge in Oxford, by this Bishop, yea by him designed to bee Doctor of the Chaire (though he missed that preferment) to poyson the Vniversity of OXFORD with his *Arminian Drugges*.

An. 1630. Doctor *Brookes* of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge Writ an *Arminian Treatise* of Predestination, with which he acquainted Bishop *Laud*, who encouraged him in the worke, recommending it to the perusall of Doctor *Lindsey*, and Doctor *Beale* (two great *Arminians*.) promising to peruse it himselfe, as appeares by sundry Letters. Whereupon Doctor *Brookes* returned this answer to him concerning it, in Answer of this Bishops Letter to him, seized in his Study by Mr. *Prynne*; dated from Cambridge Decr. 15. 1630. wherein there is this desperate passage worthy Observation.

MY LORD, &c.

I Dare say: That their doctrine of Predestination is the roote of Puritanisme, and Puritanisme the roote of all rebellions and disobedient intractablenesse in Parliament, &c. and of all Schisme and Saucinesse in the Country, nay in the Church it selfe: this hath made many thousand of our people, and to great a part of the Gentlemen of the Land Laytons in their hearts. Besides, where nothing is done the weeds will over-grow the Corne, as they doe. For last Parliament they left their word, Religion, and the cause of Religion, and began to use the name of Church, and our Articles of the Church of England, &c. and wounded our Church at the very heart, with her owne name, And by pretence of putting downe Arminianisme and defence of that Church, against which indeed they tooke up Armes: so that now they that hold the very opinions of *Penry* and *Wigington*, of *Hacket* and *Coppinger* in their beginning, and others, of whom some were hangd, most imprisoned, many deprived, and some censured in the Starre-Chamber, for seditious persons, and Enemies to the Church of England, they, I say, that hold the same opinions, cry out now the Church of England, and will have the Church of England to be theirs. I could iustifie this and much more, but your Lordship knowes these things to be so better then I, &c.

NOTE.

What grosse aspersions he here casts upon the Parliament and Anti-Arminians is so apparent, as needs no explanatory or aggravating Commentary.

On the 27. of Novemb. 1630. Doctor *Martin* this Bishops household Chaplaine, a professed *Arminian*, licenced a Booke for the Presse, intituled, *An Historicall Narration of the judgment of some most learned and Godly English Bishops, holy Martyrs and others, concerning Gods Election, and the Merits of Christs death; set forth by I. A. of Ailward* (a late Seminary Priest) and printed for *Samuell Nealand*, 1631. The whole scope of this Booke was to prove, the Martyrs and first Reformers of our Church in K. Ed. the 6. and Q. Maries dayes, and the beginning of Q. Elizabeths Raigne, to be *Arminians*, and *Arminianisme* the established Doctrine of our Church: The first 66 pages of this Booke, containe, *The Coppy of an Answer unto a certaine Letter; wherein the Answerer purgeth himselfe and others from Pelagius Errors, and from the Error of Free-will, or Justification of Workes, wherewith he seemed to be charged by the said Letter.* And further, hee sheweth wherein he differeth in judgment from certaine English Writers and Preachers, whom hee chargeth with teaching false doctrine, under the name of Predestination. This Treatise, writes he, was published about the second or third yeare of Queene Elizabeth, by a Protestant Divine, who flourished both in the time of King Edward, and Queene Elizabeth, and in the time of Queene Mary, for his Conscience endured voluntary exile; but he names not the Author in particular.

nor produceth any warrant for this *Encomium* of him: The residue of the Booke are some mistaken & perverted fragments called out of *Bishop Hoopers* Preface upon the Commandements; and *Father Latymers Sermons*; concerning which Booke *Master Prynne* gave in this evidence upon his Oath; That it was the greatest affront and im-posture ever offered to, or put upon the Church of England in any age, deserving the highest Censure; of the first discovery whereof God made him the only Instrument: For as soone as this Booke was printed, one Coppy of it was brought him by a Friend; who informed him, that it was licensed by *Master Martin*, the Bishops *Arminian Chaplaine*; that the Bishop himselfe had given order, the Booke should not be published, till he had presented one of them to the King, and gained his Royall approbation thereunto: That a day or two after the Booke was published by the Bishops direction; One Coppy whereof comming to the late learned *Sir Humfrey Linds* hands, he was very much troubled thereat upon its perusal; whereupon hee repaired to *Master Prynne* at *Lincolnes-Inne* with the Booke; desiring him to take some paines to give a speedy answer to it, being (as he averred) a most dangerous Book, making more for the spreading and justifying of *Arminianisme*, then any Booke formerly published. To which *Master Prynne* replied, that he had no leisure, and lesse encouragement to answer it, being then & just before vexed in the High Commission for his Perpetuity, and other of his Bookes written against *Arminians*; Wherefore *Sir Humfrey* himselfe who had more leisure, friends and abilities then himselfe might doe well to returne an answer to it. Who thereupon replied to *Master Prynne*, that none was so fit to answer it as himselfe, who had perused more ancient English Writers, and was better versed in them then any man he knew; Whereunto *Master Prynne* rejoyned, That he conceived there was no need at all for himselfe or any man else to answer this booke, for that there were two answers to it already in print; To which *Sir Humfrey* replied, it was impossible, for that this Booke came forth but that morning; unto which *Mr. Pryn* answered, that the greatest part and maine substance of this Narration was answered *Verbatim* in two printed Books, long before either of them was born; and to give him full satisfaction therein, hee shewed him two printed answers thereunto, and discovered the whole Imposture to him in that manner as he related it at the Lords Barre.

First he produced to him, & now to the Lords, the Originall printed Copy of the foresaid answer, made unto a certaine Letter, &c. which had all the symptoms of an *unlicensed Pamphlet*; there being neither Authors, nor Printers name, nor place where, nor yeare when it was printed to be found in the Title, or any other part of the Book, nor the least mention where, or by whom it was to be sold. Therefore it was doubtlesse printed by stealth in a Corner, and not by any publike allowance, its entry not being extant in the Stationers-Hall. Next he produced two ancient answers in print to this pernicious Pamphlet: The first of them written by *John Veron*, a very learned man, Chaplaine to *Queene Elizabeth*, and Divinity Lecturer in the Cathedrall of *Pauls* in the beginning of her Raigne, to whom he Dedicated his answer to this Pamphlet, Imprinted at London by *John Tysdale* by publike authority. In which answer, (intituled. *An Apologie or Defence of the Doctrine of Predestination, set forth by the Queens Highnesse her most humble and obedient servant John Veron, and Dedicated to her. Majestie,*) wee have the name of the namelesse Author of this *Arminian Pamphlet*, the occasion of compiling it, and the quality of the Author, expressed to the full, together with a compleat answer therunto. The Authors name is therein averred to be one *Champeneyes*, f. 20. 31. 37. 40. 41. 42. His condition and quality is therein thus expressed, f. 16. But in this I comfort my selfe, that his tongue is known to be no slander, For the like did hee most proudly attempt in your most Gracious Brother good King Edward the sixths dayes, AGAINST ALL THE GODLY PREACHERS OF THAT TIME calling them marked Monsters of Anti-Christ, and men voyd of the Spirit of God, (for none be they never so Godly, never so earnest and faithfull labourers in the Lords Vineyard, have the Spirit of God, or doe know the

NOTE.

the efficacy of it, but he only) as many godly persons be able to testifie to his face: that he did therefore, and for **MANY OTHER ABOMINABLE ERRORS** which he then stoutly maintained, **BEARE AT THAT TIME A FAGGOT AT PAULS CROSSE**, Father Coverdale making then the Sermon there. Belike fearing now the like punishment, and that he should be compelled to revoke his Pelagian-like opinion, hee durst not, for all his proud boast, set his owne name to his rayling and venemous bookes, nor yet suffer them to be sold openly or publikly in the Booke-binders shops, but cowardously suppressing both his owne name and the name of the unwise and foolish Printer, got the whole Impression into his hands, that so he might in hugger-mugger send them unto his privie friends abroad, whom he like he suspected to be of his Affinity and damnable opinion. How be it, this could not be wrought so privily, but that within a while, some of his bookes came into my hands, whereby shortly after, the Printer was knowne and brought to his Answer; whom this stout Champion of Pelagius hath left in the bryars, and least he himselfe should be faine to shew a reason of his Doctrine, doth keepe himselfe out of the way still, and dares not once shew his face. If he be able to maintaine his Doctrine against my booke to, let him come forth and play the man, I am ready at all times to yeeld unto the truth, and unto the sincere teachers thereof.

NOTE.

NOTE.

After this, f. 20. he stiles Champenyes; *The blinde guide of the freewill men*: f. 37. Champenyes a very Pelagian and consequently a ranke Papist: p. 40. hee suffereth the Divell by such Sectaries as Champenyes is, to sow his lyes abroad, &c. And f. 41. Champenyes is the Standard-bearer of the freewill men. What an abominable Imposture was it then for this new Pamphleter to stile him; *A Protestant Divine who flourished in the time of K. Edward and Q. Elizabeth*, and in the time of Q. Mary for his conscience endured voluntary exile; And to place him in the front of the most learned and Godly English Bishops, holy Martyrs and others that suffered Martyrdome in the daies of Q. Mary, for the truth and Gospell of Christ Jesus, in which number he is Registered in the Title Page, and placed before Bishop Hooper, and Father Lutymer in the Book it selfe,

The occasion of writing this unlicenced obscure Pamphlet, was as followeth, *John Veron* being Divinity Lecturer in *Pauls Cathedrall*, in the first yeare of *Queene Elizabeth*, handled the Doctrine of *Predestination*, and other incident Points thereto belonging, in direct opposition the Popish, Pelagian, and now Arminian Tenets; which Lectures he soone after published in Print, and dedicated to Q. Elizabeth, in a booke intituled, *A Fruitfull Treatise of Predestination, &c.* Printed at London for *JOHN TYLDALE* about the second yeare of *Queene Elizabeths Raigne*: against which Lectures, this Champenyes taking some exceptions, published this Anonymous Answer, by way of a Letter: which Veron soone after answered, almost verbatim, in his authorized *Apology*, dedicated to the Queen, whereto Champenyes never replied. After which, this Letter was largely answered, word for word, from the very Title page to the end thereof, in a Book intituled, *An Apology or Defence of the English Writers and Preachers, with Cerberus the Three-Headed Dogge of Hell*, charged with false Doctrine, under the name of *Predestination: written by Robert Crowley* Clerke, (a fugitive for Religion in *Queene Maries* dayes and an eminent laborious Preacher in those times) Vicar of Saint Giles without Cripplage in London: Imprinted at London in *Pater-Noster-Rowe*, at the signe of the Starre, by *Henry Denham*, Anno 1566. Octob. 14. Scene and allowed according to the order appointed. In which booke this Pamphlet which the Bishop and his Agents now obtrude upon us, as the received Doctrine of our prime Martyrs and of the Church of England in King Edward the 6th. and *Queene Elizabeths Reignes*, was by publique Authority, in the name of all the Orthodox Writers, and Preachers of England, refuted, as directly contrary to the received Doctrine of our Martyres, Writers, Preachers, Church, and censured as Pelagian and Popish in both these ancient printed Answers. It must needs therefore be an inexpressible, insufferable abuse in this Archbishop and his Instruments, thus to revive, reprint this exploded Erronious *Arminian Treatise*, in the yeare, 1631 and obtrude it on us as the received Doctrine of our Martyrs and Church of England

land in the beginning of Reformation, whereas there was nothing lesse, on purpose to propagate his Arminian Errors, and strengthen that leuiticall faction. After this Mr. *Prynne* produced Bishop *Hoopers* Confession and Protestation of his faith, made to the whole Parliament, An. 1550. in King Edwards dayes. His comfortable Exposition upon the Psalmes (London, 1580.) his Articles upon the Creed, London, 1584. Artic. 3. to 15. 17. 21. 25. 29. 30. 33. 36. 38. to 56. 62. 67. 68. 91. to 99. wherein he expressly in terminis refutes, those Arminian opinions, which this our Author wold wrest out of the words of his Preface to the Commandements, contrary to his intention; together with diuers Passages in Father *Latimers* Sermons, expressly against the Arminian Tenets, which explicate his other misapplied Clauses in the *Historicall Narration*, All which Mr. *Pryn* then shewed to Sir *Humfry Lynde* to his great satisfaction; & then desired him to repaire to Bishop *Land* in his name, to acquaint him with the premises, and this desperate Imposture he had obtruded on our Church to his eternall Infamie, and thereupon to advise him, speedily to call in and burne this dangerous seducing booke or else he would prosecute him to the uttermost for this abuse. Sir *Humfry* accordingly acquainted the Bishop & his Chaplin *Martin* herewith; but yet they took no course to suppress the Booke; whereupon Mr *Prynne* repaired to *Lambeth* to Archbishop *Abbot* acquainted him with the execrablenesse of this imposture, shewed him the severall old Answers to this new printed Pamphlet, with the expresse positions of Bishop *Hoopers*, and Bishop *Latimer*, contrary to those imputed to them in this *Narration*; desiring him to call in this dangerous *Historicall Narration* with all severity, and to cause it to be publiely burnt, to reprint the old Answers to it; and withall to give him leave to prosecute Bishop *Land*, his Chaplaine, *Martin*, with the publisher of this booke in the high Commission for this insufferable abuse. To which Archb. *Abbot* gave this answer, that this booke did very much trouble him, that he had sent to Bishop *Land* about it, who at first denied that his Chaplain licensed it, but afterwards acknowledged it; that he gave order to call it in (but it was in a privat manner after most of the bookes vended) that he never saw nor knew of these 2. old Answers to it, & therefore desired Mr. *Pryn* to leave them with him for a time, promising faithfully to restore them, and to give him an accompt of this businesse on the Saturday following. In the meane time Mr. *Prynne* (because this booke had done much harme in both the Vniuersities) sent downe some of these Answers of *Veron*, and *Crowly*, with some of Bishop *Hoopers* books to *Oxf.* & *Cambridg* to some of his acquaintance there; and to the Vniuersity Lybrary at *Oxford* whither many resorted to peruse them to their great satisfaction, and the Bishops dishonour, by discovering this imposture to them. On Saturday being Easter Eve, Master *Prynne* repayed to Archbishop *Abbot* for an Answer; who told him, that he had called in this offensive booke; seized on som of the copies, which were caried into Stationers-hall; that Bishop *Land* had since been with him, that he had shewed him the bookes there left, who confessed his Chaplin *Martin* had licenced this *Narration* in which he had done very ill, but he had given him such a ratling for his paines, that hee would warrant His Grace hee should never meddle with Arminian Bookes or Opinions more. To which Mr. *Prynne* replied; that indeed he had rattled him to very great purpose, for no longer then yesterday in the afternoone his Chaplaine *Martin* Preaching the Passion Sermon at *Paules Crosse*, publicly broached, maintained, Vniuersall grace and Redemption, with all the Arminian Errors contained in this Booke, and condemned in the Synod of *Dort*, to the great offence of the Auditors, as his owne Chaplains, Dr. *Buckner*, Master *Austen*, and Dr. *Featley* could at large informe him; and therefore the Bishop did most grossly abuse his Grace herein, who should doe well to proceed against both of them, and publiely censure them in the High-Commission, or this grosse practise, to the end the whole Kingdome might take notice of it, and the Arminian party, be thereby discouraged: That the Bookes they had seized were but few, the greatest part of the Impression being vented, & they were called in so slighty and in so private a manner, that few or none took notice thereof: and therefore some publicke censure ought to passe upon them, & the Books thus seized to be openly burnt, else

else they would in a few monthes be sold openly againe to corrupt the people, and no satisfaction at all given for this foule offence to the Church of England; which Archbishop Abbot confessed to be true, and said, he would take some Order in it: but by this Bishops power there was nothing more done against the Licenser, Compiler or Booke, which soone after was as publikely sold, as if it had never beene called in, to the perverting of many in their judgments, who knew not of this grand Imposture; now publikly discovered at the Lords Barre, by all the forementioned books themselves there produced, and the testimony of Master Prynne upon Oath: seconded by the Stationers booke of entries, and the testimonies of Master Sparke, and Master Walley. Doctor Martin for this good service was presently after by this Bishop advanced to a great living, and likewise to the headship of Queenes Colledge in Cambridge, instead of other punishment, Master Prynne for his paines, in detecting this fraudulent dealing of the Bishop and his Chaplaine, by way of revenge was soone after by this Bishops meanes imprisoned in the Tower, and most severely censured in the Starre-Chamber, for his Booke called *Histrionastix* (though Licenced by Authority) in which he made ^{some mention} of this imposture concealed from the most: so fatall was it in those times for any man out of Conscience, or publike ends, to oppose the Bishops Arminian designes, such a Stirrop to mount up to preferments to advance them.

Fol. 531. 532.

After this the Archbishops Chaplaine Doctor Haywood on the 26. of August 1634. licenced a Booke intituled, *Collectiones Theologicae*, writ by Thomas Chune, and Dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury himselfe, in which hee justified the Arminian Errors, and the Church of Rome to be a true Church, whereof there were two Impressions in one yeare, yet neither the Author nor Booke once questioned, though publikely complained of by Doctor Bastwicke, at his Censure in the High-Commission, where the Archb. openly justified it. In the yeares 1636. and 1639. the Arminian Errors were defended by Bishop Mountague in print, in his *Pars. 1. & 2. Originum Ecclesiasticarum*; Gods Love to mankind, and by sundry others without controule.

On the contrary; Doctor Twisse his Booke in answer of Arminius, though writ in Latine, was refused License by the Bishop and his Arminian Chaplaines, Bray, and Baker, and his answers to Doctor Jackson and the Arminian Pamphlet intituled, *Gods love to Mankind*, suppressed; some Lectures of Bish. Davenant, and Sermons of Doctor Clerke against the Arminians were likewise stopped at the Presse, and not suffered to be printed with their other Lectures and Sermons. What Bookes against Mountague and the Arminians were called in, suppressed, and the Authors, Printers, Dispersers of them severely prosecuted in the High-Commission, in the Yeares 1628. and 1629 Wee have already evidenced; Only wee shall informe you of one or two Presidents more of later date. Doctor George Downham Bishop of Derry in Ireland publishing a Booke in that Kingdome, against the Arminians, and the *Totall and finall Apostacie of the Saints from Grace*, about the Yeare 1630. Some of them comming over into England, Bishop Land caused a strict Letter to be written in his Majesties name to Abbot Archbishop of Canterbury, for the calling in and suppressing it within the Realme of England, where it was accordingly seized on; and another Letter to Doctor Vsher, Archbishop of Armagh, for the suppressing and seizing thereof in the Realme of Ireland; Which was manifested by the *Docket Booke* in the signet Office where entreyes of those Letters are made in Aug. 1631. and by this Letter of Bishop Vsher to Bishop Land, (found in his Study at Lambeth, indorsed with his owne hand, and attested by Master Prynne) which fully discovers, that hee was the sole or principall occasion of his Majesties Letters for calling in this Booke; which hee seconded with his owne Letter to Bishop Vsher for that purpose, who returned this answer to him.

My

My most honoured Lord;

NOTE.

THe 8th of October, I received your Letters of the 22. of August, &c. The last part of your Lordships Letter concerneth the Bishop of Derrys Book, for the calling in whereof the 15th day of October I received His Majesties Letters, dated at Woodstocke the 24. of August, whereupon I presently sent out warrants, and caused all the Bookes that were left unsent into England to be seized upon; What did passe heretofore in the Presse at Dublin, I had no eye unto, because it was out of my province, and the care I supposed did more properly belong unto my brother of Dublin. But seeing His Majestie hath been pleased to impose that charge upon me: I will (God willing) take order that nothing hereafter shall be published contrary unto His Majesties sacred direction. It seemeth Your Lordship did conceive, that my Lord of Derrys booke came out since the Historie of Gottschalchus, whereas it was published above halfe a yeare before, whereby it came to passe, that all the Coppies almost both in Ireland and England were dispersed before the Prohibition came forth, The matter is not new (as Your Lordship hath rightly observed) but was long since preached in Saint Pauls Church, when Doctor Bancroft was your Lordships Predecessour in that See, at which time the Treatise of Perseverance was to have beene published, with Doctor Downams Lectures upon the 15th Psalm, as at the very end of that Booke is partly intimated. And in the History of Gottschalchus, Your Lordship may see your owne observation fully verified, that after Prelates had written against Prelates, and Synods against Synods, these things could have no end, untill both sides became weary of contending, But sure I am I have made Your Lordship weary long ere this: and therefore it is high time now to end. Therefore craving pardon for this prolixitie, I humbly take leave and rest,

NOTE.

Drogheda Novemb. 8. 1631.

Your Honours faithfull
Servant,
Iaac Armachanus.

By this Letter it is appatent, that this Prelate, whiles Bishop of London, exercised a kind of Patriarchicall Jurisdiction, for suppressing all Orthodox Bookes against the Arminians both in England and Ireland; and that his commands in this kinde were punctually executed by those Archbishops in both Kingdomes, who should have most stoutly opposed his Arminian Innovations.

About the Palsgraves first coming into Engl. An. 1635. there was a Book printed, intituled the Palsgraves Religion, containing the sum of the Religion professed in the Palatinate Churches, translated out of a printed Latine Coppy; which Archbishop Laud caused to bee strictly called in and suppressed, only because it glanced at the Arminian Errors: and bowing at the Name of *J E S U S*, as not warranted by Phil. 2. 9. 10. which was proved by the testimonies of Master Prynne, Michaell Sparke Senior and others.

What policies (besides the forementioned Royall Declaration and Proclamation) this Arch-Prelate contrived and practised to suppress all preaching against Arminianisme in the Universties and elsewhere, wee shall next discover and make good by evidences under his owne hand.

In the yeare 1629. soone after the dissolution of the Parliament, Bishop Laud presents to His Majestie a Paper written with his owne hand (the originall whereof was seized on in his Study at Lambeth by Master Prynne, and produced at the Barre) thus intituled by him. *Considerations for the better settling of the Church-Government*: whereof the third consideration was this.

NOTE.

That His Majestie would be Graciously pleased to command the Lords the Bishops, that they give charge in their Trienniall Visitations and at other times, both by themselves and by the Arch-Deacons, that the Declaration for settling the Questions in difference bee strictly observed. And that His Majestie would be Graciously pleased once in halfe a yeare

years, to call for an account of all or so many of these, as in Wisedome shall thinke fit. These considerations were immediately after published, & sent to every Archbishop and Bishops to be strictly put in execution as his Majesties own Instructions; when as in truth they were no other, but the Bishops, contrived by him alone, as the originall Coppie, written, and another Coppie corrected afterwards with his owne hand together with the Bishop of Bristolls Letter to him, dated Febr. 9. 1629. to resolve some Queries touching these Instructions concerning the Lecturers in Bristoll, infallibly manifest. So that His Majesty was here the Bishops meere Instrument to promote his Arminian and popish designs.

These Instructions were published in most Diocesse by the Bishops, but more solemnly in London-Diocesse by this Bishop, who summoning all the Ministers and Lecturers about the City of London, to London house, made a solemn Oration to them wherein he pressed the necessity of these Instructions of his Majesty for the good of the Church, and their chearefull obedience to them, and withall sent letters to every Archdeacon in his Diocesse to publish them to all the Clergy, and to give an exact account to him how they were observed at the end of their severall Visitations; especially the third Instruction: For keeping the Kings Declaration, that so differences and questions may cease, inserted into these Letters with his owne hand, as appeared by the Originall Copy found in his Study.

Soone after this Mr. Mady the Lecturer at Christ Church in London, delivering Mr. Madyes this Doctrine in a Sermon there. That Election was not Univerfall and Common, but case, speciall and peculiar, belonging to some: And, That the Principall and efficient cause of Election was the will and Love of God, and not any merit, or foreseene faith or workes of man, which he manifested by some Scriptures & Fathers, this Bishop upon information hereof, convented him before him for this Orthodox Doctrine the 10. of March 1630. for that contrary to the Kings Proclamation, he had treated of Predestination and the forementioned points: Whereupon the Bishop by an Act of Court (found among his other Papers by Mr. Pryne) prohibited him to Preach any more within his Diocesse, and admonished him to obey this his Lordships Order. And Doctor Cornelius Burges, about the same time, for using only this Passage in a Sermon on Col. 2. 7. If your Minister preach Popery or ARMINIANISME you may change your dwellings and not trouble the Peace and Order of the Church, was convented before the Bishop, enforced to deliver in the Copy of his Sermon, and much molested: and Mr. White, with sundry others suspended, for lightly touching upon some points relating to Arminianisme, though agreeable to the Scriptures, and 17. Article, of our Church.

As he thus proceeded in his Diocesse, so he was farre more violent in this kind in our Universties, especially in Oxford where he was Chancellor, of which we shall give you these few instances.

One Mr. Thomas Hill of Hart-hall in Oxford on the 24. of May 1631. Preaching at Mr. Hills Saint Maryes Church there on James 1. 16. let fall these Passages in his Sermon: And case, here were my time and learning parallel to my Zeale, what a tempting doth present it selfe, to shew how rashly (that I say not cruelly) our Pelagian Votaries, have handled the Decrees and Statutes of the King of Heaven: But they are to be mischieved into honour (but no matter how) which tempts them to disrelish sound Doctrine on no other ground then did David, because the Lords doe not favour it. 1. Sam. 29. 6. Scriptures they use worse then the Turkes do Christians at Tunis, enslave it to the vassallage of the foulest error, and according to their most current garbe employ it to defend Popery, or as bad, PELAGIANISME &c. Popish Darts whet a fresh on a Dutch Grinston, have peirced deep, and without speedy succor will prove mortall. I am perswaded these late transmarine Teachers had not beene so iolly and briefe among us, nor the opposite truth so Diametrally condemned by many, had they first made proove of these points in their owne retired and serious contemplations.

For these slight glances against the Arminians (the Copy whereof was sent up to Bishop Laud, sent among his Papers, and endorsed with his hand;) by his procurement Mr. Hill was convented before the Vice-Chancellor & heads of Houses, and en-

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forced to make a publike *submissive Recantation* upon his knees, in a full Convocation held the 16. of July 1631. recorded in the Vniversity Register. f. 35. to this effect. I Thomas Hill doe freely and sincerely acknowledge before this Venerable Assembly of Convocation, that in a Sermon lately by me Preached in Saint Maries, I did let fall diuers scandalous speeches, partly in opposition to his Majesties Injunctions, by odious juggling together of certaine factions in the Church, and imputing Pelagianisme and Popery to the one side, Partly in disparagement of the present Government of State and Church, by making foule and erronious. Opinions, the rediest way now adayes, to preferment, &c. All which passages in my Sermon I confesse to have given just offence to the Vniversitie, and to deserve the sharpest of Censures. Wherefore with all humble submission, I beseech the whole Vniversitie represented in this Venerable House, to passe by this my woefull error, undiscreeet and misguided zeale, And doe faithfully promise hence forward to abstaine from all such scandalous asperitions and intimations, as tending only to the disparagement of our Church, and the distraction and detremet of the Vniversity. And this my submission I humbly crave may be accepted, which I do here make willingly, and from my heart with true sorrow for what is past.

Thomas Hill.

Mr. Ford.
Mr. Thorne.
and Master
Hodges Cases.

Upon this submission and Recantation, the Arminian faction in Oxford grew very bold, and having the both Chauncellor and Vice-Chauncellor of their party, vented their errors publicly both in the Pulpit & Schooles without any publique check; whereupon one Mr. Thomas Forde of Magdalen Hall, Mr. Giles Thorne of Bailioll Colledge, and Mr. Giles Hodges of Exeter Colledge, moved with a pious zeale and indignation against their insolences, in June and July, 1631. in their Sermons at St. Maries used some bold expressions against the Arminians and their errors, under the Titles of *Pelagians* and *Demi-Pelagians*; for which being convented before the Vice-Chancellor, Doctor Smith, and others of the Arminian party, as Offenders against the Kings Instructions; and being ordered to bring in the Copies of their Sermons to him, when those who preached Arminianisme, were neither questioned nor reproved, but applauded, advanced for it, they thereupon perceiving the Vice-Chancellors partiality and Injustice, appealed from him to the Proctors (as they might do by the Vniversity Statutes) who received their appeales. Hereupon Bishop Laud complains of their Appeales to the King, who on the 23. day of August following, heard the whole businesse at Woodstocke, where, (by the Bishops procurement there present) these three young hopefull Divines were ordered to be expelled the Vniversity, and the two Proctors for receiving their Appeal, deprived of their places (a President with our paralell in any former Age) whereupon they were all three in full Convocation on the 26. of August, accordingly banished & expelled the Vniversity as was evidenced by the sentence of their Banishment and deprivation, recorded in the Vniversity Register, fol. 32. to 39.

That this sentence of theirs was the Bishops owne Act, was manifested by the Copies of their Accusations, by transcripts of their Sermons found in his Study, endorsed with his owne hand, by their severall Petitions to him for restitution to the Vniversity, & likewise by these Passages in his Diary: *Dates of observation to me, The great hearing of the Oxford disorders at Woodstocke by King Charles August 23. 1631. (A sentence so gratefull to him, so advantagious to the Arminian faction, that both in his Diary, and Booke of privat Devotions, hee makes the day on which it was given, a kind of Anniversary holy day, of speciall observation to him)* After which it thus followes in his Diary.

August 23. 1631. In this June and July, were the great disorders by appealing from Doctor Smith, then Vice-Chancellor, the chiefe ring-leaders were Mr. Ford of Magdalen Hall, and Mr. Thorne of Baylioll Colledge: The Proctors Mr. Atherton Burch and Mr. John Doughty received their Appeales, as if it had not beene Partur-batio pacis, &c. The Vice-Chancellor was forced in a Statutable way to appeale to the King. The King with all the Lords of his Councell then present, heard the Cause at Woodstocke

Woodstocke, Aug. 23. 1631. being Tuesday in the afternoone, The sentence upon the hearing was, That Ford, Thorne, and Hodges of Exeter Coll: should be banished the Vniversitie: And both the Proctors were commanded to come into the Convocation House and there resigne their Office, that two others might be named out of the same Colledges, Doctor Prideaux Rector of Exeter Colledge, and Doctor Wilkinson Principall of Magdalen-Hall, received a sharp Admonition for their misbehaviours in this businesse, (viz. for opposing the Arminian party, and favouring these Orthodox Schollers, being of their owne Houses.)

True it is, that after this sentence of Banishment pronounced and executed against these parties, one of them, to wit, Master Hodges, upon his most humble Petition to His Majestie, and submission to the Archbishop, with promise to be his faithfull obsequious Votary for the future, was restored to the Vniversity for one yeares space, only as a Probationer, to bewaile his offence and learne obedience, yet upon these two harsh conditions.

First, That he should make a publike Recantation Sermon in Saint Maries Church in Oxford before the Vniversitie, confessing his great offence in preaching contrary to His Majesties Declaration; which hee did accordingly on the first of January following, the Copy of which Sermon hee sent up to the Bishop, in whose Study it was seized:

Secondly, That he should make this ensuing submission and Recantation in the Convocation House before the whole Assembly of the Doctors, Proctors, Regent, and non-regent Masters, on his bended Knees, and with a minde officiously devoted; which hee did accordingly; 15. Decem. 1631. as is manifest by the Vniversity Register, where his submission is recorded in these words, Fol. 42.

I William Hodges doe freely and sincerely acknowledge before this venerable Assembly of Convocation, that in a Sermon by me preached in Saint Maries upon the 26. of June last past, I fell upon the delivery of those points which by His Majesties Royall Injunctions were forbidden mee to meddle withall, and therein I with hearty sorrow confesse, that I did let fall some passages which might be taken to the disparagement of the Government of the Church, in making Erronious and hereticall opinions, the way to preferment. All which with the maine current of my discourse might sound to sedition in the eares of the present Assembly. By this my great and unexcusable offence, I doe freely acknowledge, that I have deserved the sharpest of censures and severest of punishments. And therefore that his Royall Majestie hath justly rewarded me for the same it being an offence of so high a nature. And I have nothing at all to pleade, but the Royall Mercy of my Gracious Sovereigne for my restitution to this famous Vniversity. This my confession and submission, I doe most humbly tender to the favourable acceptance of this venerable house, craving the pardon, as of the Vniversitie in generall, so more specially of our most Honourable Chancellour, whom with all humility, I beseech to present this my acknowledgement unto his Majesties sacred hand, as the pledge and engagement both in present, and for the future, of my readiest obedience.

William Hodges.

This done, after a full yeates probation and bewayling of his disobedience, he was upon his Petition to His Majestie fully restored, and his censure at Woodstocke discharged, as the Vniversity Register manifests, which records both his Petition, and Restitution, pag. 50. 51.

Master Thorne likewise made a most submissive Petition to the Archbishop, desiring his favour pardon, and readmission to the Vniversity, but yet he found no fruits thereof. As for Mr. Ford; he refused to make any addresses to him and returning into Devonshire, some friends of his intended to elect him for their Lecturer, or Vicar in the Towne of Plymouth; of which the Bishop being informed presently procured a Letter from His Majesty, to the Major and Corporation of Plymouth not to chuse Mr. Ford for their Lecturer or Vicar upon any termes, under paine of his Royall displea-

sure; and another Letter to the Bishop of Exeter, not to admit him to be their Lecturer or Vicar, in case they should elect him, notwithstanding His Majesties Letter; as appears by the Docquet Book in the Privy signet Office, September 1631. Wherein we finde these two Entries.

A Letter to the Major and Aldermen of Plymouth, requiring them to forbear, either to make any election of one Thomas Foard unto the Lectureship of that Towne, or any ways to assist him in procuring the Advowson of the Vicarage there, he being lately expelled the Vniversity of Oxford, for a notable disobedience by him shewed, procured by (the Bishop of London) dated 12. Sep. 1631.

A like to the Lord Bishop of Exeter, signifying Hi Majesties pleasure, that in case the said Thomas Foard should be elected to the said Lectureship, or procure the said Advowson, he doe not give any approbation thereof; procured, ut supra, dated 12. Septem. 1631.

These Letters were drawne by the Bishops owne direction, not by the Secretary of State, or Clarkes of the Signet, being not entred at large in the Letter Signet Booke, but only this note of them entred in the Docquet Booke, by which his implacable transcendent malice appeared against the opposites to Arminianisme, that not satisfied with their unjust banishment out of Oxford, he endeavoured by indirect means to hinder them from Ecclesiasticall preferments in the Church, whereas hee advanced those of the Arminian faction to places of highest eminency in the Church, as wee shall manifest in due season.

After these severe proceedings against these Anti-Arminians in the Vniversitie, the Arminians there grew very numerous, insolent, few or none daring to oppose them, but Doctor Prideaux, with two or three more in some passages in their Sermons, for which they were presently questioned by the Arminian Faction, and enjoyned public Rantations; witnesse the Recantation of William Hobbes Fellow of Trinitie Colledge, the 25. of January 1632. for preaching against falling from Grace, contrary to the intent and purpose of His Majesties Declaration, in a Sermon on a Tuesday at St. Maries; Recorded in the Oxford Register, f. 54. The Recantation of Master Thomas Cooke of Brase-Nose the 19th of July 1634. for using some passages in a Latine Sermon in Saint Maries, which by consequence might imply connivency and partiality in the Vice-Chancellour (Doctor Duppa) towards some of the Arminian party, that had violated the Kings Edicts, concerning such points of controversie as are forbidden; Registered in the Vniversity Register, pag. 90. with the convention and submission of Master Richard Kilby, of Lincolne Colledge, before Doctor Bayley, Vice-Chancellour and others, March 13. 1637. for reviving some controversies concerning Arminianisme, contrary to His Majesties Declaration; entred in the Vniversitie Register, fol. 152.

NOTE.

About September 1632. there were some Satyricall Verses scattered abroad in Oxford against the Arminians, thus intituled. *The Academicall Army of Epidemicall Arminians: To the tune of the Souldiour*; wherein Doctor Corbet, Doctor Duppa, Doctor Jackson, Doctor Marsh, Doctor Turner with others, of the Arminian faction were mentioned, and Bishop Laud as their Generall, who receiving a Coppie of them, December 19. 1632. writ this endorsement on it. *Oxford Libell against such as they will needs call Arminians*; Who were all backed by Bishop Laud their grand Patron, and preferred to the highest Ecclesiasticall preferments.

How the Arminian party prevailed in the Vniversitie of Cambridge, by this Arch-Prelates abetment, so farre as to procure Barrets Recantation of the Arminian Tenets (solemnly made in that Vniversity, in 37. of Q. Elizabeths Raigne, and then printed) to be rased out of the Vniversity Register, where it was Recorded, and to prosecute Mr. Bernard whom he caused to be censured & ruined in the High-Commission for preaching against the increase of Popery and Arminianisme (of which hereafter) is so well knowne

knowne to most, that wee shall not insitt upon it, most of the heads of Houses there (as Doctor Brookes, Doctor Beale, Doctor Martin, Doctor Paske, Doctor Cosens, Doctor Lany, &c) being professed Arminians, and this Archbishops Creatures to prosecute his designs.

How diligent the Bishops were, by colour of His Majesties Declarations, and Instructions, to suppress all preaching against all Arminianisme in their Diocesse by this Arch-Prelates inttigation, will appeare by their printed Visitation Articles, for this purpose; particularly, by the Articles of enquiry, and direction for the Diocesse of Norwich, in the first Visitation of Rich. Mountague, Bishop of that Diocesse, An. Dom. 1638 Tit. 5. Artic. 22. in Church-Wardens. Doth your Minister commonly or of set purpose in his populer Sermons fall upon those much disputed and little understood doctrines, of Gods eternall Predestination, of Election antecedaneous, of Reprobation irrelative without sinne foreseene, of Freewill, of Perseverance, and not falling from Grace, points obscure, unfoldable, unfordable, untractable, at which that great Apostle stood at gaze with, Oh the height and depth of the riches of the Wisdome and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his wayes past finding out? Rom. 11. 33. By the Archbishops Injunctions prescribed to them in His Majesties Name, whereof this was one. That they should take speciall care that no Minister nor Lecturer in their Diocesse should preach upon the prohibited controverted points, contrary to His Majesties Declarations and Instructions; and that they should give an yearly account to the Archbishop of their proceedings herein, which they did accordingly; By meanes whereof the Arminian Errors were freely vented in all Diocesses, without any publike opposition, and those who out of zeale to truth durst open their mouthes to refuse them, were silenced, suspended, and brought into the High Commission by this Archbishops practise, to their undoing; whiles the Arminians, on the contrary, had free liberty to broach their Erronious Tenets, without controule, and were advanced to the greatett benefices, and Ecclesiasticall Dignities.

Besides, this Arch-prelate not satisfied with propagating these dangerous Arminian Novelties throughout the Realme of England, endeavoured to infect by degrees the whole Church of Irel, therewith. To which end he not only caused Bishop Donnehams book of perseverance; there printed against the Arminians to be suppressed (as you heard before) but the very Articles of the Church of Ireland made in a full Nationall Synod and Convocation held at Dublin, 1615. and ratified by King James (wherein all the Arminian Errors are terminis terminantibus condemned as Erronious,) to be repealed; the L. Deputy Wentworth, by high hand (being but the Archbishops instrument herein) enforcing the Convocation at Dublin. A. 1634. by sundry threatening Messages full fore against their wills, to condescend to the repealing of them under pretext of establishing the 39. Articles of the Church of England, (comprised in the former) for the only Articles of that Church for Vnity and Uniformity sake; as was attested by Dr. Hoyle, a Member of that Irish Convocation at the Lords Bar, & long since published in print with the Archbishops privy, if not command, by Dr. Heylin, in his History of the Sabbath, Part. 2. chap. 8. sect. 9. pag. 259. in these very tearmes. And hereunto they were encouraged a great deale the rather because in Ireland, what time his Majesties Commissioners were employed, about the settling of that Church, Anno 1615. there passed an Article which much confirmed them in their courses, and hath beene often since alleaged to justifie both them and their proceedings: the Article is this; The first day of the weeke which is the Lords Day, is wholly to be dedicated to the service of God, and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily businesse, and to bestow that leasure upon holy exercises, both private & publique. What moved His Majesties Commissioners, to this strict authority, that I cannot say, but sure I am, that till that time the Lords day never had attained such credit, as to be thought an Article of the faith, though of some mens fancies. Nor was it like to be of long continuance it was so violently followed; THE WHOLE BOOKE BEING NOW CALLED IN and in the place thereof, the Articles of the Church of England confirmed by Parliament in that Kingdome, Anno 1634.

NOTE.

Uniformity with the Church of England was the pretence for revoking these Articles, but the reall cause was, because they defined in terminis, *The Pope to be Antichrist; the Church of Rome to be no true Church, the Lords day to be totally sanctified, and all the Arminian Tenets to be erroneous, contrary to the established Doctrine both of the Church of England and Ireland.* Grand obstacles to this Arch-Prelates Popish designs, and therefore necessary to bee sette aside. These Articles being thus repealed, the Archbishop soon after sent over Master Chapple (the most notorious seducing Arminian in the whole Vniversity of Cambridge) into Ireland, to be President of the Colledge of Dublin there, to poyson that Vniversity with his Arminian Drugs, which he there publicly vented, as Dr. Hoyle (Divinity Reader in that Vniversity,) attested upon Oath, who had frequent contestations with him concerning the same: This Chapple joyning with Dr. Bramhall Chaplaine to the Lord Deputy Wentworth (a professed Arminian who managed all the Ecclesiastical affaires of that Church under the Archbishop and Lord Deputy) raised a great party there to oppose and suppress the truth.

What influence this Arch-Prelate likewise had upon the Prelates and Clergy of Scotland, and how farre he proceeded in introducing Arminianisme, & by it Popery into the Church of Scotland, is so largely demonstrated by M. Baily, in his *Canterburians selfe-conviction*, the last Edition, that we shall not here insist upon it.

And thus we have given you a true and Copious Evidente of this Arch-Prelates endeavours to undermine our established Religion by introducing somenting dangerous Arminian Errors in all our three Kingdomes, of purpose to Vther Popery into them by insensible degrees through this Jesuiticall devise.

The Archbishops various Attempts and Endeavours to undermine our established Protestant Religion, and introduce Doctrinall Popery into our Church.

We shall now proceed to his various attempts and endeavours to undermine the established Protestant, and advance the Romish Religion in our Churches, by introducing, broaching, maintaining printing, publishing all kind of Doctrinall points of Popery, by suppressing Bookes, and purging out Passages against them in old and new writers; by promoting, protecting the Propugners, discouraging, persecuting the oppugners of Popish Assertions, Sermons, Pamphlets, and sundry other practises.

The Authorizing Printing, dispersing Popish Bookes, Doctrines and prohibiting contrary Impressions to refute them, being the most pernicious destructive prevalent project of all others to undermine Religion, seduce corrupt both the present and future Generations with Popish Errors and set up Popery in its full vigor, we shall begin with this Archbishops various practises, concerning the Authorizing, printing, dispersing of Popish, prohibiting, suppressing purging, corrupting Orthodox Bookes, against Popery; wherein he directly traced the Popish Prelates & Jesuites footsteps.

The Pope with Popish Prelates and Jesuites being Masters of the printing Presses in most parts, had foure principall wayes to advance Popery, and suppress the Protestant Religion, in relation only to printing.

The first was, to License and print sundry Books and Discourses from time to time upon al occasions in defence of their Erronious Popish Tenets against the Protestants.

The second, to prohibit sundry speciall Treatises against Popery to bee printed, reprinted, dispersed, or read; and to seize on and suppress them in all places with greatest diligence when printed.

The third, to purge out the principall Passages, Motives, Invectives against Popery and its abuses in all old printed Books, ere they should bee reprinted; and out of all new Bookes tendred to the Presse, before they could gaine License to passe it.

The fourth, to punish the Authors, Printers, dispersers of any prohibited or unlicensed Books against Popery, with the severest censures: all which is abundantly evident, by their severall *Indices Librorum Prohibitorum*, and *Librorum Expurgandorum* by the Provinciall Councell of Sennes, Anno 1528. *Apud Sarinum Concil.* Tom. 4. p. 718. to 723. *Laurentius Bozellius, Decreta Ecclesie Gall.* lib. 1. Tit. 10. *De Libris vetitis*, cap. 1. to 29. The Statute of 34. and 35. H. 8. c. 1. Master Fox his Acts and Monuments, the old Edition, pag. 536. 573. 680. 450. 1335. &c. Dr. James his *Index Generalis Librorum prohibitorum a Pontificijs, &c.* Oxon 1627. *Antonij Possemini Bibliotheca selecta*, with sundry others.

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The Arch-bishop in imitation of this their policy, first of all ingrossed the sole power of licensing all new Bookes of Divinity into his owne, his Chaplaines and Creatures hands, so as nothing could passe the Presse with publique approbation but by his or their precedent approbation, without danger of ruine to the Authors, Printers, Stationers, Venders, Dispersers, And because he feared and experimentally discerned that when Stationers or Printers were restrained to print new Bookes against Popery, they would presently fall to reprint old ones formerly licenced by Authority; to prevent this inconvenience to the Popish party, he procured this ensuing Decree of his owne contriving, to be ratified by the Lords in the Starre-Chamber, then sent it to the Stationers to print, and commanded them punctually to observe it, whereby he Monopolized the sole power of authorizing Divinity Bookes for the Presse to himselfe and his Agents; and restrained the reprinting of all Books, though formerly printed by Authority, without a speciall review, and relicencing of them, by him and his Chaplaines.

This Decree was intituled.

A Decree of Star-Chamber concerning Printing made the first day of July, 1637. Imprinted at LONDON by Robert Barker, &c. 1637.

This Decree in the Printed Order of Star-chamber prefixed therewith, is Expressly alleaged, to be drawne, and Penned by the advice of the most Reverend Father in God the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London, Lord High Treasurer of ENGLAND, and of the Lord Keeper, the Lord chiefe Justices, and Lord chiefe Barron, when it was the Archbishops project only, who sent it to the Presse, the others names being used only for conformity, as M. Walley & others attested upon Oath: We shall rehearse only such clauses thereof as are most observable & pertinent to our purpose.

2. Item, That no person or persons whatsoever, shall at any time print or cause to be imprinted, any Booke or Pamphlet whatsoever, unlesse the same Booke or Pamphlet and also all and every the Titles, Epistles, Prefaces, Proems, Preambles, Introductions, Tables, Dedications, and other matters or things whatsoever thereunto annexed, or therewith imprinted, shall be first lawfully licenced and authorized only by such person and persons as are hereafter expressed, and by no other, and shall be also first entred into the Registers Booke of the Company of Stationers, upon paine that every Printer offending therein, shall be for ever hereafter disabled to use or exercise the Art or Myserie of Printing, and receive such further punishment, as by this Court, or the high Commission Court respectively, as the severall causes shall require, shall be thought fitting.

NOTE

That all other Bookes, whether of Divinity, Physick, Philosophie, Poetry, or whatsoever, shall be allowed by the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, or Bishop of London for the time being, or by their appointment, or the Chancellours or Vice-Chancellours of either of the Vniversities of this Realme for the time being.

Alwayes provided, that the Chancellour, or Vice-Chancellour of either of the Vniversities shall Licence only such Booke or Bookes that are to be printed within the limits of the Vniversities respectively, but not in London, or else where, not meddling either with Bookes of the common Law, or matters of State.

5. Item, That every Merchant of bookes, and person, and persons whatsoever, which doth or hereafter shall buy, import, or bring any booke or bookes into this Realme, from any parts beyond the Seas, shall before such times as the same booke or bookes, or any of them be delivered forth, or out of his, or their hand or hands, or exposed to sale, give, and present a true Catalogue in writing of all and every such booke and bookes unto the Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury, or Lord Bishop of London for the time being, upon paine to have and suffer such punishment for offending herein, as by this Court or by the said high Commission Court respectively, as the severall causes shall require, shall be thought fitting.

6. Item, That no Merchant, or other person or persons whatsoever, which shall import, or bring any booke or bookes into the Kingdome, from any parts beyond the

the Seas, shall presume to open any Dry, Fats, Bales, Packes, Maunds, or other Faddalls of Bookes, or wherein Bookes are: nor shall any Searcher, Wayter, or other Officer belonging to the Custome-House, upon paine of loosing his or their place or places, suffer the same to passe, or to be delivered out of their hands or custody, before such time as the Lord *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, or *Bishop* of *London*, or one of them for the time being, have appointed one of their Chaplaines, or some other Learned man, with the Master and Wardens of the Company of *Stationers*, or one of them, and such others as they shall call to their assistance, to bee present at the opening thereof, and to view the same: And if there shall happen to be found any seditious, schismaticall or offensive Booke or Books, they shall forthwith be brought unto the said Lord *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, Lord *Bishop* of *London* for the time being, or one of them, or to the High Commission Office, to the end that as well the Offender or Offenders may be punished by the Court of Starre-Chamber, or the High Commission Court respectively, as the severall causes shall require, according to his or their demerit; as also that such further course may bee taken concerning the same Booke or Bookes, as shall be thought fitting.

It is further Ordered and Decreed, that no Merchant, Bookseller, or other person or persons whatsoever, shall imprint, or cause to be imprinted, in the parts beyond the Seas, or elsewhere, nor shall import or bring, nor willingly assist or consent to the importation or bringing from beyond the Seas into this Realme, any English Bookes, or part of bookes, or bookes whatsoever, which are or shall be, or the greater, or more part whereof is or shall be English, or of the English tongue, whether the same Booke or Bookes have beene here formerly printed, or not, upon paine of the forfeiture of all such English Bookes so imprinted or imported, and such further censure and punishment, as by this Court, or the said High Commission Court respectively, as the severall causes shall require, shall be thought meet.

NOTE.

18. *Item*, That no person or Persons, doe hereafter reprint, or cause to be reprinted, any booke or bookes whatsoever (*THOUGH FORMERLY PRINTED WITH LICENCE*) without being revived, and a new Licence obtained for the reprinting thereof. Alwayes provided, that the Stationer or Printer be put to no other charge hereby, but the bringing and leaving of two printed Copies of the Booke to be printed, as is before expressed of written Copies, with all such additions as the Author hath made.

NOTE.

XXIV. *Item*, The Court doth hereby declare their firme resolution, that if any person or persons, that is not allowed Printer, shall hereafter presume to set up any Presse for printing or shall worke at any such Presse, or set, or Compose any Letters to be wrought by any such Presse; he, or they so offending, shall from time to time, by the Order of this Court, be set in the Pillory, and Whipt through the Citie of *London*, and suffer such other punishment, as this Court shall Order or thinke fit to inflict upon them, upon Complaint or prooffe of such offence or offences, or shall be otherwise punished, as the Court of High Commission shall think fit, and is agreeable to their Commission.

XXV. *Item*, That for the better discoverie of printing in Corners without Licence; The Master and Wardens of the Company of *Stationers* for the time being or any two Licensed Master Printers, which shall be appointed by the Lord *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, or Lord *Bishop* of *London* for the time being shall have power and Authority, to take unto themselves such assistance as they shall thinke needfull, and to search what Houses and Shoppes (and at what time shall thinke fit) especially Printing Houses, and to view what is in Printing, and to call for the Licence to see whether it be Licensed or no, and if not, to seize upon so much as is printed, together with the severall Offenders, and to bring them before the Lord *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, or the Lord *Bishop* of *London* for the time being, that they or either of them may take such further Order therein as shall appertaine to Justice.

The *Archbishop* and his Confederates having accroached by colour of this Decree the sole power of the Presse into their hands, which they usurped, without any such pretext

pretext of Authority, long before the passing thereof, began after the Popish guise, in imitation of the Pope and Popish Inquisitors.

First, to prohibit the re-printing and sale of sundry Orthodox Bookes formerly printed and sold by Authority, of which we shall give you sundry notable instances.

One of the first Bookes we find prohibited by the Popish Prelates in England, in King Henry the 8. his Reigne; was the Bible and New Testament in English of Tyndalls translation, and all other English Bibles and Testaments having any Annotations or Preambles, which were ordered to bee cut and blotted out of the said Bibles and Testaments in such sort, as they could not bee perceived or read, under paine of forfeiting 40s. for every such Bible with Annotations, or preambles, as you may read in the Statute of 34. and 35. H. 8. cap. 1. and in Master Fox his Acts and Monuments, pag: 635. 621. Whereupon those Annotations and Preambles were cut and blotted out accordingly in sundry old Bibles yet extant. Yea the first Booke in the Roman Indices, *Librorum prohibitorum*, in Forraigne parts, is the Bible of some Translations (especially Bibles in the Vulgar Tongue with Notes, and Prologues, the Bibles of Rob. Stephanus, Vatablas, Pagnine, & others, (though Papists) with the Arguments of Raynerius upon the Psalms expressly ordered to be expunged, as you may read in the Index *Librorum Expurgatorum*, set forth by Gaspar Quiroga Archbish. of Toledo, Generall Inquisitor of Spaine, Salmuri 1601. p. 7. to 18. 151. to 152. in Boechellus *Decreta Ecclesie Gal. l. 1. Tit. 10. De libris vetitis, c. 1. 11.* Dr. James his *Index Generalis Librorum prohibitorum*, with others. So one of the first Bookes most strictly prohibited to be printed, imported or sold, by this Archb: was the English Geneva Bible with Marginal Notes and Prefaces, though printed here in Engl. not only without the least restraint, but *Cum Privilegio Regie Majestatis*, during all Q. Elizabeths and K. James their Reignes, by the Queens and Kings Printers, and since our Printers have neglected to reprint them for feare of hindering the sale of Bibles of the last Translation without Notes, they have been sold without any contradiction till this Archbishop began to domineere; yet no sooner was hee advanced to his Papall See, but the printing, importing and sale of all these Bibles with Notes was most strictly inhibited, the Bibles searched for, seized, confiscated, the importers and Sellers of them imprisoned, vexed, and some of them ruined in the High-Commission Court. Michaell Sparke Senior, deposed, that himselfe, and sundry other Stationers had divers of their English Bibles with Notes seized and taken from them by the Archbishops meanes, which were commonly sold before his time, without restraint, but contradicted and suppressed by him; and that himselfe with diverse others had been prosecuted in the High-Commission for selling of Bibles with Notes, and some imprisoned and fined for this cause. Mr. Pryune, produced an Abstract of a Letter dated Septem. 30. 1633. from Sir William Boswell, (His Majesties Agent in the Low-Countries,) endorsed with Mr. Dells hand, and found in the Archbishops Study, wherein among other accounts of his good services for the Archbishop, he certified His Grace, that there had bene two Impressions of English Bibles at Delfe, and Amsterdam, with the Geneva Notes, &c. Whereof he might be pleased to make such use as seemeth best for suppressing the abuse at home, whether they are likewise transported under pretence of White-paper, And April 14. 1638. he received another Information out of Holland from I. S. endorsed with Master Dells hand, concerning the Printing of English Bibles there in Quarto and Folio, with Notes in the Margens, intended to bee transported thence into England. A cleare Evidence, that his Grace was the Originall cause of suppressing these Bibles, not only at home but in forraigne parts, and all for feare the Notes in them should over-much instruct the people in the knowledge of the Scriptures; which Notes though highly esteemed of in all reformed Churches, and printed not onely with their Latine Bibles, but with the English, French, Dutch, German, and Italian Bibles in vulgar use among them, and in the Folio Bible printed in Scot. 1610; yet now they must be totally prohibited, suppressed only in England, by this Popish Prelate, though here formerly printed *Cum Privilegio*, and freely vended, read, approved, used in our Church for above 60. years space together. How much Impiety, and Popery lies couched in this notorious fact of

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this (not to be paralleled by any Protestant Prelates, but Popes and Popish Prelates only whom hee imitated herein) wee must humbly submit to Your Lordships and all Protestants considerations.

In the Yeare 1637. *William Beale*, Servant to Master *Henry Gellibrand*, Professor of the Mathematickes at *Gresham Colledge London*, set forth an *Almanacke* for that Yeare, by His Masters Approbation, printed for the Company of Stationers, agreeing with the Kalendar before Master *Foxe* his Acts and Monuments printed oft times by publike Authority, without the least exceptions both in *Queene Elizabeths*, *King James*, and *King Charles* Reignes, in which Almanacke the names of the Popish Saints Canonized by Popes and thrust into our Kalendars were omitted, and the names of reall Saints and Martyrs mentioned in the Booke of Martyrs, inserted, just as they are in Master *Foxes* his Kalendar: This Prelate being then Bishop of *London* taking great exceptions against this Almanack, brought both Mr. *Gellibrand* and his man into the High Commission for compiling and publishing it, where hee prosecuted them with great violence. At the hearing of the cause, it appearing to the Court, that it was Verbatim the same with Mr. *Foxe* his authorized Kalendar, and that some Almanackes of this kind had formerly bin printed, as tending only to the honour of our owne reall Martyrs, and the disparagment onely of false Popish Saints, Master *Gellibrand* was acquitted by Archbishop *Abbot*, and the Generall Vote of the High-Commission Court, none censuring him but this Bishop: who perceiving Master *Gellibrand* to be acquitted, He thereupon stood up in a great passion, and publicly informed the Court, That the *Queene* her selfe sent for him, and specially complained to him against this Almanacke, which gave great offence to those of her Religion; and desired him to prosecute the Author of it, and suppress the Book; and therefore he hoped he should not passe unpunished in this Court; yet notwithstanding the Court acquitted him: Hereupon the Bishop stood up again in a fury, and said to Mr. *Gellibrand*, Sir, Remember you have made a Faction in this Court, for which you ought to be punished; and know that you are not yet discharged hence, I will sit in your Skirts, for I heare you keepe Conventicles at *Gresham-Colledge* after your Lectures there. Whereupon he gave Order for a second prosecution against him in the High-Commission, which so afflicted this good man, that it put him into a Feaver fit, whereof he died. And because the Bishop could not procure Master *Gellibrand* to be censured, and this Almanacke burned as he desired, the Papists thereupon bought up most of them and made them Martyrs, by burning them in the fire. All which was deposed at the Lords Bar by Mr. *Gellibrand* of *Bread-street London*, and ready to be attested by sundry others, had not the Bishop himselfe acknowledged the truth thereof.

NOTE.

In this Evidence there are foure things very remarkable.

NOTE. First, That this Bishop was so shamelesse as to professe in open Court, that in this Prosecution of Master *Gellibrand*, hee was but the *Queenes* and Papists Agent proceeding thus against him at their speciall request.

Secondly, That he was extraordinary violent, if not extreame irregular and unjust in this prosecution, making no Conscience to ruine a Learned Pious Protestant, without any just Cause, to pleasure the Papists, notwithstanding hee was generally acquitted by the Court.

3ly. That when he could not have his will of this innocent Gentleman one way, he meditated present revenge another way & proclaimed it in open Court, charging him with raising a Faction in the High-Commission Court, when as his fellow Commissioners would not concur with him in his Factionous prosecution to gratifie the Papists.

4ly. That hee bare an extraordinary affection to Popish, but an extreame inveterate malice to true Protestant Saints and Martyrs, because hee was so farre incensed against Mr. *Gillibrand* and his Almanacke onely for omitting the names of false Popish Saints and Martyres, and placing the names of our reall Protestant Martyres in their stead: the truth whereof was then further manifested at the Bar by

by a memorable Passage in Doctor John Pocklington's *Altare Christianum*, licenced by Doctor Bray, the Archbishops owne household Chaplaine (as appeares by the printed Approbation prenxed to it, and perused by the Archbishop himselfe, who ordered it to be printed) of which booke there being two editions, Mr Pryn found both of them curiously gilded, and bound up in the Archbishops Study at Lambeth, in both of which this Passage remained uncorrected, unexpunged, wherein the Calender before the Booke of Martyres (which Mr. Gellibrand imitated) with our Godly Martyres are most grossly railed against, censured, traduced as Traytors, Murderers, Rebels, Heretickes, and the Popish Saints, in whose places they were inserted, proclaimed to be, the holy Martyres and Confessors of Iesus Christ, whose names are written in heaven, in these very tearmes, which you may find in the first Edition, Pag. 92. and Edit. 2. Pag. 114. This was the holy and profitable use of these Diptickes, much like the List of persons CENSURED BY HOLY CHVRCH, called WITH SOME REPROACH OF TRVTH AND NOTE. CHRISTIAN RELIGION, *Catalogus testium Veritatis* (collected into one volume by Flacius, Illericus, and enlarged since by others:) And as unlike a KALENDER that I have seene, (to wit, that before Mr. Fox his Acts and Monuments) wherein THE HOLY MARTYRS, AND CONFESSORS OF JESVS CHRIST (who had not only place sometimes in these Dipticks, but WHOSE NAMES ARE WRITTEN IN HEAVEN) ARE RAISED OVT AND TRAITORS, MVRDERERS, REBELS, AND HERETICKS SET IN THEIR ROOMES; so as if Penry, Hacket, or Legat had come in time, they might have challenged as orient and scarlet a dye as some of them; Certainly more venome and malice could never have beene couched or Vented in fewer words against Mr. Fox his authorized Kalender to his Acts & Monuments, against our own English Martyres, the Professors of the Protestant Religion in all ages, & so by consequence against our Religion it selfe, then is comprised & vented in these lines, twice published in print in these Editions by this Arch-Prelates, & his Chaplaines speciall approbation without the least retractation, of purpose to please the Popish party, offended with Mr. Gellebrands Almanacke, which this Bishop would have Martyred and burned for an Hereticke (as our Martyres were) to gratifie the Popish party much offended at it: by which the whole World may clearly discern his strong inclination, his cordiall affection to them and their, his palpable disaffection to us, and our Religion.

We shall now proceed to other evidence. About the latter end of the yeare 1636. Master Pryne being certainly informed of the Archbishops intention to procure a Decree in Star-chamber prohibiting the reprinting of all old Bookes of Divinity unlessse they were first reviewed, purged, new Licenced by his Chaplaines, or Agents, before this Decree was ratified, sent for Michael Spark Senior and perswaded him to reprint some three or foure old Bookes, of speciall use against Popery, ere this Decree should passe; by name, Thomas Beacons Display of the Popish Masse, and his Reliques of Rome (as being then most seasonable & opposite to the Archbishops Romish dengnes) formerly printed cum privilegio, in Queen Elizabeths Reigne, An. 1560. yea dedicated to all the Bishops of England, and highly approved by them, Hereupon he caused Mistresse Anne Griffin to begge leave of the Company of Stationers (who were owners of those Coppies) to reprint these Bookes, which being granted; she printed off his Display of the Popish Masse, and began to Print his Reliques of Rome. No sooner was the first of them published abroad, but a Papist seeing one of them newly printed, lying to be sold in a Book-sellers shop in Pauls Church-yard, reading the Title thereof, grew very angry at the Booke (being a very solid learned Treatise against the Popish Masse, with the Ceremonies accompanying it) and said; hee wondered much that the Archbishop would suffer such Bookes to be Printed in this Age: adding, that perchance he knew not of it, and therefore he would goe over to Lambeth and informe him thereof, to the end it might be suddainly called in, ere it were dispersed: which it seemes he performed accordingly, for the very next morning

NOTE.

Authorized, imprinted, published diverse Bookes, Treatises, Sermons in defence of Popish Errors, Superstitious, Ceremonies, practises, almost to the totall corruption and subversion of our Religion; Of which we shall give you a briefe Catalogue, and then proceed to the Popish Passages, errors broached, justified, authorized in, and propagated by them.

The BOOKES are these;

The *Archbishops own SPEECH* in Star-Chamber: Printed at Lond. An 1637.

The *Book of Common Prayer*, for the use of the Church of Scotland, printed at Edinburgh 1637.

Richard Mountagne, his *New Gagge* for an old Goose, London 1624. His *Appello Casarem*: London 1625. His *Originum Ecclesiasticarum*, Pars prior, Londini, 1636. and Pars Posterior, Londini, 1640. His *Anti-Diatriba*, Londini 1625 and *Visitation Articles*, Printed at Cambridge, and London. 1638.

Master *John Cosens* his *Houres of Prayer*, London 1627.

Edmund Reeves *Communion Catechisme* expounded, London 1635.

Henry Cholmly, His *State of the Now Roman Church*, London, 1629.

Master *Butterfield*, His *Maschil*, London 1629.

Doctor *John Pocklington*, his *Sunday No Sabbath*, licensed by Doctor *Bray* the Archbishops Chaplaine, 24. Febr. 1635. and his *Altare Christianum*, licensed by the same Doctor *Bray* 7. March, 1636. both printed at London, Ann: 1636. and 1637.

Doctor *Peter Heylins* *History of Saint George*, London, 1630. His *Coale from the Altar*, London 1636. His *Antidotum Lincolnense*, with His *Moderate Reply* to *Henry Burton*, London, 1637. and *History of the Sabbath*, London 1636.

Francis Sales, (A Popish Prelate) his *Introduction to a devout life*: licensed by the Archbishops Chaplaine Doctor *Haywood*, 3. Febr. 1636.

An *Epistle, or Exhortatory Letter from Jesus Christ*, for every faithfull Soule devoutly affected, written by a Friar, and licensed by Doctor *Weekes*, both his and the Bishop of *Londons* Chaplain, 3. Febr. 1636.

The *Female Glory*, by *Anthony Stafford*, London 1635.

Master *Tates* his *Tract of the Honour of Gods House*, London 1637.

Sparrowes *Sermon of Confession*, London 1637.

The *Churches Authority* asserted by *Samuell Hoard*, Lond. 1637.

Mortification Apostolicall, by *William Watts*, London 1637.

Doctor *Thomas Laurence* his *Sermon* preached before the King at *White-Hall*, London 1637.

John Elberow his *Evodias and Syntyche*, London 1637.

Robert Shelford his five *Treatises*, *Cantabrigia*, 1635.

Richard Tedder, his *Sermon* preached at *Wimondham*, Anno 1637.

Collectiones Theologicae, by *Chunans*, London 1634.

Christopher Dow, against Master *Henry Burton*, London 1637.

John Browning, concerning publike Prayer and the *Fasts* of the Church, London 1636.

Sir *Thomas Riddleys*, his *Review of the Civill Law*, Oxford, 1634.

John Swan, his *Redde debitum* London. 1640.

Bishop *Halls* *Reconciler*, his *Episcopy* by *Divine Right*, with infinite other Books, Sermons and Treatises of this kinde, which we pretermit.

Before wee proceed any further in this subject, we must acquaint Your Lordships with one memorable Passage concerning the Licencing and printing of *Francis Sales* his *Introduction to a devout life*; and *Christs Epistle to a devout Soule*.

The first of these Bookes being written by a Popish Prelate, having many Doctrinall and Practicall points of Popery interlarded with good meditations and Devotions comprised in it was translated into English by J. T. (a Priest, and Jesuite) dedicated by him to Mistres *Anne Roper* a Popish Recusant: and twice printed by Papists in forraigne parts, in the yeares 1617. and 1622. with all the Popery in it: about

about which time it was likewise translated into English by a Protestant, who left out all the Popery and superstition couched therein, retaining only what was Orthodox and Pious; which was licenced for the Presse, and printed by *Nicholas Oakes*. On the 3. of February 1636. Doctor *Hayward* the Archbishops Chaplain, at the instigation of some Popish persons, licensed the very Popish Translation of this Booke by (I R) the Iesuite, for the Presse, (most likely by the Archbishops approbation, who had one of these Bookes formerly printed in his Study, produced by *Matter Pryne*, endorsed with his owne hand;) which was forthwith entered in Stationers Hall for one *W. Brookes* a Popish Stationer, and presently sent to the Presse to be printed: One part of it comming to *Nicholas Oakes* his House to be printed, he perceiving divers dangerous Popish Passages in it, and among others, one touching the Popes supremacy, repaired to Doctor *Hayward* who licensed it, and acquainted him therewith, desiring him to purge out these Popish Passages, else he durst not proceed to print it. Whereupon the Doctor checking him for making such a scruple, bid him go on and say nothing, and he would beare him out, and save him harmes. lesse from any danger that might befall him for printing it; adding, that he himself would preach as much as that he complained off before the King, and therefore he needed not feare to proceed: Whereupon *Oakes* went on, and the Booke (with the Epistle Dedicatory to Mrs. *Anne Roper* a Papist) was printed & published about Easter, 1637. neare the time the Archbishop caused an Information to be Exhibited in Star-chamber by Sir *John Banks* his Majesties Attorney Generall, against *D. Bastwick*, *Mr. Burton* and *Mr. Pryne*, one of the Copies whereof comming to *Mr. Pryne* hands, he finding it full of Popery, superstition, and the very same with the old English Popish Edition, and being informed by *Oakes* & others, of Dr. *Haywards* words to *Oakes* when he complained to him of it, he inserted the Licensing and printing of this Popish Booke among others, into his Crosse Bill in Starre Chamber, against the Archbishop, his Chaplaines and others his Popish Confederates; which Bill he rendring to the Lord KEEPER *Coventry* to admit, the Archbishop getting possession of it, upon view thereof and some complaints at Court against this Popish Booke, by the Right honourable Earle of *Pembroke*, and other well-affected Courteours; thereupon to colour his owne and his Chaplaines practicall knavery, in Licensing and promoting this Booke, by laying all the blame and punishment upon others, and the poor Printer *Oakes*, (who complained against it, and would have stopped it at the Presse) & to give som shew of satisfaction to the people much offended at the printing of this Popish Booke, especially in that nick of time, when he had brought Dr. *Bastwick*, *Mr. Burton*, & *Mr. Pryne* into the Star-chamber for charging him with introducing Popish Doctrines and Innovations into our Church; caused his Majesty to publish this following Proclamation, for calling in and burning the said booke; wherein he falsely suggested to his Majesty, and his Subjects; that his Chaplaine purged out diverse Passages therein tending to Popery, which the Stationer and Translator afterwards inserted againe, when as there was no such thing: but his Chaplaine licensed all of them at first, and would not purge them out at last, when *Oakes* complained of them; The Proclamation was this.

By the King.

A Proclamation for calling in a Booke, entituled,
An Introduction to a Devout life, and that the same
be publickly burnt.

VV Hereas a Booke, entituled, *AN INTRODUCTION TO A DEVOUT LIFE*, was lately printed by *Nicholas Oakes* of London, and many of them published and dispersed throughout the Realme, the Copy of which Booke being brought to the Chaplaine of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury

Canterbury for Licence and allowance, was by him, upon diligent perusal, in sundry places expunged and purged of divers passages therein tending to Popery: Nevertheless the same Book, after it was so amended and allowed to be printed, was corrupted and falsified by the Translator and Stationer, who betwene them inserted againe the same Popish and unsound passages: And the Stationer is now apprehended, and the Translator sought for to be proceeded against according to Justice.

His Majesty, out of His pious and constant care, to uphold and maintaine the Religion professed in the Church of England in its purity, without Error or Corruption, Doth therefore hereby declare His Royall Will and pleasure to be, and doth straighly Charge and Command all persons, of what degree, quality, or condition soever, to whose hands any of the said Bookes are, or shall come, that without delay they deliver or send them to the Bishop, or Chancellor of the Diocese, whom His Majestie requireth to cause the same to be publickly burnt, (as such of them as have beene already seized on, have beene by His Majesties expresse Commande) And to this His Majesties Royall Pleasure, he requireth all his loving Subjects to yeeld all due Conformity and Obedience, as they will avoid the censure of high Contempt.

God save the KING.

Given at Our Court at White-hall, the fourteenth yeare of Our Reigne.

Vpon this Proclamation, some few of these Bookes were seized, and publickly burnt in Smithfield; the poore Printer Oakes imprisoned divers Monthes, almost to his utter undoing, though he proved, he complained of it to Doctor Haywood who commanded him to proceed; but the Stationer was brought Ore tennis, to the Star-Chamber, and charged with the insertion of the Popish Passages after the Doctor had expunged them, which he denied; where the Archbishop made a Speech to cleare himselfe and his Chaplaine, in which there was not one word of truth; after which the Stationer was ordered to be committed to Prison, and to find out the Translator, which he affirming he could not do if he were imprisoned, thereupon his imprisonment was respited, and no further examination had of this foule businesse, then to cleare the Archbishop and his Chaplaine by this devise: in the meane time Mr. Prynnes Crosse Bill, which truly related all the carriage of the businesse, was suppressed, that so the truth of it (which he then could & would have manifested by sundry punctuall witnesses had he been permitted) might never come to publike knowledge to the Archbishops and his Chaplaines shame, who abused his Majesty and the People with false representations of this businesse: which was now charged, proved and testified against him at the Barre by Mr. Prynne, Mistresse Oakes, Michasell Sparke Senior, and others to his shame.

* John Lan-
spurgius a
Cathu sian.

The Epistle to a devout Soul, written by a * Friar & then newly translated into English, was licenced, the selfe same day for the same Stationer, that Sales book was being as full of Popery as it; vvhich Mr. Prynne likewise charging in his Crosse Bill; thereupon some of the Bookes were seized by the Stationers and the rest vented in private. But Sales, to make the Papists ammends, was soone after reprinted here withall the Popery in it, and sould publickly without restraint, notwithstanding his Majesties Proclamation, which was but a meere Pageant, and devise of the Archbishops, to cleare himselfe and his Chaplaine.

A Catalogue
of Popish
Doctrines,
Positions, Er-
rors, licented
and Printed,
by the Arch-
bishops and
his Chaplaines
meance.

Having thus given you a summary Catalogue of the Popish Bookes, Sermons licenced and published by him, his Chaplaines and Agents, we shall next present you with a List or Extract of the severall Popish Errors, Doctrines, Positions, Paradoxes authorized and maintained in them, most of them so grosse, so execrable, that they never durst appeare in any of our Impressions from the infancy of Reformation, till this Arch-Prelate became their Patriot. We shall begin with *Auricular Confession*, and the power of Priests to remit sinnes, the summe whereof is this.

1. That Priests have not only a Ministeriall, but an Authoritative and Judiciall Power to remit sins confessed; And that we ought frequently, to confesse our sins to our Priests and Confessors, at least once every Month, especially in Lent.

We

We read in the *Popes Nuncio*, compiled by the Venetian Ambassador (concerning the Negotiation of Signior Panzanioes p. 12.) That an English Doctor told Panzanioes friend, that the King did approve of Auricular Confession, was willing to introduce it: and would use force to make it received, were it not for feare of Sedition amongst the people. Certainly all who shall read these ensuing authorized passages touching Auricular confession of Sins to Priests, Confessors, & of Priests not only Ministeriall, but Iudicial Power to remit sinnes; will undoubtedly beleive, that at least our Popish Priests, Prelates, and this Archbishop in particular, had a plotted resolution, to introduce Auricular confession, and set up an Authoritative Iudicial power in Priests to receive confessions and remit sinnes confessed in all his Majesties Dominions. The Passages to this purpose are these.

Admontagues Gagge, p. 78. 83. 84. It is confessed, that all Priests, and none but Priests have power to forgive sinnes. It is confessed, that private confession unto a Priest is of very ancient practise in the Church, we urge it and perswade it in *extremis ut supra*: we require it in case of perplexity, and likewise before the receiving of the Lords Supper, according to which Doctrine and Injunction our Bishops do, or should enquire of it in their Visitation, touching the use and neglect of this so good an order.

NOTE.

VVhich he thus seconds in his *Appeale*: p. 299. My words are, It is confessed that private confession unto a Priest is of very Ancient practise in the Church, of excellent use and benefit being discreetly handled. We refuse it to none if men require it, if need be to have it, we urge and perswade it in *extremis*. We require it in case of perplexity, for the quieting of men disturbed in their consciences; This is my Popery *per partes*, for warrant whereof I bring my witnesse and authority, the Injunction, direction and practise of the Church, and of the Bishops accordingly in the Church, that which their Mother holy Church, hath commanded in that sort, and case to be observed *pag. 312*. Priests have power not only to pronounce, but to give remission of sinnes, which seemeth to be the Doctrine of the Communion Book in the Visitation of the sicke where the Priest saith, And by his Authority committed unto me, I absolve thee from all thy sinnes, It is Justifiable, it is the Doctrine and practise of the Church of England.

Pag. 315. 316. (Informers) it is confessed that all Priests and none but Priests, have power to forgive sinnes. And is it not so confessed, when by publique warrant in ordination that power is given unto all Priests to doe soe in those solemne words of Ordination, whose sinnes you forgive, they are forgiven, &c. But with you Puritans this Doctrine and practice of the Church is held to bee Popery. And here you inferre, that Priests have no more power to do this than Laymen, here you cast confession upon both one and other; and Laymen may heare it aswell as a Priest, and therefore it is probable, you will not be very precise for Absolution to conferre it on a Layman as well as on a Priest, But such absolution is a part of that Priestly power which could not be given by men or Angels, but onely and immediatly by Almighty God himselfe; a part of that Paramount power which the God of Glory hath invested mortall men withall, in which respect it hath been said and not otherwise, the head of the Emperor hath beene subjected to the Priests hands. Priests onely have this Commission from Christ unto whom he said, As my father sent me, so send I you, and receive you the Holy-Ghost; whose sinnes you remit they are remitted. And in his *Originum Ecclesiasticarum, Tomi prioris, Pars posterior, p. 464. to 470.* Printed at London. 640. he largely asserts, *Sacerdotes remittunt peccata: quomodo? Non annuntiative tantum, aut optative, SED AUTHORITATIVE*, as he briefly expresseth himselfe in his *Index* thereunto.

This Popish Doctrin of his, with some additions, touching confession of sins to Priests & their power to remit them, was publikly justified by M. Sparrow, in a Sermon preached by him in St. Maries church in Cambridg, for which he being questioned by the Vice-Chancellor, Posted up to London, to the Archbishop & his Chaplaines for sanctuary, and procuring his Sermon to be there forthwith Licensed and printed, he hereupon

turned in triumph to Cambridge, to the great griefe and discouragement of the Protestant, but extraordinary encouragement of the Popish party there: In which Sermon of his touching Confession, we find these Popish passages.

NOTE.

Page. 10. *Our Confession must be integra & perfecta, not by halfe, All our sins must be confessed, omnia venialia, omnia mortalia*, pag. 14. 15. Thus have we seene the nature of Confession, and by that learn how to confesse, *sed ubi Confessarius?* where is a Confessor all this while? where is any to take our Confessions? here is none in the Text to confesse to, if we had a mind to it: None indeed expressly named, but here is one plainly enough described: here is one that can pardon our finnes, would you know who this he is: I even I saith God, am he who bloteth out all your iniquities, to him even to him let us confesse: be sure this is necessary, and no pardon to be hoped for, unles we confesse to him at least; But there is another Confessor that would not be neglected, *Qui confiteri vult ut inveniat gratiam, quarat Sacerdotem* saith St. Augustine: He that would be sure of pardon, let him seeke out a Priest, and make his humble confession to him: for God who alone hath the prime and originall right of forgiving finnes hath delegated the Priests his Judges here on earth, and given them the power of absolution, so that they can in his name forgive the Sinnes of those that humbly confesse unto them, but is not this blasphemy, said the Scribes once; is it not Popery say some with us now? Take the Councell that is given in *Iob: cap. 8. v. 8. enquier of the former Generations, aske the Fathers and they shall tell thee*, Heaven waites and expects the Priests sentence here on earth, for the Priest sits Judge on earth, the Lord followes the servant, and what the servant bindes or looseth here on earth, *clavis non errante*, that the Lord confirms in Heaven: Words so cleare for the Juditiary formall absolution, of the Priest, as nothing can be said more plaine. Please you next to enquire of Saint *Ierome*, who is said to be the Patron of that opinion, that holds the Priests power barely declarative, and so indeed none at all, yet he speakes home in his Epistle *ad Heliodorum*, &c. pag. 16. Heare what St. Gregory the great saith, The Apostles and in them all Priests were made Gods vicegerents on earth, in his name to retaine and forgive sinns, not declaratively only but juditiially; *Animarum Iudices fiunt*, as he goes on, they are made the judges of the Soules of men, casting the obstinate down to the gates of Hell, by the feareful power of Excommunication, and lifting the penitent into Heaven by the blessed power of absolution, whatsoever sinns ye remit, &c. here is plainly a power of remitting sinns not by preaching, as some expound it, nor by Baptizing as others guesse, &c. pag. 18. Confesse also to the Priest, if not in private in the eare, since that is out of use; *male aboletur*, saith a devout Bishop, 'tis almost quite lost, the more the pity: yet however, confesse as the Church appointed, publikely &c.

NOTE.

Doctor Pocklington (who among other Popish Errors which he maintained long since in Cambridge, justified, *Auricular Confession* to Priests) hath divers short passages tending to the same effect in his late published Popish scandalous book intituled, *Altare Christianum*, (set forth by the Archbishops Command and licenced by Dr. Bray his househould Chaplaine) pag. 24. To the Chancell belonged the Vestry, Lavatory, Repository; and *Relcinatories for hearing of Confessions*. How prone those who confessed their finnes to Priests were to receive absolution from them, hee thus expresseth in the same Booke pag. 143. Their Penitents used *adgeniculari*, to fall downe upon their knees; *taking absolution before the Altars*.

Old dotting Shelford, who in the Title of his *Treatises* (which he presented to the Archbishop) stiles himselfe a Priest, to make himselfe more fit to say Masse and heare Confession, vvrites thus pag. 71. 119. *Then they confessed their sins to God and their Minister; for spirituall comfort and Conncell. &c. Confession and absolution is flat Popery with such, and all is superstition save a Sermon from the spirit, &c.*

Christopher Dow a great favorite of the Archbishops; in his late Authorized book against Mr. Burton, intituled, *Innovations unjustly charged*, determines thus: Page 55.

To advise and urge the use and profit of private Confession to the Priest, is no Popish Innovation, but agreeable to the Constant, and resolved Doctrine of this Church. And of any

any shall call it *Auricular*, because it is done in private, and in the care of the Priest, I know not why he should therefore be condemned of Popery.

But this Doctrinall Popery is more clearly and fully expressed in a Booke written in Latine by *John Lanspergius*, a Carthusian Fryar, translated into English, Licensed for the Presse, by Dr. Baker and printed at London for *Will. Brooks*, 1637. intituled, *Christs Epistle to a Devoute soule*, p. 237. Thou shalt do well every month, (once at least) to confesse thy sins Sacramentally, & to receive the Sacrament of my blessed body, and this thou mayest do also upon speciall festivall dayes, as upon the feast of my Resurrection, at Pentecost also, and at the Assumption of my blessed Mother; and at the joyfull Feast of all my Saints, &c.

P. 246. Promise thy Obedience herein to thy Confessor, or to some other man, that feareth me, &c. Pag. 251. Thou must confesse thy sinnes often to an approved Confessor.

Pag. 252. Say some devoute prayer, or doe some greater pennance, as thou and thy spirituall Director shall thinke fit, &c.

This was seconded by another Booke licensed by Doctor *Haywood* the Archbishops Popish Chaplaine, the selfe same day that *Christs Epistle* was, by Doctor *Baker*, and for the same party (Books) compiled by a Popish Bishop of Geneva, called *Francis Sales*, translated into English by a Jesuite, and intituled, *An Introduction to a devout life*, where thus we read.

Pag. 22. Confesse often, and choose a Confessor of Learning and discretion, &c.

Pag. 66. Shalt thou have leasure to confesse thee, or not? shalt thou have the Assistance of thy spirituall guide or not? Alasse O my Soule, &c.

P. 210. Of holy Confession: Our Saviour hath left in his Church, the holy Medicine and balsome of Confession or Pennance, that in it we may wash away all our sinnes.

Pag. 210. Confesse thy selfe humbly and devoutly once every moneth, and ever before thou communicatest if it be possible, although thou feele not thy Conscience charged with guilt of any great sinne: for by Confession thou dost not only receive absolution of the Veniall sinnes which thou mayest then confesse, but also great force, and vigour to avoyd them hereafter.

Pag. 212. Make not those superfluous accusations which many doe of Custome, I have not loved God so well as I ought, &c. for so thou bringest nothing in particular, that may make thy Confessor to understand the state of thy Conscience.

Pag. 214. Thinke it not enough to confesse thy Veniall sinns, but accuse thy selfe also of the motive, &c.

Pag. 215. Wee must then confesse the particular fact, the motive and continuance of our sinnes.

Pag. 216. Spare not to tell plainly whatsoever is requisite; to declare purely the quality of thine offence, as the cause, subject or occasion.

Pag. 218. Change not lightly or easily thy Confessor, but having made choice of a sufficient one, continue constantly rendring him account of thy Conscience on the dayes and times appointed, opening to him freely and plainly the sinnes thou hast committed from time to time, and monthly, or from two moneths to two moneths: tell him likewise of the State of thy Inclinations though thou hast not sinned by them, whether thou bee given to over-much mirth, or desirous of gaine, or such like inclinations.

Here wee have Confession and Confessors served up to the highest pitch of Popery by Popish Authors, printed in Lond. with publike Authority by the Archbishops and his Chaplaines speciall License.

Wee shall conclude with Dr. *Cosens Devotions*, Intituled the *Howes of Prayer* printed at London 1627. The precepts of the Church: Fifth to receive the blessed Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, with frequent Devotion, and three times a yeare at least, of which times Easter, to be alwayes one. And for better preparation thereunto, at occasion is, to disburden and quiet our Consciences of those sinnes that may grieve us, or scruples, that may trouble us, to a Learned, and discrete Priest, and from him to receive advice, and the benefit of absolution. And Pag. 25. A devout manner of preparing ourselves to receive Absolution.

NOTE.

Master Adams
Case.

How stilly this Doctrine of Auricular Confession and Priests power of absolution, was maintained, not only in print and Pulpit, but in private Conferences by the Archbishops Creatures, and Heads of Houses in the Vniversity of Cambridge, will appeare by this memorable instance. On Sunday the 25. of June 1637. one Master Adams preaching publikely in Saint Maries Church in Cambridge before the Vniversitie on *Iohn 20. 23. whosoever finnes yee remit they are remitted, &c.* used these exorbitant Popish assertions touching Confession of finnes to Priests. That a speciall Confession unto a Priest (actually where time or opportunity presents it selfe, or otherwise in explicite intention, and resolution) of all our finnes committed after Baptisme, so farre forth as wee doe remember, is necessary unto salvation, in the judgement of Fathers, Schoolmen, and almost all Antiquity, not onely *Necessitate precepti*, but also *necessitate medij*, so that according to the ordinary, or revealed meanes appointed by Christ, there can be no salvation without the aforesaid Confession. That Christ intended this Confession of our finnes in speciall before the Priest, for a necessary meane to bring us to salvation; and to frustrate his intention or will though misconceits, what were it but an argument no lesse of indiscretion, then of madness and impiety? That God being an Enemy to all sinne, will not pardon any, if we willingly conceale but one in our Confession to the Priest. That Confession is as necessary to salvation, as the Ministry of Baptisme; as necessary to salvation as meat is to the Body. That since Christ ordained a Tribunall seat of Judgment, where sins should be remitted or retained at the discretion of a lawfull Minister, (as was evident by the Text he did) then *WITHOUT DOUBT*, twas his intention, that the faithfull should necessarily confesse all their sins before the Priest, so farre forth as they remember, for the purchasing of his pardon and remission. This he averred to bee (as hee conceived) the Doctrine of the Church of England contained in our Lyturgie. That Confession is a duty of farre more antiquity and extent then ever Popery was, in regard twas instituted by our Saviour, practised by the Apostles, the Holy Fathers and all succeeding Ages; and therefore though the Papists use it, it is not, it cannot be, as some would have it, *A point of Popery*. What, shall their Errors in some Tenets prejudice the Truth in this? What shall we refuse the Grape because the stalk is withered? This were a Puritanicall, a Novatian nicity. I never heard of any thing but a foolish Cock that ever refused a Gemme, though in a Dung-hill: and surely those that reject so speciall a means of their salvation, as Confession is, meerly because tis practised by the Papists, may not unfitly be said to weare his badge. The whole Sermon was to this effect. Dr. Ward, Doctor Love, Dr. Brownrig, and Doctor Holdsworth, tooke exceptions against this Sermon, as scandalous and Popish; Whereupon Master Adams was convented for it before the Vice-Chancellour and Heads, who both required and perused the Copy of his Sermon: which done, the Vice-Chancellour, Doctor Brownrig, drew up this ensuing Recantation, which hee enjoined him to make in publike, to give satisfaction to those his Sermon had scandalized.

Whereas, &c. On Sunday the 25. of June last, in my publike Sermon on these words (St. Iohn 20. 23. *whose sins yee remit, they are remitted, and whose sins yee retaine they are retained;*) I delivered this doctrine, That a speciall Confession unto a Priest (actually, where time or opportunitie presents it selfe, or otherwise in explicite intention and resolution) of all our finnes committed after Baptisme, so farre forth, as we doe remember, is necessary unto salvation, not onely *necessitate precepti*, but also *necessitate medij*; so that according to the Ordinance, or revealed meanes appointed by Christ, there can bee no salvation without the aforesaid Confession; upon more mature thoughts, and better information, I doe find that this Doctrine then delivered, was both erroneous, and dangerous, having not warrant from the Word of God, and crossing the doctrine of our Church, as may appeare by her Lyturgie in the second exhortation at the Communion, and in the Visitation of the sicke, and in the second part in the Homily of Repentance: As therefore in generall, I doe acknowledge

ledge in the words of the aforesaid Homily, that it is most evident, and plaine, that this Auricular Confession hath not his warrant of Gods Word, & that therefore being not led with the conscience thereof, if we with feare and trembling, and with a true contrite heart use that kind of confession, which God doth command in his word, (namely an unfeigned confession unto Almighty God himselfe) then doubtlesse (as he is faithfull and true) hee will forgive us our sinnes, and make us cleane from all our wickednesse, so in the case of a troubled, or doubtfull conscience, I do conforme my opinion unto the direction of our Church, which in her Liturgie doth exhort, and require those whose Consciences are troubled with any weighty matter to a speciall confession, so that they who cannot quiet their owne Consciences; are to repaire to their owne, or some other discreet and learned Minister of Gods word, to open to them their griefe, that so they may receive such ghostly Counsell, advise and comfort, as their consciences may be relieved, and by the ministry of Gods word, they may receive comfort, and the benefit of absolution, to the quieting of their Conscience, and the avoyding of all scruple and doubtfullnesse. But it is against true Christian liberty, that any man should be bound to the numbring of his Sinnes, as it hath beene used heretofore in times of Ignorance and blindnesse. This I do acknowledge to be the Doctrine of the Church of England concerning Confession, and to it I do *ex animo*, subscribe, and am heartily sorry for what ever I have delivered to the contrary.

Mr. Adams being backed by the Popish Heads refused to make this Recantation, though just and faire; professing he was not conscious to himselfe of any thing he had said in his Sermon contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of England: Whereupon at a full meeting of the Doctors, it was put to the Vote, Whether this Recantation should be enjoyned him or no? Dr. Ward, Dr. Bambridge, Dr. Bachcroft, Dr. Love, Dr. Holdsworth, and the Vicechancellor, voted, he should make this Recantation, but Dr. Collins, Dr. Smith, Dr. Cumber, Dr. Cosin, Dr. Lany, Dr. Martin, Dr. Sterne, and Dr. EDEN Voted, that hee should not make it, justifying even the use and necessity of Confession, to a Priest, *necessitate medij*, to obtaine absolution; and affirming, that they would not Vote, Master Adams had delivered any thing contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of England, in this point, of Confession; and thereupon acquitted him: But the Vice-chancellor adjourning the businesse till another day, when 12. Doctors only were present, and Dr. Smith, Dr. Cumber, Dr. Martin, and Dr. Eden (who formerly acquitted him) absent, by the helpe of Dr. Paske his voyce, with much opposition, voted that Mr. Adams should make the forementioned Recantation; to which hee and those who Voted with him subscribed their hands; Dr. Cosin, Dr. Lany, Dr. Beale, Dr. Sterne, and one more, subscribed likewise their dissents thereunto. When this was done all was done, and Mr. Adams without making any submission or Recantation at all, was dismissed, and so encouraged, that he resolved to maintain this his opinion in his Act questions. The whole proceedings in this businesse, together with the Copy of Mr. Adams his Sermon, and the Recantation forementioned, were sent up to London by Dr. Cosin, and found by Mr. Prynn in the Archbishops Study, endorsed with his owne hand thus, Received Mach. 16. 1637. Doctor Cosins his Letter about the proceedings of Brownrig Vicechancellor of Cambridge against Mr. Adams for his Sermon about Confession, January 25. 1637. &c. Who instead of censuring, concurred with Dr. Cosins, and the other Popish Doctors in protecting and justifying Mr. Adams in his grosse Popish Doctrines of Auricular Confession and Absolution, which he endeavoured with all his might to introduce. And no wonder, for in his owne Diary, he writ this memoriall with his owne hand. June 15. 1632 I became CONFESSOR to the Lord of Buckingham, and June 16. being Trinity Sunday, he received the Sacrament at Greenwich. And all Courtiers know, that hee was since for many yeates, not only a privy Councillor, but Confessor to his Majesty; at least Commonly so reputed; which made him so earnest to bring all others under the yoke of Confession, since he had brought these Grandees under it. Yea so farre had this Popish Tenet of the necessity of Confession and absolu-

NOTE.

tion by Priests, prevailed among us by these authorized Bookes and Sermons generally preached for them; that Bithop Mounsague in his Printed Visitation Articles for the Diocese of Norwich, Anno 1638. made it a crime presentable in Ministers, not to presse the Doctrine and practise of it upon the people, *least-wise in the holy time of Lent; as appears by this memorable Article of his.*

NOTE. Tit. 7. Artic. 4. *Doth the Minister especially exhort the Parishoners TO MAKE CONFESSION OF THEIR SINNES TO HIMSELFE, or some other learned grave and discreet Minister, ESPECIALLY IN LENT, against the holy time of Easter, that they may receive comfort and ABSOLVTION, so to become worthy receivers of such holy mysteries?*

How farre the Archbishops Agents and Emissaries urged, exercised Popish Auricular Confession, not only in England, but Ireland too, we shall instance but in one memorable example. The Archbishop in his Paper of Remembrances to the Lord Deputie of Ireland, when he first went over thither, (a Copy whereof Master Prynn met with in his Study) made this speciall request to him, in behalfe of one Mr. Croxton, a young Minister and Creature of his: *I heartily pray your Lordship to take notice of one Mr. Croxton, whom I send over with your letters to my Lord Mount Norris. I hope he will prove so honest and so able a man, as may do good service in those parts, if God bleesse him with life. And I doubt not but as it shall fall in your way, Your Lordship will bestow some preferment upon him, for his maintenance, for which I shall thanke you.* This Croxton arriving in Ireland, the Lord Deputy upon this recommendation of the Archbishop, received him with all due respect, and promoted him to severall Ecclesiasticall preferments there, as appears by his Letters of thanks to the Archbishop; wherein he gives him the Popes Titles (*Holineesse, and most holy Father*) as if he were a Pope: This Croxton being thus advanced, to promote the Archbishops designs, at Easter, in the Yeare, 1638. caused all his Parishoners to come up to the High-Altar at Goran, where hee was Incumbent; and there Sacramentally to make their Confessions to him; which the Protestants in those parts deemed a most strang and scandalous act, declaiming much against it: Yet this audacious Popel in knowing how acceptable this Popish Innovation was to the Archbishop, the more to ingratiate himselfe in his favour, in a vaunting manner, certified His Grace by a speciall Letter of all his proceedings herein, wherein he thanks God, for enabling him in some good measure, to effect that there, which other able men had only sufficiently spoken of (but not accomplished) elsewhere: & likewise boasts of his solitary opposition of the Archbishop of Armagh, and the whole Convocation at Dublin, in the points of Election and Gods Decree, when the Articles of Ireland were in a violent manner suppressed, and called in by his Graces procurement; making the signe of the Crosse in the frontispeece of his Letter as the Popish Priests and Jesuites use to doe in all their Letters one to another: Which Letter (found in this Archbishops Study at Lambeth, and attested by Master Prynn,) was openly read at the Lords Barre in forme ensuing.

My LORD.

NOTE

IN humblest manner I begge your graticus acceptance of this just as necessary duty; whilst I make an unquestionable relation of that which so nearely concernes my ielfe. To provide the best I could for the more worthy receiving of the holy Communion this last Easter, I have (I thanke God for it) beene able in some measure, to do that here which able men have sufficiently spoken of else-where, I have Sacramentally heard the Confessions of the people Committed to my Charge in Goran, (a certaine through-fare towne in the County of Kilkenny, in the Chancell, they kneeling before the Altar.

This is every where now counted a most strange Act, without all warrant: sayes bold ignorance, there is no president for it; saies the Divill, Envie, and double blinded malice, tis as voyd of Law as full of singularity, So unbidden, so unled did I once protest against that horrible decree obruded (as it was received from Calvine) by the Archbishop of Armagh, and the whole body of this Kingdomes Cler-

gy then Assembled in the Convocation at *Dubline*, that I stood then alone, that no man then stood by me, when I made that Protestation; I appeale to the not yet forgotten so eloquent, so godly, so very leaud, railing, curling Censure upon that occasion publicly delivered, by one that was then called *Chancellor Sing*, since Deane of *Drummore*, the Lord Bishop of *Derris* and Master of the Rolls were not many houres ignorant of the very words by the then Chancellor and now Deane, then and there uttered.

The luckie opportunity of a trustie Messenger, a servant to the Earle of *Ormond* and Chirurgian to his Troop, by name *Michaell Oxenbridge*, with the just conscience of my dutie on this behalfe emboldens me thus humbly to pray for such acceptance in a Cause most acceptable, as may yet make the person of the poore receiver, more worthy to be accepted.

NOTE.

Goran, Aprill 18.

1638.

Your Graces most devoted

James Croxton.

To the most Reverend Father in God, *William* by the Divine providence, Lord Archbishop of *Canturbury*, Lord Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*.

This Letter was thus endorsed with the Archbishops owne hand: Received July 6. 1638. Mr. Croxton his receiving of Confession.

BY which it is most apparent, that the introducing of Auricular Confession was a speciall designe of the Archbishops, prosecuted by his Emissaries and Creatures in all places; who gave him exact accounts of their proceedings herein, the more to endear themselves in his favour. To what end these Doctrines and practises of Auricular Confession and Priests absolution were thus urged, Master *William Tyndall*, in his *Practise of Popish Prelates, and Obedience of a Christian man*, (with other Protestant Writers) will informe us, to wit; to enslave the Laity to the Clergie; to advance the Priest above the King, the Myter above the Scepter; the Ecclesiasticall Tribunall above the Secular; to fish out all mens secrets, to awe and keepe them under bondage, and accomplish all their owne designs upon them with more facility, as they doe in Popish Kingdomes, where such Confessions and Absolutions are in use. Having thus done with this Arch-Priests Master-Peece, Confession, and the power of Priests to remit sinnes confessed, wee shall proceed to that which depends upon it, and must have necessarily followed on it, to the great oppression of the ignorant seduced people; that is,

2. The use of Popish Penances, as wearing of haire-cloth, and such like corporall punishments enjoined by Priests for sinnes Confessed, with intention to satisfie God thereby for the sinnes confessed, lately pressed, as lawfull, profitable, commendable. NOTE.

The use and lawfulness hereof (never heard of nor maintained in our Church since Reformation till this Archbishops Domination) is thus pressed, justified, commended in these ensuing authorized bookes.

Christs Epistle to a Devout soule, pag. 252. Enjoine thy selfe for thy Pennance to say some devout prayer, or to doe some greater Pennance, as thou and thy spirituall Director shall thinke fit.

Francis Sales his *Introduction to a Devout Life*, pag. 131. Recompence (this losse) at least by multiplying Jaculatory prayers, and by reading some books of Devotion with some voluntary Pennance or other, for committing this fault.

The

Pag. 209. The soveraigne balsome of Confession or penance.

Pag. 428. Disciplining the body likewise hath a marvellous efficacy to stir up in us desire of devotion, when it is moderately used: Haire-Cloath tames the flesh verie much: upon the principall dayes of penance, one may well use it with the advise of a discreet Confessor.

NOTE.

Dr. *Pocklington's Altare Christianum*, p. 42. writes thus, The first Room is called the Church-Porch where penitents used to stand, or rather to cast themselves downe, and in humble manner to desire the faithfull to pray for them as they went into the Church: after Delinquents had perfectly fulfilled their penance, they were reconciled to the Sacraments, and communicated: This distinction of places in the Church is very ancient and observed even from the Apostles times.

Pag. 44. This man after penance done for this fault was admitted into the Church againe.

Pag. 52. Cap. 10. Of dayes of penance and absolution, Citizens penance.

P. 54. None that had fallen into any notorious crime were admitted againe into the Church before they had done open penance in Sack-cloth and Ashes: *Cerdan* was not received into the Church before he had performed his penance: *Exomologesis faciens*.

Pag. 55. In what sort penitents performed their penance and made Confession, the Act it selfe will discover.

This *Exomologesis* giveth law both to our food and rayment, *sacco & cinere incubare*; and ordereth men to lye in Sack-Cloth and Ashes to humble your selves before the Priest, and to fall downe upon the knees before Gods Altars, to sue unto all Brethren for their prayers in their behalfe, *Hæc omnia exomologesis*: penance worketh all this.

P. 56. Feeling nothing but rough Sack-Cloth, galling the sides, seeing nothing but head, hands, face, cloaths, covered over with ashes; have nothing to be seene but a pale face, thinne cheekes and a meagre looke, and this continued two, three, sometimes foure yeares together, before *perfectiorem suam reciperent*.

P. 57. Hereupon the Bishops made an addition to the Ecclesiasticall Canon, that in every Church a Penitentiary shold be appointed to admit penitents into the Church, after they had done publike penance: A solemn day was set a part for taking of publike penance for open faults, by imposition of hands, and sprinkling of ashes, namely, *Ashwednesday*, by the Canon of the Councell of *Agatha in Gratian*, This is the godly Discipline whereof our Church speaketh in the Commination, of putting notorious sinners to open penance in the beginning of Lent, and wisheth that it might bee restored againe: And as *Ashwednesday* was appointed for putting notorious sinners to open penance, so was *MAUNDAY* Thursday set a part for their absolutions.

P. 59. The godly discipline constantly practised in Churches and at Altars, and the sad and melancholly mention of Penance, Fasting and Prayer, with other Austerities, which the pietie of the times have but just cause to thinke of.

P. 63. This was done 40. dayes before *Easter* namely on *Ashwednesday* in Sack-Cloth and Ashes: And for 8. dayes together before *Easter* they were to doe penance, to fast, to refraine all manner of pleasures though never so lawfull, to stand bare foot upon Sack-cloth, and to watch on Good-Friday all night, or at least till two a Clock in the morning.

NOTE

Shelfords five Treatises, Pag. 71. Then they confessed their sinnes to God and their Minister for spirituall comfort and Councell, then they endeavoured to make the best temporall satisfaction they could by Almes, Prayer and Fastings, and other workes of humiliation.

The Scots New Service Booke in the Commination against sinners, with certaine prayers to bee used diverse times in the yeare, and especially on the first day of Lent, commonly called *Ashwednesday*: To which there is this addition in justification of *Papish* penance, made with the Arch-Bishops owne hand.

Brethren

Brethren in the Primitive Church, there was a godly discipline used, that at the beginning of Lent notorious sinners were put to open Penance, and did humbly submit themselves to undergoe punishment in this world, that their soules might be saved in the day of the Lord.

All which is thus closed up by Bishop Mountague; who after a long discourse in Justification, of Confession and Penance, concludes thus, out of Pope Leo.

Originum Ecclesiasticarum, Tomi Prioris pars posterior. Londini, 1640. Pag. 467. Sect. 33. Christus enim (ut cum B. Leone loquar) Ecclesia Propositis potestatem dedit, ut & Confitentibus actionem penitentia darent, & eosdem SALUTARI SATISFACTIONE PURGARENT: & sic ad communionem Sacramentorum, per januam reconciliationis admitterent.

3. That we ought necessarily to give blinde Obedience to the Ecclesiasticall commands and directions of our Priests, Confessors, and spirituall Superiours.

This desperate Popish Assertion was published and justified in these Authorized printed passages, worthy our speciall observation.

Christs Epistle to a Devout Soule, pag. 112. 113. 114. 116. Respect not the man who by my Ordinance is thy superior, whether he be learned or unlearned: but have regard to this only that he is thy superior, by whom I will govern thee and in whom thou oughtest to obey me; Wherefore I would have thee subject thy selfe unto him without any servile feare, or scruple of thy Conscience, and dispraising thine owne wisdom and Councell submit thy selfe to be governd by his judgment and opinion whatsoever he shall determine or appoint thee. Walke in the path of Obedience, and doe nothing at all without the Counsell of thy Pastor, or Ghostly Father, or Superiour, esteeming that alwayes best which thy Superior shall thinke fittest, doe all things according to the councell of thy Superior, and submit thy selfe wholly to his will and discretion: And Page 192. my inspirations never disagree from the Obedience that thou must carry to thy superiours: therefore if thou submittest thy selfe to them, and reliest in no respect upon thy owne selfe, thou art sure to walke in simplicity and purity of heart.

Francis Sales his Introduction to a Devout Life, pag. 334. 335. Obedience, Charity, and Povertrie, are three excellent iustruments unto perfection: There are two sorts of Obedience, the one necessary, the other voluntary, by necessary obedience, thou must obey thy Ecclesiasticall Superiours, as the supream head, &c.

Which is thus seconded by *Christopher Dow*, in his Booke against Master Burton pag. 136. 137. Secondly, I say, that being done by the same Authority that first set them forth, it is neither for him, nor me, nor any other of inferiour rancke to question them, but with humble Reverence to submit to their judgments and to think them wiser and farre more fit to order those things that belong to their places, than wee, whom neither it concernes, nor indeed can know the reasons that move them either to doe or alter any thing, &c.

With whom Doctor *Heylyn* in his *Coale from the Altar*, p. 2. Thus complies in judgment; Should we all be so affected as to demurre on the commands of our Superior in matters of exterior Order and Publike Government, till wee are satisfied in the grounds and reasons of their commandements, or should we fly off from our duty at sight of every new devise that is offered to us, we should finde a speedy dissolution in Church and State.

Which Doctor *Pocklington* thus closeth in his *Altare Christianum*, pag. 180. What flood-gates this man sets wide open to let in a whole deluge of confusions, impiety, and Sacriledge into the Church, if the Contents of his Letter in this particular might obtaine, viz. That the Constitutions, Orders, Decrees appointed by Canon or renewed by TRADITION of holy Church, be not of absolute authority and require full obedience, but are to be scanned and disputed.

4. That Christians here must have Altars; that these ought to be rayled in Altarwise, at the East end of the Chancell, and there bowed to and towards as to Gods mercy seate, and the place of Christs chiefe real presence upon earth, and that there can be no true Sacrament or Consecration of it where there is no Altar.

This is the Subject matter of many whole Bookes lately published, authorized by the Archbishops Creatures and Chaplaines; as Doctor Heylyn's *Coale from the Altar*; his *Antidotum Lincolnense*, His Moderate answer to Master Henry Burton, pag. 132. to 140. yea a thing expressly enjoined by the Archbishop and others in the new Statutes for the University of Oxford, in the new Statutes of diverse Cathedrals, the new Canons and by diverse Bishops in their *Visitation Articles*, already mentioned. We shall therefore insist only on some other authorized Bookes and passages to this purpose.

Wee shall begin with Doctor John Pocklington, his *Sunday to Sabbath*, printed by the Arch-bishops approbation, and his Chaplaines license, p. 43. 44. 50.

'*Habemus Altare*, we under the Gospell have an Altar, Heb. 13. 10. and so is the Word Altar, and Lords Table indifferently and alike anciently used: these were some Tables or Altars of stone, *quia Christus est lapis angularis*: some were of Wood, the better to expresse his death on the Tree: these wooden Altars or Tables, the furious Circumcellions brake downe in Saint Augustines time: And if we doe not only bend or bow our bodie to this blessed Board, or holy Altar, but fall flat on our faces before his Footstool so soone as ever we approach in sight thereof, what Patriarch, or Apostle would condemne us for it?

Which he thus further prosecutes in his *Altare Christianum*, pag. 108. Humble and lowly Reverence towards the holy and most Sacred Altar, where Christ is most truly and really present in the blessed Sacrament; pag. 141. Was not the Altar set in *Sacrario*, or *Sancto Sanctorum*, whereunto the Priest ascended by certaine steps and degrees, and when they did so ascend, were there not Psalmes of degrees sang, called for that cause *Gradualls*? durst the Priests themselves ascend thither without doing lowly Reverence three severall times? Veneration towards the Altar was then required and practised, pag. 145. Priests in our Church at the Ordination kneell upon their knees before the holy Altar, then is given imposition of hands before the holy Altar, then the Bishop takes the holy Gospells from the holy Altar, &c. no Bishop was authorized before his Altar was consecrated, pag. 153. To warrant and justifie the bringing them in and due honouring of them because they are the seats and Chairs of estate, where the Lord vouchsafeth to place himselfe amongst us. *Quid est enim Altare nisi sedes corporis & sanguinis Christi?* p. 159. To come home to our Countrey, when the Author sees the Kings most Sacred Majestie, and the honourable Lords of the most Noble order of the Garter performe most low and humble Reverence to Almighty God before the most holy Altar, the Throne in earth of that great Lord from whom their honour proceedeth, pag. 160. *Deo atq; Altari reverentiam exhibuisse visi sunt. Domino Deo & ejus Altari prout facti debuerunt impenderent honorem, Summum Altare in honorem Dei debita genu-flexione reverentiaq; consalutabit.* p. 175. Honour and Reverence of right belongs unto it in regard of the presence of our Saviour whose Chaire of State it is upon earth. Nay he proceedes yet further, p. 75.

The Eucharist cannot be received among Heretiques, for the Elements must be consecrated before they become partakers of that Eucharist: this Heretikes could not then doe, *quia nec Altare nec Ecclesiam*, because they had neither Altar nor Church, for of necessitie sayes St. Cyprian, *Eucharistia in Altari sanctificatur*, the Eucharist is consecrated upon the Altar: If then this were true, which this unadvised man would make the Vicar believe, that there were no Altars nor Churches within 20. yeares after Christ, it must needs follow that the holy Eucharist was not received by any of the holy Martyrs and blessed Saints of God in all the primitive Church, or else that they did receive some kinde of Sacrament, that was not consecrated, for *Eucharistia*

in Altari sanctificatur is a ground in which he sets his rest, as the Fathers before him, and his successors ever did, P. 174. Saint Cyprian tells you, that the use of Altars is to sanctifie the *Eucharist* upon, and that without an Altar, it cannot be consecrated, and that therefore Heretiques have no Sacraments among them, because they have no Altars.

Edmond Reeve in his *Christian Divinity*, contained in the Divine Service of the Church of England, seconds him in these words p. 132 to 137. Unto the due honouring of Gods holy name the place where Gods name is put is to be honoured also, now also ought every one being come into Gods House to prostrate himselfe, i.e. to make low obeysance towards Gods mercy-seat being in the uppermost part of the Temple pag. 133. A great Divine in our Church (Mr. Dr. Laurence in his most weighty Sermons) thus writeth. Wee are no more Idolatrous by our prostration towards the Table of the Lord, than the Jewes were by theirs towards the Tabernacle of the Lord or the mercy-seat, pag. 134. Gods Board is to be accounted the peculiar seat of God within the Temple, and therefore towards it unto God, there we are to make low obeysance whensoever we come into Gods House for to pray. Gods board is ever to have due reverence, and God who is there perpetually, is alwayes to be prostrated unto: Should not Christianity teach us that no seat of any Person, much lesse of any of the Layty should be above Gods mercy-seat, the sacred Communion Tables? The sacred Communion Table is called an *Altar*, and it is also called Gods mercy-seat. Gods Board is ever to have due Reverence, and God who is there perpetually is alwayes to be prostrated unto; yea, when as the Body and Blood of Christ in the blessed Sacrament, is not upon the same.

Robert Shelford Priest in his *Five learned and pious discourses*, printed at Cambridge 1635. determines thus, p. 4. To this day all our Churches are called sanctuaries, as in many other *Regards*, so especially in regard of the Lords Table or high Altar at the upper end of them, which is Iesus Christs mercy seat, because there the memory of the everlasting sacrifice, is made and presented to the holy Trinity, pag. 15. Seest thou not the Son of Gods seat here, the holy Altar at the upper end of this House? Pag. 17. The 5. sort of Reverence befitting Gods House, is at the entring in before we take our seates to bend the Knee, and to bow our Body to him towards the more usuall and speciall place of his residence or resemblance, which is the high Altar or the Lords Table, usually standing at the East end of Gods House, *Idq; propter Christum qui est Lux Mundi, & Oriens nominatur, Zach. 6. 12. & ab oriente etiam expectatur venturus*, pag. 19. 20. The first reverence that you make, because the house is Gods and not mans, direct your aspect to Gods Table, which Saint Paul calls the *Lords Altar*, saying, *We have An altar whereof they have no right to eat which serve the Tabernacle*: this is the great signe of Gods residence in this holy place, as the Arck was the signe of his presence in his Tabernacle: here the great sacrifice of Christs death for our salvation, is in Remembrance represented to God the Father: and can we remember so great a benefit, and not reverence the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for it? I do not exhort you to give Divine worship to Gods Table, but to worship God towards it, for Gods Altar is not *terminativum cultus*, but *motivum* only; as Daniel being in Captivity turned his face towards Jerusalem when he prayed, but prayed not to it; thus if we come before God in his house with due reverence, then will he hold out his Golden Scepter of grace to us, as the great King *Ahasuerus* held out his to Queene *Ester*, but if we slight God in his owne place, and hee hold out his Iron Scepter to us, then let us be wise and learned.

Let us learne of our Mother Churches, for there our Reverend Fathers the Prelates and others make their reverence to God on this wise, both at their entry and returns: wherefore to follow their good and holy Patterne, we also are to doe the like, both at our first comming into Gods house, and at our going out, &c.

Sundry such Passages are to be found in many other new printed Pamphlers.

These Popish impious Innovations and practises being complained against by Mr. Burton and others in their Writings; this Archbishop not only justifies them in

* Num. 26.
Moses and
Aaron fell up-
on their fa-
ces at the doore
of the Taber-
nacle only for
to pray, not
to worship: Er-
go, we must
alwayes bow
to the Altar at
our approaches
to it, is no good
consequence:
but rather,
Ergo, we must
alwayes fall
on our faces
at and towards
the Church
doore, had bin
a better se-
quens.

privat, but in open Court in a premeditated printed Speech, at the censure of Doctor Bismick, Mr. Burton, and Mr. Prynne in Star-Chamber the 14. of June, 1637. there most inhumanly censured, only for opposing these and other Popish Innovations, In which Speech of his, P. 34. &c. he writes thus.

One thing sticks much in their Stomacks, and they call it an Innovation too: And that is, *bowing, or doing Reverence at our first coming in to the Church, or at our nearer approaches to the holy table, or the ALTAR* (call it whether you will) In which they will needs have it, *that we worship the Holy Table, or God knows what.* To this I answer, that if to worship God, when we enter into his House, or approach his Altar, be an Innovation, tis a very Old one, For (*) Moses did Reverence at the very Doore of the Tabernacle, &c. For my own part, I take my selfe bound to Worship with Body, as well as in Soule, when ever I come where God is worshiped. And were this Kingdome such as would allow no Holy Table standing in its proper place, (and such places some there are) yet I would worship God when I came into his House. And were the Times such, as should beat downe Churches, and all the curious carved worke thereof, with Axes and Hammers as in Psal. 74. (and such times have beene) yet would I Worship in what place soever I came to pray, though there was not so much as a stone laid for Bethell, but this is the misery, tis Superstition, now adayes for any man to come with more Reverence into a Church than a Tinker and his Butch come into an Ale-house: the Comparison is too homely, but my just indignation at the Profanenesse of the times makes me speake it.

The Altar stood without the Doore of the Tabernacle, and the Laver betweene it and the Tent, Exod 40. 7. 8. 29. 30. Therefore if Moses fell on his face at the Tabernacle doore, his worship was not with his face to, but from the Altar, and his bowing not towards, but fromwards it, quite crosse to your bowing.

* This solemnity and the bowing used in it is only civill, not Religious. 2ly. Peculiar to the Knights of this Order. Therefore no rule for others in matter of their worship.

And you my Honorable Lords of the Garter, in your greater solemnities you do your (*) Reverence unto Almighty God, I doubt not; but yet it is *versus Altare*, towards his Altar, as the (4) greatest place of Gods Residence upon earth; I say the greatest, yea greater then the Pulpit: For, there tis, *Hoc est Corpus meum*, this is my Body but in the Pulpit tis at most but, *Hoc est verbum meum*, this is my Word, And a (d) greater Reverence (no doubt) is (e) due to the Body, than to the word of our Lord, and so in Relation Answerable to the Throne where his body is usually present, than to the Seat, where his Word useth to be proclaimed: and God hold it there, at his word, for as too many men use the matter, tis *Hoc est verbum Diaboli*, this is the word of the Devill, in too many places. Witnesse sedition and the like to it. And this Reverence ye do, when ye enter the Chapell, and when you approach nearer to offer, and this is no Innovation, for you are bound to it, by your order, and thats not new. And Idolatry it is not to worship God towards his holy Table, for if it had beene Idolatry, I presume Queene Elizabeth and King James would not have practised it, no not in those solemnities: & being not Idolatry, but true Divine worship, you will, I hope give a poore Priest leave to worship God as your selves do; for, if it be Gods worship, I ought to do it as well as you, and if it be Idolatry, * you ought not to do it more then I. I say againe, I hope a [f] poore Priest may worship God with as lowly Reverence as you do, since you are bound by your Order, & by your Oathes, according to a constitution of Hen. the 5. (as appeares) to give due honour and Reverence [g] De-

(4) This is a
meere ground-
less fallacie,
God & Christ
being most
present in
the midst
of his peoples
hearts and
soules not on
the Altar. Mat.
18. 20. c. 28.
20. Eph. 4. 17.
Gal. 2. 20.
1 Cor. 6. 19. 20.
(d) Christs
body is not
God: nor his
naturall body
on the Altar:
but only the
Elements

which represent it Now Christs word makes the Bread his representative, not reall body, and the word, expresseth his Divinity, Iohn 1. 1. the Consecrated Bread, his Body and humanity only: Therefore our reverence is no doubt more due to his word than to his body. And so St. Augustine expressly resolves it to be as due to it HOMIL 26. *Interrogo vos fratres vel sorores, dicite mihi, quid vobis plus esse videtur, verbum Dei, an corpus Christi? si verum vultis respondere, hoc utique dicere debetis, quod non sit minus Verbum, quam corpus Christi, et ideo quanta sollicitudine observamus, quando nobis corpus Christi ministratur, ut nihil ex ipso de nostris manibus in terram cadat, tanta sollicitudine observamus, ne verbum Dei quod nobis erogatur, dum aliquid aut cogitamus aut loquimur de corde nostro pereat, quia non minus reus erit, qui Verbum Dei negligenter audierit, quam ille qui corpus Christi in terram cadere negligentia sua permisit.*

(e) Not so because not commended. * True we agree it. (f) You are no such, but a rich Arch-Prelate (g) This is in the Copulative, you give one and the same adoration, at the same time both to God and the Altar in one Act of bowing, without any distinction, Therefore you adore both alike with one and the same worship, and so give Divine worship to the Altar as well as to God, which is Idolatry; or but civill worship to God, not exceeding that you give to the Altar, which is dishonourable and superstitious at the best.

mino Deo, & Altari ejus, in modum virorum Ecclesiasticorum: that is, to the Lord your God, and to his Altar, (for there is a Reverence (*) due to that too, though such as comes farre short of Divine Worship) and this in that manner, as Ecclesiasticall persons both worship and do reverence: The story which led in this Decree is this: King Hen: the 5th. that Noble and Victorious Prince, returning gloriously out of France, sat at this solemnity, and finding the Knights of the Order scarce bow to God, or but sleightly, and then bow towards him and his seat, startled at it (being a Prince then growne as Religious as he was before Victorious) and after asking the Reason (for till then the Knights of the Order never bowed towards the King or his Seat) the Duke of Bedford Answered, it was settled by a Chapter Act three yeares before: hereupon the great King replied, No, He none of this, till you the Knights do it, satis bene, well enough, and with due performance to Almighty God. And hereupon the forenamed Act proceeded, that they should doe this dutie to Almighty God, not sleightly, but *ad modum virorum Ecclesiasticorum*, as low, as well, as decently as (a) Clergy-men use to doe it.

* You say but no wayes prove it.

Now if you will turne this off, and say, it was the superstition of that age so to do, (*) Bishop Jewell will come in to helpe me there: for where Harding names divers Ceremonies, and particularly, *bowing themselves, and adoring at the Sacrament*: I say Adoring at the Sacrament, not adoring the Sacrament; there Bishop Jewell, that learned painfull and Reverend Prelate, approves all, both the kneeling and the bowing, and the standing up at the Gospell (which as ancient as it is in the Church; and a common Custom, is yet fondly made another of their Innovations.) And further, the Bishop adds, *That they are all Commendable gestures and tokens of Devotion, so long as the people understand what they meane and apply them unto God.* Now with us, the People did ever understand them fully and * apply them to God; and to none but God; till these factious Spirits, and their like, to the great disservice of God, and his Church, went about to perswade them, that they are Superstitious, if not Idolatrous gestures, as they make every thing else to be where God is not served slovenly.

(a) Popish Monkes and Friars adoring the hostia and Altar in those blind times, were clearly both the ground and Patterne of this Altar-adoration, which this Arch-prelate would obtrude on us in these dayes of the Gospell. But theirs was Idolatrous, superstitious, Popish. Therefore this is such.

This fallacious ridiculous discourse and practise of Altar Bowing, being fully answered refuted in the Quench-Cole, in a Pleasant purge for a Roman Catholike, in the Marginall Annotations, and here formerly proved to be derived from the Papists (pag. 63. 64.) we shall proceed to other Doctrines of this Nature.

* Reply to Hardings Answer, Art. 3. Diu 29.

† Not the adoring which he mentions not.

* Your selfe and yours apply them to the Altar. Deo et Altari ejus, not to God onely.

Ergo in this you contradict your selfe.

3. That Iesus Christ and his Passion are offered up to God as a sacrifice in the Sacrament of the Altar; and that it is a Sacrifice, as well as a Sacrament.

WE shall begin with Bishop Mountagnos Visitation Articles; printed both at London and Cambridge, Anno 1638. Tit. 7. Num. 12. *If we will follow the course of the Ancient primitive Apostolicall Church, we ought not to traduce or be offended at the name, thing or use of Altar, whereat A MANIFOLD SACRIFICE is offered to God.*

What kind of Sacrifice this is, Francis Sales thus declares, in his Introduction to a Devout Life, P. 191. 194. Use then all diligence to be present often at this Heavenly Feast, that with the Priest and other devout assistants thou maist joyntly offer up the fruit thereof, Christ Jesus, to God his Father, for thy selfe and all the necessities of holy Church.

The death and passion of our Redeemer which are actually and essentially represented in this holy Sacrifice, with the Priest and the rest of the faithfull people, thou shalt offer unto God the Father for his eternall honour, and thine owne salvation.

Robert Shelford in his five Treatises, seconds him in these termes, Pag. 2. The Sacrament of the Altar, in which the sacrifice of our Lord Christ is remembred, and represented unto his Father, P. g. 4. There the memory of the everlasting sacrifice is made and presented unto the holy Trinity, Pag. 19. Here the great sacrifice of Christs death for our Salvation, is in remembrance represented to God the Father, &c.

Doctor Pocklington is very copious in this Theme, in his *Altare Christianum*, P. 130 Bishop Mountague saith thus: I beleeeve no such sacrifice of the Altar as the Church of Rome doth, I fancie no such Altars as they imply, though I professe a Sacrifice and an Altar: And a little after speaking of his Adversaries, hee saith thus; I have so good opinion of your understanding, though weake, that you will confesse the blessed Sacrament of the Altar (or Communion table) whether you please, to be a Sacrifice, &c. Pag. 135. Abuses of Altars and sacrifices condemned not the things themselves: Priests, Sacrifices, Oblations, Altars. The Sacrament of the Altar is not abolished, P. 122. The Prophet Malachi saith Saint Justin Martyr did prophesie *de Sacrificiis Gentium, id est de pane Eucharistia & poculo Eucharistia*. It appeareth that St. Justin that holy Martyr did call the Eucharist, a sacrifice, and hath the Prophet for his warrant. Saint Ireneus also saith, that when Christ tooke the Bread and the Wine, *Gratias egit*, he gave thanks, and said the bread was his body, and confessed the wine to be his blood, *et novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem*, and taught a new oblation of the New Testament; which the Church receiving from the Apostles, in *universo mundo offert deo*, doth offer unto God in all the world. This, saith he, is that pure sacrifice offered unto God in every place which the Prophet Malachi spake of, before, Pag. 124. Saint Chrysost. How shall we receive this sacred host? How shall we partake the Lords body with a defiled tongue? For this sacrifice, *Domini sacrificium est*. This sacrifice, the Priest standing at the Altar, offereth to God for al the world, for Bishops, for the church &c. according to our Collect on Good Friday, Pag. 126. When the sacrifice of our Mediatour is offered it cannot be denied, but the faithfull are hereby eased. This oblation the same Father calls *summum & verissimum Sacrificium*, and saith, that at the memories of Martyrs, *Deo offertur sacrificium Christianorum, ipsum vero sacrificium corpus est Christi*, which is not offered to them (for themselves are the body of Christ) but unto God, Pag. 127. It appeareth by that which hath beene said that there were Altars, and oblations, and sacrifices which the Fathers allowed. To conclude, this constant Doctrine of the holy Fathers concerning Altars, Oblations, and Sacrifices, is confirmed by the Canons of sundry Councells, Pag. 128. Altars, Oblations, and sacrifices were in Common use amongst the most holy Saints of God that ever lived, Pag. 136. If there be no Christian Altar, there is no Christian Sacrifice, if no Christian Sacrifice, there is no Christian Priest, if there be no Christian Priest, away with the Booke of Ordination of Priests and Deacons.

We shall close up this with Doctor Peter Heylins words in his *Antidotum Lincolnense*, P. 6. 17. and 26. A Sacrifice it was in figure, a sacrifice in fact, and so by consequence, a sacrifice in the Commemorations, or upon the Post-fact. A sacrifice there was among the Jewes, shewing forth Christs death unto them, before his coming in the flesh, a sacrifice there must be amongst the Christians, to shew forth the Lords Death till he come in Judgement; and if a sacrifice must be, there must be also Priests to doe, and Altars whereupon to do it, because without a Priest and Altar, there can be no sacrifice, yet so that the precedent sacrifice was of a different nature from the sublequent, and so are also both the Priest and Altar from those before; a bloody sacrifice then, *an bloody now*: a Priest derived from Aaron then, from Melchisedech now, an Altar for Mosaicall Sacrifices: then for Evangelicall now: for visible and externall sacrifices, though none for bloody and externall sacrifices: Not an improper Altar, and an improper sacrifice, as you idly dream of; for sacrifices, Priests, and Altars being relatives, as your selfe confesseth, the sacrifice and the Altar being improper must needs inferre that even our Priesthood is improper also.

No Jesuit can or doth say more then this amounts to:

6. That the body and blood of Christ are really, and substantially present in the Eucharist, and the Bread and wine transubstantiated into them.

Francis Sales, in his Introduction to a devout life, determines thus. P. 194. 219. The death and passion of our Redeemer, are actually and essentially represented in

in this holy sacrifice: Our blessed Saviour hath instituted the venerable Sacrament of the Eucharist which containeth really and verily his flesh and bloud.

Christs Epistle to a devout Soule thus records him, Page. 77. 78. Because thou maist be inflamed with a greater reverence, love and desire towards this blessed Sacrament, I assure thee, that without all doubt my body is there Sacramentally delivered unto thee, to be received, under the forme of Bread. Wherefore seeing it is the same body which I carry now glorified in Heaven, seeing it is no other, nor any like unto it, but even the very same, and seeing I carry not a body which is dead, nor without bloud it followeth of necessity that together in the same body, there must be also contained my soule, my bloud, my graces, and my vertues: To all which since the word is united it must also follow, that the whole Trinity is present in this Sacrament, as truly and as verily as they are in Heaven, though in another kind, *id est*, under a Sacramentall forme. The same opinion thou must in like sort have of the Chalice, the new-testament in my bloud, consider therefore that thou hast mee really and perfectly there, Page 238. Make also every day to me in the honour of the holy Sacrament of my blessed body two reverent adorations.

Doctor *Lawrence* in his Sermon before the King resolves thus Page 17. 18. As I like not those that say, *he is bodily there*; so I like not those that say, *his body is not there*; because Christ saith, *tis there*, and Saint Paul saith, *tis there*, and the Church of England saith, *tis there*, and the Church of God ever said *tis there*; and that truly and substantially & essentially: and that not only by way of representation or Commemoration; and yet without either *con. sub.* or *trans.* which the ancient Church said not: by a reall, and neverthelesse a spirituall and mysticall and supernaturall presentation and exhibition. For why should our Saviour bid us take what he would not have us receive? We must believe *tis there*; we must not know what is there: our faith may see it, our sense cannot; *tis a mystery*, they all say, and were no mystery if were knowne; his presence they determined, the manner of his presence they determined not: they say he is there, and they say the Lord knowes how. For why should we seeke him naturally in the Communion, whom naturally we cannot finde in the Wombe of the Virgin.

Doctor *Pocklington* in his *Altare Christianum*, writes thus. Page. 108. 153. The people were not so prophane and unchristian not to performe their most humble and lowly reverence towards the most holy and sacred Altar, where Christ is most truly and really present in the blessed Sacrament, &c. Altars because they are the seates and Chairs of estate, where the Lord vouchsafeth to place himselfe amongst us, (*quid est enim Altare, nisi sedes corporis et sanguinis Christi*, as *Optatus* speaks) have bin in all ages so greatly honoured, and regarded of the most wise learned and most blessed Saints of God.

Doctor *Heylin* in his *Cole* from the Altar affirms Page 15. Bishop *Ridley* doth not only call it the Sacrament of the Altar, affirming thus, that in the Sacrament of the Altar is the naturall body and bloud of Christ, &c.

The Archbishop of Canterbury in his *Speech in Star-Chamber*, hath this strange Passage which did much amuse the V World. Page 47. To Almighty God, I doubt not, but yet it is, *versus Altare*, towards his Altar, as the greatest place of Gods residence on earth: I say the greatest; yea, greater than the Pulpit, For there tis, *Hoc est corpus meum*. This is my Body; But in the Pulpit, tis at most, but *Hoc est verbum meum*; This is my word, (and as many men use the matter, *Hoc est verbum Diaboli*, This is the word of the Devill). And a greater reverence, no doubt, is due to the Body than to the V Word of the Lord: and so in relation answerably to the Throne where his Body is usually present, than to the Seat whence his Word useth to be proclaimed, &c.

These words doe necessarily imply, a reall presence of Christs Naturall Body on the Altar, not of his Sacramentall only. For this sentence; *The greatest place of Gods residence on earth, I say the greatest*; yea greater than the Pulpit, for there tis, *Hoc est corpus meum*: &c. But in the Pulpit tis at most, but *hoc est verbum meum*: clearly demonstrates that he meanes this only of Christs very naturall body. For first he speaks of that Body of Christ, to which the Deity is hypostatically united, and ever present with:

Secondly

Secondly, of that body which drawes along with it the greatest presence and residence of God Himselfe on earth.

Thirdly of that body of Christ, which is farre more worthy and honourable than the word of Christ.

Fourthly, of that body to which a greater reverence no doubt is due, than to the word of the Lord: and so by relation, to the Throne wherein his body is usually present, then to the Seat where his word useth to be proclaimed. Now all these cannot be intended of any representative or Sacramentall Body of Christ, but onely of his Naturall body, Therefore his cleare meaning can be no other, but that Christs very natural body is really present on the Altar in the consecrated bread, when the Sacrament is there administred. And to put this out of doubt, these passages in his Conference with Fisher, p. 286. 293, 294, 295, 296. intimate, or rather clearly expresse as much.

All sides agree in the truth with the Church of England, That in the most blessed Sacrament, the worthy Receiver is by his Faith, made spiritually partaker of the true and reall body and blond of Christ, TRVLY and REALL Y. I would have no man troubled at the words, TRVLY and REALL Y, &c. Bellarmine saith, Protestants doe often grant, That the TRVE and REALL BODY OF CHRIST IS IN THE EVCHARIST, and TIS MOST TRVE. For the Calvinists, at least they which follow Calvin himselfe, do not only beleave, that the TRVE and REALL BODY of Christ is received in the Eucharist, but THAT IT IS THERE; and that we partake of it VERE ET REALITER: Nor can that place by any art be shifted, or by any violence wrested from Calvines true meaning of the presence of Christ, IN and AT the blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist. And for the Church of Engl. nothing is more plaine than that it believes and teaches, The true and reall presence of Christ in the Eucharist; unlesse A. C. can make a body no body, and blond no blond. Nay Bishop Ridley addes yet further, That in the Sacrament IS THE VERY TRVE and NATVRALL BODY and BLOVD OF CHRIST that which was borne of the Virgin Mary; which ascended into Heaven, which sits at the Right hand of God the Father, which shal come from thence to judge the quick and the dead, &c. All which compared with his Alterations and Additions made with his owne hand in the Booke of Common Prayer, which he would have obtruded on the Church of Scotland [recited at large in A Necessary Introduction to his Tryall pag. 158. to 164.] so grossly Popish, that hee durst not hazard the giving of them in evidence to this particular point, but pleaded the Act of Pacification and Oblivion in barre thereof as soone as ever they were but mentioned; will undoubtedly manifest him a meere Papist in this particular, and a professed Patron of the Reall presence Transubstantiation, and the Masse it selfe.

7. That Crucifixes, Images, and Pictures of Christ, God, Saints, may bee lawfully, profitably used, set up in Churches, and ought not to be demolished, or removed thence.

How zealous the Archbishop with his Confederates were in defence of Images and Crucifixes in Churches, how forward to introduce and set them up in their Chappells, Churches, Cathedralls Houses (confirming this Popish position by their practise contrary to our Homilies, Statutes, Writers) and how extremely violent hee was against such who did by word or deed oppose them, hath beene already at large demonstrated in the premises, especially in the cases of Master Sherfield, and Mr. Workman: We shall therefore proceed to late authorized Bookes in justification of Images, Crucifixes lawfulnessse and use in Churches, or elsewhere.

Bishop Mountagus in his Gagge p. 300. Writes thus of Images; Images have three uses assigned by your Schooles; stay there, goe no further, and we charge you not with Idolatry;

lary; Institutionem rudium: commemorationem Historia; & excitationem devotionis: you and W E E also give unto them. P. 317. Images in his time were much improved, yet not unto Adoration; Honour, Reverence, and respect, was given them to bee bookes to the simple and ignorant people. Pag. 318. 319. The Pictures of Christ, the blessed Virgin, and Saints may be made, had in houses, set up in Churches; Respect and honour may be given unto them; The Protestants doe it, and use them for helpees of Piety, in remembrance, and more effectually representing of the Prototipa: but quatenus? You say they must not have Latria. so we; you give them Dulia: I quarrell not the terme though I could; there is a respect due to the Picture, signe, resemblance, monument of great men, friends, good men, Saints, Christ: If this you call Dulia, we give it too: Let practise and doctrine goe together, we agree.

Which he thus prosecutes in his Appeale, pag. 250. Saint Gregories doctrine concerning Images farre from Popery; now had the Church of Rome gone no further in practise or precept, then that which Saint Gregory recommendeth, our Church I suppose [for so our Doctrine is] would not blame them, not have departed from them about that point: happily furious ones in our Church would proceed, but they are singular Illuminates. Pag. 253. Nor are they utterly and absolutely unlawfull for any Religious employment. Our strictest Writers do not condemn or censure St. Gregory for putting upon them that Historicall use of suggesting unto, moving or affecting the minde even in Pious and Religious affections. For instance, in remembering more feelingly, and so being empasioned more effectually with the Death and bloodshed, and bitter Passion of our SAVIOUR, when we see that story fully and lively represented unto us, in colours or work by a skilfull hand. And I know not the man that is made of humane mould, but when he readeth in this booke his Tragicall indurance for man, will reflect upon himselfe, and his owne Soule and Conscience, with a lively reprehension of mans Sin; GODS love CHRIST'S endeared charity, in undergoing these unknown sufferings for our sake.

Pag. 254. But it hath distasteth some that respect and honour should bee given unto them: Strange, &c. unless men would have them pulled downe in all places, demolished, stamped to powder. The setting of them up suffering them to stand, using them for Ornaments, for helpe of memory, of affection, of remembrance, cannot be abstracted to my understanding from reverence and honour simply in due kind. P. 257. Give them no Latria and we agree. p. 258. The Church of Eng. condemneth not the Historicall use of Images: NOTE. The Homily that seemes to condemne all making of Images, is to be understood with a restriction, of making them to an unlawfull end. Many passages therein were fitted to the present times, and the condition of the people that then were, &c.

In his Orig: Ecclesiasticarum, Pars Posterior, Londini 1639. pag. 102. hee writes more boldly and plainely, concerning Images in these words.

Intuitum enim & Invitationem Imaginum non est cur quispiam, ut mihi videtur, improbet, aut condemnet, nos certe non obloquimur, non obmurmuramus. Pingite, sequemur, sculptite suspicimus, Abrahami sacrificaturientis Imaginem, Christi in Cruce pendentis Passionem, Typum illum, hoc complementum [quis negat] nos imitamus in Ecclesiis nostris, intuemur libenter, & usurpamus oculis, ex intuitu ad viciatiles commemoramus, & ad detestationem conjunctam, cum de peccatis nostris in Judaeos vehementius inflamamur, Christi passionem tormentis compatimur, & simul in memoriam revocamus, non fuisse dolorem sicut dolorem ejus: cujus illa, ut Graeci in suis Liturgicis loquuntur *ὁ πᾶς πᾶσι* vocem illam dolorificam expresserunt; Deus meus, Deus meus ut quid me dereliquisti? Atque hinc ab intuitu isto intuitu, ad Amandum amore nostro, amorem illius excitamur, qui propter amorem nostri, ut Augustinus loquitur, semetipsum excruciat, exinanivit, cum in Plenitudine existens Deitatis, quod habet sanctus Leo, plenitudinem accepit naturae humanae. Et factus obediens ad mortem, mortem autem Crucis, *ἐκ τῆς πίστεως* tantopere laetor: Hac & hujusmodi nemo nostrum negat, saltem negare nemo potest, ex intuitu efficacius ad animum & intimos cordium affectus descendere: eoque magis commendantur, in usu posita quotidiana, quo tardiores cum sumus, ad haec magnalia Dei recolenda pluribus indigemus & efficacissimis adjumentis.

Ibid, p. 104. 105. He proceeds thus. Christianis licet fabricare omne genus Imaginum, & simulachrorum; Spiritum sanctum sub specie linguae dispersit; in figura Columbae depingi, potuisse, de mente Patrum: Christum quoque hominem vel in Agni *ἡ πῦρ* &c. tam certo liquet, quam solem meridie lucere. Dei autem Patris Anfigi possit Image, non perinde liquet, cum nonnulli volint, nusquam illum sub ulla figura apparuisse

apha faculum prius: quod ab alijs tamen contra asseritur, ut verosimiliter Daniele: ubi Antiquus dierum, & Filius hominis distincti commemorantur: Civilem autem usum, ac moralem statuo ad intuitum, ac Invitationem. Successerunt tempora cum frequentius in Templis locarentur: sed tantum ad intuitum & invitationem. Tempora illa laudamus & imitamur. Permittimus Sanctorum Imagines quicumque eas formare voluerit, tam in Ecclesia quam extra, propter amorem Dei & Sanctorum ejus; adorare prohibemus frangere vel destruere eas non permittimus: hac illi, ITA ET NOS: And p. 103. Si quis Sancti alicujus expressam Imaginem, beata puta Virginis, Petri, Pauli dedecore afficiat, illum ego *ὕψιστον* optaverim, ac sua impudentia, ac temeritatis penas dare, quod OPTIMO NOS EXEMPLUM aliquoties vidimus in Puritanos quosdam animadversum. Hee proceeds thus, Pag. 174. Sub pretextu reformata pietatis Deum, Ecclesiam, pietatem, per nefandissima sacrilegia everfis ut scilicet Monasterijs, Templis, Sacrarijs, & redactis in fiscum maximis redditibus emunxerunt constanter religiosi Nebulones, &c. And in his Antidotiis: Pag. 24. 27. 30. Heretici nequaquam a te censeri debemus *ἑτεροδοξοι*, asseramus enim diligenter & cum cura Petri, Pauli, beata Virginis, Sanctorum aliorum innumeras imagines, praesertim vero Iesu Christi Redemptoris Crucifixi, etiam in Templorum criptis & lararijs, in parietibus & fenestris, quas tamen non adoramus. Tantummodo taxamus in imaginibus *τὸν λατρεῖν*, usum & utilitatem non sollicitamus ullo pacto: Christiani omnes adoramus Christum Imagine & Simulacro. At vero ad intuitum & Invitationem constituerentur in locis Sacris, & Sacratibus conventibus destinatis, sunt qui negant ex Origine, Arnobio, Minutio Felice, sed non persuadent.

Sir Tho. Ridley in his *View of the Civill Law*, printed at Oxf. with Annotations, 1634 p. 52. and 193. Hath these passages added in the Margin concerning the erecting of Crucifixes in Churches, That which followeth in the *Euchologe* discovereth the forme & manner of setting up the Crucifix which the Law called *σάβανον*. Then the Crucifix must bee sent to the place where the Church is to be erected, and there the Bishop by whom it is conveyed saith the forenamed service, and when he maketh the Consecration, the Crosse must be set up behinde the holy Altar, &c.

Doctor John Pocklington in his *Altare Christianum*, licensed by the Archbishops Chaplaine by his owne speciall direction, hath these passages, justifying the placing of Crucifixes upon the Altar, and against demolishing Images, pag. 143. The Crosse of Christ alwayes used to stand upon the Altar. Christians had no other Images in their Churches, *Præterquam Crucis signum super Aram, ad Orientem versum; erigerent ut mentem oculosq; in calum, ubi Pater est omnium expensis manibus:* but only the Crosse of Christ wch stood upon the Altar. And it is not also said, that the Altar which stood in former Princes times continued in Q. Elizabeths Chapell with the Crosse upon it?

Pag. 87. Besides the Altar so furnished, there are to be seene, many goodly Pictures, which cannot but strike the beholders with thoughts of Piety and devotion at their entrance into so holy a place; as the Picture of the Passion, and likewise of the holy Apostles, together with a faire Crucifix, and our blessed Lady and St. John, set up in painted Glasse in the East Window, just over the holy Table or sacred Altar: so that I must needs say, as I think all good men besides will, that who so lives in his Lordships Diocesse must be condemned of great impiety that wil desert his Lord and not follow him *usque ad Aras*, Pag. 139. The Magistrate may proceed against Delinquents that Violate the Lords Table standing Altarwise, or breake or deface the Picture of Christ, or of the Saints in Church-Windowes or Crosses, and the like, upon the Statute, if any should so offend (which God forbid.)

I shall close up this with Francis Sales, his *Introduction to a devout life*; where he intimates to us what use we ought to make of Pictures and Crucifixes, P. 158. Sometimes kisse reverently his blessed Image, and say unto him, these words of Jacob, I will not leave thee, untill thou give me thy blessing, Pag. 159. Stirre up thy heart with corporall gestures of outward devotion and prostrating thy selfe upon the ground, laying thy Armes a Crosse before thy breast, Imbracing his Image, &c.

8. That the Pope, or Papacy is not Anti-Christ, nor Anti-Christ yet come. Bishop Mountague in his *Appello Casarem* determines thus, Page 140. 141. That hee (the Pope) is *Magnus ille Antichristus*, is neither determined by the publike

Doctrine of the Church, nor proceed by any good Argument of private men. I professe ingeniously, I am not of opinion that the Bishop of Rome personally is that Anti-christ, nor yet the Bishops of Rome successively are that Anti-christ.

Doctor Heylyn in his *Moderat answer to Henry Burton* thus seconds him page 126. The Pope not Antichrist, for any thing resolved by the Church of England, Page 127. 128. 129. You tell us that by the Doctrine of our Church in the Homilies and else where it is resolved, that the Pope is Antichrist: Your elsewhere, I am sure, is no where. Saint John hath given it for a Rule, that every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God, but is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof you have heard, &c. So that unlesse you can make it good, as I thinke you cannot, that the Pope of Rome confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, you have no reason to conclude that hee is Antichrist.

Christopher Dowe, in his *Innovations unjustly charged*, writes thus, Page 53. To the third, That the Pope is not Antichrist: I answer, that though many of the learned of our Church (especially at the beginning of our Reformation, when the greatest heat was stricken betweene us and Rome) have affirmed the Pope to be Antichrist, and his whole Religion to be Antichristian, and that some Bookes exceeding the bounds of Moderation in this point have passed a broad & that with the licence of Authority, yet to them that calmly and seriously consider it, it may not without good reason be disputed as doubtful, whether the Popes or any of them in his Person; or the Papall Hierachy, be that great Antichrist which is so much spoken of.

Robert Shelford in his five *Treatises* resolves thus, Page 284. That Rome at this day is not the Beast is manifest, because the Pope there now sheddeth no bloud, Page 293. That the Pope is not to be held for Antichrist, I prove from Saint Iohns description. Who soever is not of Antichrists spirit, cannot bee Anti-christ, But the Pope is not of Anti-Christ's Spirit, therefore he cannot bee Anti-Christ, Page. 297. The Church hitherto hath neither declared the Pope nor any other to be the great Antichrist. Therefore as yet he is to come: 299. And were there no other Argument to free the Pope from being the Antichrist among the Fathers, this is sufficient, for that he maintaineth Images. Yea the very subject matter of his largest Treatise is this, and thus intituled. *That the Pope is not Antichrist, and that Antichrist is not yet come.* One of his Bookes of this Subject he presented to the Archhishop, who received, yea reserved it in his Study, without check or contradiction; and was so farre from disliking this Opinion, that he gave speciall Command to purge all passages out of old and new printed Bookes, which either directly stearmed or intimated the Pope to be Antichrist, or that man of sinne and revealed the Articles of *reland*, for defining him to be so, as we shall hereafter manifest.

9. That there is a Purgatory, and Limbus Patrum.

Christ's Epistle to a Devout Soule, P. 130. But when thou art come to perfection, and prayest, lying prostrate at the feet of my Majesty, thou shalt desire to satisfie my Justice with that small ability which resteth in thee, and shalt offer thy selfe for my Glory into PURGATORY, and to suffer for the fulfilling of my will, whatsoever it shall be my will to lay upon thee, and the fulfilling of my will, shall please thee more then the escape of Purgatory.

Montague his *Gagge* Page 176. They Quarter out Hell into foure Regions Hell of the damned, Purgatory, *Limbus Infantum*, et *Limbus Patrum*, This division, be it granted them, page 278. Gods Kingdome is not so narrowed, but that he might well have more places then one, Receptacles, Repositories, resting places for the Righteous. Which he thus prosecutes in his *Appeale*, page 236. Heaven so spacious, extended, so capacious, is not, nor hath beene so narrowed in, wherewith that there

cannot be divers Designations, Regions, Habitations, Mansions, or Quarterings there page 237. They (the Fathers) were not in Hell, but as they were not there, so were they not likewise in Heaven, strictly taken for the third Heaven, that receptacle of the Righteous now together with the glorified body of our Saviour, page 238. For that place was not then *stantibus ac tunc* fitting or accruing to them, such a Royall habitation the None-such of God, did not besit their then inferior states and conditions.

And in his Appar. P. 476. *Communem esse Patrum sententiam aliorumq; doctissimorum Scriptorum nostra aetatis et Confessionis, sanctorum animas ante Christi resurrectionem non fuisse in Calo. Hieronimi testimonia sunt innumera, ante adventum Christi omnes ad inferos ducebantur: inde Jacob ad inferos discessurum se dicit; et Evangelium docet magnum Chaos interpositum apud inferos: Nota quoque ut Samuelem verè quoque in inferno fuisse credas, et ante adventum Christi, quamvis sanctos inferni lege detentos, locum esse ait qui lacus vocatur, et abissus, in qua non erant aqua; in qua anima recludantur, sive ad penas P. 135. Obijciunt, nullus tertius locus indicatur in Scriptura præter infernum damnatorum et Calum: Resp. Licet non indicaretur in scripturis aliud esse locum tertium, non tamen inde sequeretur non fuisse tertium, quia multa sunt quæ non indicantur in scripturis.*

Many other passages of like nature might be added, but these shall suffer.

10. That there are Canonick houres of Prayer, which ought to be observed.

THIS is the subject matter of Doctor Cozens his privat Devotions, or **HOWERS OF PRAYER**, printed three or foure several times one after another, & digested into Canonick houres; the practise whereof he not only there pleaded for, but likewise afterwards introduced in *Peter House* in the Vniversity of Cambridge (among other his Popish Innovations) as was attested upon Oath by Mr. *Le Greefe* and others.

The Archbishops owne private Manuscript Devotions under his owne hand, seized by Mr. *Prynne* in his Chamber at the Tower, were all digested into Canonick houers, in Imitation of the *Houers of our Lady* and other Popish Treatises of Devotion, as was manifested by the Booke it selfe, from Page 1. to 75.

Doctor *William Watts*, in his *Mortification Apostolicall*, printed at London, 1637. Page 47. thus Justifies the use of Canonick houers. For this purpose the night was devided into Canonick houers, or certaine times of rising, to Prayers: At midnight will I arise to give thanks unto the, said the man after Gods owne heart. Mark here that he praised not God lying, but used to rise and doe it, at other houers the Saints may sing a loud upon their Beds, and the spouse may seeke her Christ in the Bed by night, but when a Canonick houer comes (of which midnight was one) *David* will rise to his devotions: thus did the Apostles too. At midnight *Paule* and *Sylas* prayed and sung praises unto God, The morning watch was another Canonick houer, and this *David* was so carefull to observe, that he oft times waked before it, &c.

11. That men have Free-will in Actions of Pietie:

BISHOP Mountague in his *Gagge* determines thus, Page 109. *Man hath freewill in Actions of Pietie, and such as belong unto his salvation. For the concurrence of grace assisting with freewill: The correspondency of freewill with Preseience, Providence and predestination, is much debated in your owne Schooles, Page 116. Our conclusion and yours is both one, we cannot deny freedome of will; which who so doth, is no Catholique, nor Protestant. Which he thus seconds in his Appeale, Page 75. 76. The Question of freewill*

freewill is a point of very great obscurity, fitting rather Schooles then popular eares, or auditories, if not, what meane those many divisions amongst men touching freewill, the nature, state, Condition of it since Adams fall, the Concurrence and Cooperation thereof with Grace, Page 99. There is freewill, Man prevented by grace, assisted putteth to his hand to procure Augmentation of that Grace, as also continuance unto the end in that grace, Page 95. Thus having with as great diligence as I could examined this Question, *inter partes*, of freewill, I doe ingeniously confesse, that I cannot finde any such materiall difference betweene the Pontificians, at least of better temper and our Church. So he.

Shelford in his five Treatises, Page 203. writes thus. The order for freewill, is for man; to which because it is the Higheest, God added his speciall grace, And by this man travelleth, either to his home of happinesse, or to his home of heavinesse. He proceeds thus. Page 211. Herein stands his liberty and freedome to doe what he can, and will what he will in the way of Grace and goodnesse, wherein God will ayd him to go beyond himselfe, pag. 105. O blessed Charity if thou hast this roote in thee, thou shalt comprehend this bredth and length, heigh and depth, and thou shalt with these holy Saints say, If I had beene in their Coates or had their occasions, I would have done as they did.

I shall conclude with *Index Biblicus*, printed at London, 1640. *Liberum arbitrium etiam post lapsum in homine mansit, &c.*

12. That we are justified before God by Charity and good workes
not by faith alone.

Shelford in his 5. Treatises, pag. 109. resolves thus, The fulfilling of the Law justifieth: but Charity is the fulfilling of the Law, Ergo it justifieth: Where the Apostle preferreth Charity to justifying faith, he compareth them in the most excellent way, and it is most manifest, that the most excellent way is in the way of our justification, pag. 120. *Bona opera sunt efficienter necessaria ad salutem.*

Credere Iustitia est omnis et una salus.

At non sit olim tam malis semita nunquam.

Heroum lassos duxit ad astra gradus.

Sed labor et virtus.

Christopher Dowe, in his Innovations unjustly charged, pag. 124. We must put all that we can, we must not fly to naked imputation, not by faith only, &c. pag. 127. *Fr. a Sancta Clara*, that good workes are effectively necessary to salvation, which position was intended and maintained in opposition to the Enemies of good workes, of whom some deny their necessity, others allowing their presence as requisite, deny that they conduce any thing to the furtherance of salvation.

Sancta Clara, his *Deus, Natura, Gratia* pag. 158. *Hic pax facillime ineunda; sic etiam D. Montacutius articulum de fide recte explicat*, pag. 159. *Eccè igitur plane & plene convenimus: Doctiores Protestantes tribuant justificationem nostram habitui iustitiae, non ergo fidei Immo hac nostra positio solemniter Cantabrigiae in Comitibus anniversarijs pro actu doctoreali hoc anno currense mense Julio agitata est*, pag. 181. *Sanè nulla hodie reperi etur differentia in Confessione Anglica, & sanctissima Confessione Trid. nihil in Articulis Hamptoni ensibus in oppositum ordinatur, ut patet Art. 9. de Iustificatione unde Montacutius in suo Appello, Casarem Cap. 6. expresse probat, Doctrinam nostram, saltem secundum gradum huius latitudinis, ab ipsis teneri, &c.*

13. That there are Merits, workes of Supererogation, and Evangelicall Counsell.

Bishop Mountague his Gagge pag. 153. Good workes therefore said to be meritorious are soon understood to be *ex condigno*: which that a worke may so be these

conditions are required, That it bee morally good, freely wrought by man in this life, in the state of Grace and friendship with God, which hath annexed Gods promise of reward: all which conditions I cannot conceive that any Protestant doth deny unto good workes.

Which he thus backes in his *Appeale*, pag. 203. The sence of the word, which was but to procure, to incur, to purchase, *major est mea iniquitas quam ut veniam Merear*, than that I may purchase or procure pardon, pag. 214. Touching Evangelicall Councells, I know no doctrine of our Church against them, pag. 215. So I say still I know none: I doe believe there are and ever were Evangelicall Councells, such as Saint Paul mentioneth in his *Concilium autem do*: such as our Saviour pointed at, and directed unto in his. *Qui potest capere capiat*, such as a man may doe or not doe without guilt of sinne or breach of Law.

Shelfords five Treatises, pag. 120. *Virtutum sancta & speciosa cetera salutem: Divino ex pacto, quam merere, debuit*, p. 130. And to this belong the Councells of the Gospell which goe beyond the precepts of the Law, of which Saint Chrysost. speakes, &c. CHRIST commanded nothing impossible, insomuch that many goe beyond the very Commandements, who ever did this: he forth with answers? Saint Paul, Saint Peter, even all the quire of Saints. Lastly as Christs spirit and grace gives such power to goe beyond the precepts, &c. pag. 189. By his Councells which goe beyond his precepts, (because God hath given man free will to doe what hee can in the state of Grace for the state of Glory) he shewes him some exceeding meanes to grow to this lifes perfection and to improve the common reward of glory for the next life; as, *sell that thou hast*, &c. These are Gods Councells, which of the Primitive Church were put in practise, but in our times they are put off with a *non placet*, pag. 146. *Object.* The very best workes of the Saints are uncleane impure menstruous and mortall sinnes, therefore it is impossible for any man to keepe the Law. *Ans.* They that say so cannot be excused from extreame blasphemie.

Francis Sales, pag. 7. 8. Devotion then provoketh us to doe with joy and delight all manner of good workes, although they bee not in any sort commanded by Gods Law, but onely commended unto our free will, by his Councells and holy inspirations, Pag. 375. Thy poverty (*Philothens*) hath two great priviledges, by which thee can make thee rich in merits and deserts.

14. That the Law is possible to be fulfilled, and Perfection attainable in this life.

Shelford Pag. 141. A Treatise shewing that Gods Law now qualified by the Gospell of Christ, is possible, and ought to be fulfilled by us in this life, p. 122. That there is a fulfilling of Gods Law in this life, *James 2. 10.* whosoever shall keepe the whole Law, &c. here therefore is a generall and absolute fulfilling spoken of p. 127. Christ hath merited that the righteousness of the Law should bee fulfilled in us: therefore the Law is not impossible to be fulfilled for us, pag. 130. Christs spirit and grace gives power to goe beyond the precepts, pag. 139. If God should command things impossible, he should be more cruell then a Tyrant, pag. 147. The unregenerate cannot possibly fulfill the Law, pag. 149. But Gods Sonnes and servants are able to fulfill it, p. 189. By his Councells which goe beyond his precepts, he shewes him some exceeding meanes to grow to this lifes perfection.

Christs Epistle to a devout Soule, pag. 240. A Rule for such as labour to attaine to Perfection, &c.

Francis Sales, *His Introduction to a devout Life*, pag. 19. There are many degrees and exercises of devotion which easily lead secular persons to Perfection, *St. Lydia* and Saint *Chrispin* were perfectly devoute in their open shops, &c. pag. 334. Charitie only placeth us in the hight of Perfection.

15. That there are Veniall finnes.

Christs Epistle to a Devout Soule, p. 57. Although in this conflict there are many Veniall sins wont to be committed. That paine which is endured by resisting of mortall finnes doth take away all that paine which the Veniall finnes doe deserve.

Pag. 32. Veniall finnes doe not take from us the life of Grace.

Francis Sales in His Introduction to a Devout life, writes in this manner.

Pag. 110. That we must purifie our selves from affections to Veniall sins. Thou shalt discover in thy selfe, that besides mortall sins, from which by the fore-mentioned exercises thou hast beene purged, there remaine yet in thy soule diverse inclinations and affections to Veniall finnes.

Pag. 111. Wee can never be free from Veniall sinnes in this life: I say then that one must purge his soule from all the affections and inclinations that hee feeles to Veniall sinnes.

Pag. 112. A Veniall sinne be it never so little displeaseth God, though not so haينously that he will damne us, or cast us away for ever for the same.

Pag. 114. Veniall sins kill not our soules, but yet mar the hony of our devotion. It is no haynous sinne (my Philothens) to tell some little lie in pastime, to exceed somewhat in needlesse talke, in carelesse lookes, &c.

Pag. 119. Certaine Inclinations are not properly sinnes neither mortall nor Veniall, but only imperfections.

Pag. 114. Thinke it not enough to confesse thy Veniall sinnes.

Pag. 227. To communicate every 8. dayes it is requisite, neither to bee guilty of mortall sinnes, nor any affection to Veniall.

Shelfords five Treatises, p. 130. Lastly, As Christs Spirit and Grace gives power to goe beyond the precepts, so it is not incongruent that it should so molifie sinnes in his members, as to make them Veniall and not killing.

Sparrowes Sermon of Confession. All our sinnes therefore must bee confessed; *Omnia Venialia, omnia mortalia*, so say the Casuists.

16: That Reliques of Saints are to be preserved and revered,

Bishop Mountague, Orig: Ecclesiast: Pars prior, Pag. 39. De qua re, quid nos Angli sentiamus breviter exponemus. Nos Martyres, &c. qm memorias ipsorum anniversarias in orbem redeuntes in Sancto Stephano, Proto-Martyre honoramus, eorum reliquias in vasis vitæ exosculamur. Et mōy tipā dñi, &c. Reliquias ipsorum, ipsa, cimelia, deposita, si qua sint, qua ad nostram noticiam pervenerint: Si qua nancisci poterimus genuina, non fucata, libenter suscipimus, & veneratione sua debita, congrua honoramus. Imprimis autem de Martyribus, ubi non constat veritas, disquisitionem censemus instituendam.

Pag. 40. Representa mihi fascias illas Servatoris; Dece certissimò illas ipsas etiam num extare, quibus Infans sacratissimus involvebatur: Ego, quòd ad me attinet, libens merito cum summo gaudio, gratulatione, reverentia, iudicia accurrā, suscipiam, & ultra omnia, qua vocant Barbari Focalia, Cimelia, lapides preciosos, aurum, aestimabo.

And in his Antidiatr p. 17. Offa Sanctorum, Cineres, Reliquias vase aureo velamine precioso convolvebant. Ego ceri è cum Constantino illas reliquias fascijs involvam, auro includam circumgestandas, admovebo labijs, ac collo suspensos manibus oculisq; crebrò usurpatis intuebor, vel in apothecas condam & recludam, inter preciosissima cimelia censendam.

17. That

17. That vowed Poverty, Virginity, a Monast: call life, and Monasteries, are lawfull, usefull: Popish Votaries, Saints, Orders to be imitated, applauded.

CHRISTS Epistle to a Devout soule p. 86. 87. 88. 89. brings in Christ thus speaking to Christians: I Was driven into banishment, brought up by the labour of my mother, and fed by Almes at other Folkes cost, having neither house nor lodging of mine owne: witheted often in the mountaines: how was I spoiled of all my garments at the time of my passion? &c. Looke therefore upon my poverty and leave to be sad, why art thou not grieved like a good Emulatresse if thou see any man poorer then thy selfe (as Saint Francis was;) if thou perceivest any man more agreeable to my life and poverty then thy selfe: this indeed should bee a kinde of emulation. Embrace with mee the crosse of Poverty, &c. Determine therefore now, and make a firme resolution from the bottome of thy heart, to contemne all things for the love of mee, and be unwilling to possesse any thing but even such as of necessity thou art inforced to use, delighting in all Poverty, contempt and penury, that thou maist be worthy to enjoy mee.

Francis Sales, His Introduction to a devout life, page 19. True it is that the Devotion altogether contemplative, Monasticall, and Religious, cannot be exercised in these Vocations (of Artificers, &c.) yet are there many other degrees of devotions.

Page 200. The solitarines of Saint Paul the first Hermit, is imitated in some sort by the spirituall retreats of which we have spoken, and the extreame poverty of St. Francis, may be imitated by those practises and exercises of spirituall poverty which we will hereafter set downe.

Page 354 Charity only placeth us in the heighth of perfection, but Obedience, Chastity, and Poverty are excellent Instruments to attaine unto it. I will not say any thing of these three vertues, as they are vowed solemnly, for so they appertaine to Religious persons.

Page 335. When they are vowed solemnly, they place a man in the way and state of perfection.

Henry Stafford his Female Glory page 23. Let us then imagine that this holy Recluse confined her body to this sacred solitude, &c.

Page 28. The bonds of her Matrimony were askt in heaven, and no impediment found why shee might not wed God himselfe; yet at the earnest solicitation of the Reverend Priests, saith Mantuan, she was content to bee betrothed to Joseph, not that he should doe the Office of an Husband, but serve as a barre to the importunity of other suitors, that so she might the more freely enjoy the inconceivable pleasure she tooke in her Vowed Virginity.

Page 148. You who have vowed Virginity Mentall and Corporall, you shall not only have ingresse here, but welcome: Approach with comfort and kneele downe before the grand white Immaculate Abbess of your snowey Nunneries.

Page 235. My Arithmeticke will not serve mee to number all those who have registered their names in the sodality of the Rosary of this our blessed Lady, &c. All which are Canonized for Saints.

Bishop Mount Orig. page 303. Quantum detrimenti Regijs accesserit vestigali. bus per illam desolationem Monasterijs invecam per importunum Henrici Octavi rigorem & per Parliamentarias Impropriationes? &c.

Page 382. Ejusmodi vitæ genere Ioannem jecisse fundamenta Monastica vitæ hoc est Anacoretica, et Ascetica, cum illustrissimo Baronio non abnucrim, &c.

18. That

18. That there are written Traditions, which we must observe, and are of equall Authority with the word.

Bishop Mountague in his *Gagge* page. 30. There are Traditions written and unwritten, you meane not here Traditions written I know it, no more doe wee.

Page 31. Traditions instituted by our Saviour even in points of beleife and Faith have divine Authority, as his written word hath. Traditions derived from the Apostles, have equall authority with their preachings and their writings, Traditions of the Church have such authority, as the Church hath, all binde and oblige as they were intended, and as their extent is. For they must be considered not only from the Author, but from the end: some were intended to be permanent, others only to be transient for a time only, or else for ever: some Vniversall, some onely Partiall: for the Catholike or else a private Church: such variety and difference is in Traditions.

We do grant it in every kinde that either there are or have beene Traditions of Christ, his Apostles, the Church, privat men.

Page 37. *Qua universa tenet Ecclesia, ab Apostolis precepta bene traduntur, quanguam scripta non reperiantur*, said Saint *Augustine*, and I subscribe unto it. *Omni modo* bind they unto Obedience so long, in such sort, so farre forth as the Authors did intend, till the same Authority disavow them which gave unto them being at the first. In the 34. Article to this purpose, we read of and concerning Ecclesiasticall Traditions.

Loe Traditions not only avowed but maintained.

Page 41. No Protestant living in his right wit will deny this, that the Apostles spake much more then is written. Therefore the Traditions of the Apostles and of the Church is without all question of good credit and esteeme, and so much we professe, Art. 34. I grant, it hath displeased some which is said

It is Tradition which avoweth it, seeke no further. I see no reason why any should be displeased therewith.

Doctor *Pocklington* *Altare Christianum*, Page 48. None of all these Heretikes can derive their succession from the Apostles, nor shew how their Doctrines were received by Tradition from them.

Page 49. According to Apostolicall Tradition.

Page 50. Those that deprive us of the benefit of this Apostolicall Tradition.

Page 180. Traditions of holy Church, of absolute Authority.

The Archbishop himselfe in his Reply to *Fisher*, determines thus page 44. Some Traditions I deny not true and firme and of great both Authority and use in the Church as being Apostolicall.

Doctor *Heylins* *Antid. Lincolnense* page 86. Sect. 2. Many things came into our mind by a successionall Tradition, for which we cannot find an expresse command, which yet we ought to entertaine, *ex vi Catholica consuetudinis*, of which Traditions there are many which still retaine their force among us in England. This Church (the Lord berhanked for it) hath stood more firme for Apostolicall Traditions, then any other whatsoever of the Reformation.

19. That Ave Marias are to be now said to the Virgin Mary: That shee and other Saints; and our Angells Gardians are to be invoked and prayed to, as our Patrons; Popish Saints to be imitated: and the Virgin Mary, extolled, deified, by Protestants as she is by Papists.

Christs Epistle to a devout Soule, Page 237. Say with the same intention, the prayer at least which I taught my Disciples, and the Salutation of the Angell, to
 Ff my

NOTE.

my blessed Mother; and offer me up to my Father in thy heart, and with me all those good workes which I and my servants either do or have done for thee, and the universall Church, pag. 252. Doe not omit every night to intreat my glorious Mother to pray unto me to pardon thee (at her request) all such negligences as thou hast ignorantly committed, and which thou dost not remember: She hath performed the office of a tender Mother to mee, I have received nourishment from her blessed Dagg, and therefore I cannot nor will not (my love to Her is so great) deny any Petition that she presents: and therefore entreat me daily by her intercession for the amendment of thy life, perseverance in vertue and obtaining of my grace, pag. 253. Thou shalt further intreat me by her Intercession, that the worshipping and honouring of me may be daily amplified, enlarged, augmented and increased, either by this rule and instruction which I have now prescribed and commended to thee, or by what other means soever that shall seeme best unto thee, p. 262. By the compassion of thy Mother, &c. What can be more Popish then this?

NOTE.

Francis Sales in his *Introduction to a devout life*, writes thus page 19. Saint Lydia and Saint Chrispian were perfectly devout in their open shoppes; Saint Anne, Saint Martha, Saint Monicha amongst their families, &c. page 89. Thou being placed upon thy knees before thy good Angell, Consider, that God desireth thou wouldst make choise of Paradise, and thy good Angell also urgeth expressly thee with all his power, offering thee on Gods behalfe a thousand succours, page 91. In like manner accept the favours which all the blessed Saints present unto thee; promise them that thou wilt make towards them, and give thy hand to the good Angell that he may guide thee thither, and encourage thy soule to make this choyce, page 97. O sacred Virgin and all you blessed Saints of Heaven, I chuse you for my guides and Patrons, I render my selfe under your colours. O my Guide and Gardian in heaven unite me unto this glorious and sacred assembly: Page 194. We must pray for the whole Church of God, employing and imploring to that end the intercession of our blessed Lady, Page 165. O Father of Goodnesse, &c. Then think upon our blessed Lady, upon the good Angells and the Saints that are gone before thee, to the end that thou maist insitt in their steps, and be partaker of their happy intercessions: page 197. The holy Soules of the Saints in Heaven, in company of the blessed Angells, they likewise doe good Offices and helpe to assist us by their sacred intercession. Honour, Reverence and respect the sacred and glorious Virgin Mary with an especiall Love: she is the Mother of our Sovereigne Lord and heavenly Father Christ Iesus, and consequently our Grand-Mother, page 198. Chuse some particular Saints amongst the rest whose lives thou maist more particularly read, tast and imitate, page 200. Read also the lives of the Saints in which as in a mirror, thou maist see the pourtraiture of Christian perfection. The solitarinesse of Saint Paul, the first Hermit, is imitated in some sorts, by the spirituall retreates of which we have spoken; and the extreme poverty of Saint Francis may be imitated, &c. There be some Saints which more directly serve to guide and order our lives then others doe; as that of Saint Gregory our Apostle of England, as the life of the blessed Martyr Teresa, the lives of Saint Thomas of Aquine, Saint Francis, Saint Bennet, and such like, page 201. Other Saints lives there are which containe more matter of admiration then of imitation, as the life of Saint Mary of Egypt, of Saint Simeon Stylites, of the two St. Katherins of Sienna and of Genna, and Saint Angela, and which never the lesse do minister unto us great occasions to tast the sweetnesse of the love of God.

NOTE.

Bishop Mountagne his *Antid.* page 27. Non abnucrium, Sanctos esse Orationis & Intercessionis (ut loqui soletis) Mediatore, sed universim universos precibus suis apud Deum interveniunt, & orationibus mediantur, page 22. Meminerunt amicorum suorum et rerum a se quondam in terris gestarum quocirca ad Christum in calo collecti, poterint de via ordinaria per Jesum Christum apud deum Patrem amicos familiares duces precibus commendare, et adjuvare. Which hee thus further prosecutes in his *Gagge*, page 203. Now the case of Angell keepers in point of advocacy and invocation is much different from other Angells, not Guardians; as being continually attendant, always at hand though invisable, and therefore though we might say; Sancte Angeli Custos Ora pro me, it followeth not, we may say Sancte Gabriell ora pro me, page 207.

Angels are to bee beseeched who are deputed our Gardians, therefore not all Angels but onely Guardian, Page 214. The Saints pray for us in particular, some particular Saint for some particular man, in some speciall case, some time. And to come more particularly to it, The question is not, whether Saints departed doe pray unto God that is confessed on both sides, &c.

Anthony Stafford in his *Femall Glory*, (in the Front whereof there is the Picture of the *Virgin Mary* encompassed with a *Glory*, holding Christ a little Infant in her Armes) thus extolls, nay justifies the Invocation of the Virgin, and saying *Aves* to her, *Med: Poetica. Ave Maria. Tu gaudi verbum peperisti, & dicis Ave te Omnibus: atque omnis terra revibrat Ave.* He proceedes thus in the Reverse. *The House of Gold, the gate of heavens power, great Queene of Queenes most milde, most meeke, most wise, most venerable, cause of all our joy, &c.* In the Panegyrick of her he addes, *To whom doe bow---The Soules of all the just, whose place is next to God.*

Page. 2. 3. He stiles her. *Most Excellent Princeesse; The Virgin Mother of God: Empreffe of the lower world: The alone faire, the alone lovely, P. 32. Glorious Empreffe* Page. 21. *White spotlesse Soule, illuminated with Revelations by the divine Object of her chaste vowes.* Page. 150. *Womans dearest Mistresse.* Page. 197. *Our sweetest Lady.* P. 158. *In all things the very figure and resemblance of Sanctity it selfe, P. 148. 149.* he thus approves of Nunneries, and prayers on Beads to the Virgin, before her Image with Christ in her Armes. *You who have lived spirituall Amourists, whose spirits have triumphed over the flesh, on whose cheekes solitude, prayers, fasts, and austerities have left an amiable pale: you who ply your sacred Arithmeticke, and have thoughts cold and cleare as the Christall Beads you pray by: you who have vound Virginitie mentall, and corporall, you shall not only have ingresse here, but welcome. Approach with comfort, and kneele downe before the Grand Immaculate Abbess of your Snowy Nunneries, and present the all-saving Babe in her Armes with due veneration. Never thinke more of the Facunditie of Wedlocke, since you see here that God himselfe is the fruit of Virginity. P. 153, 154.* He thus commends the burning of Tapers, and saying *Masses on Candlemasse day, in honour of the Virgin Mary: This day is called Candlemasse, as much to say, the day of lights, on which (while Masse was singing) very many Tapers were burning in the Church. Innocentius thus propounds and solves the Question.*

What is the reason that on this day we use so many lights in the Church? The cause of this institution is twofold. The first is, that a heathenish custom may bee converted into a Christian Right or Ordinance, and that which was performed by superstitious Idolaters, in honour of Ceres and Proserpina, may be turned into the praise and glory of the Virgin Mary. The second is, that they who by Grace are purified, by this Ceremony may be admonished to imitate those prudent Virgins, who (as the Evangelicall parable testifieth) came not without their Tapers lighted to the Nuptials of Christ their Spouse. Page. 209. There is the Picture of her fabulous assumption into heaven, cut in Brasse after the popish forme, with men and women devoutly kneeling and praying to her, and these verses written under the same.

*What Honour could to this GREAT QUEENE be done,
More then be taken up to Heaven high.
And there have God for Father, Spouse, and Sonne,
The Angels wayte, the world stand wondring by?*

After which, hee spends many pages to prove the *Verity*, or probability at least of her *Assumption into Heaven, Soule and Body*; which (saith he) by many of the Fathers, all of the Romish Church, and some of the Reformed is held for an undoubted truth: (when as indeed it is a meere Popish ridiculous false Legend.) And to prove this, hee makes her to be borne without sinne.

Page. 212. *Danemianus* argues, That as conceiving without sinne, shee brought forth her sonne, without paine, a curse laid on all, other women: so might it well be that she who was without sin, might overcome death, the reward of it; P. 119.

120. hee writes. That the Virgin is not to bee considered as a meere Woman, but as a Type or Idæa of an accomplisht piety. Adding: They erre not so much, in my judgment, in the adoring extreame as some tooeuer maintaines of the former, doe in the neglecting. They are so farre from praising her themselves, that they most unjustly deprive her of the praise given her by others. They reject all testimonies of her worth; as *Haile Mary full of Grace, &c.* They abhor to heare her called *Domina &c.* Concluding this point in these termes, pag. 223. Of one thing I will assure them, till they are GOOD MARIANS, they shall never be good Christians: while they derogate from the dignity of the Mother, they cannot truly honour the Son, pag. 228, 229. Erasmus styles her, His SAVIORESS E, which he cites with approbation p. 230. to 237. He proceeds thus in her prayes. All parts of the world have produced admirers of her worth; Syria hath brought forth Ephraïm, Antiochia, Saint Chrysostome, Capadocia, Saint Basil, and Saint Nazianzen; Constantinople, Germanus, and Proclus; Dalmatia, Saint Hierome; Germany, Rupertus, Albertus, and Agrippa; England Beda; France, Bernard, Spaine, Alphonsus; Italy, Aquinas, and Bonaventure; Africke, Saint Cyprian, and Saint Austine; Greece, Dionisius Areopagita, &c. To these succcede famous Christian Poets, ancient and moderne, who have written Pannegyricks upon her; as Beda, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Innocentius Pontifex, Aëtius Sanazarinus, Adam de Sancto Victore, Alcimus Avitus, Antonius Muretus, Aurelius Prudentius, Baptista Mantuanus, Claudianus, Franciscus Petrarca, Godfridus Viterbiensis, Hieronymus Vida, Paulinus; D. Philippus Menzelius, Rudolphus Agricola, Sedulius, Venantius Fortunatus.

To these I add many Emperours, Princes and Princeesses and a world of devoute great ones, who have beene her professed admirers; as Constantine the Great, Charles the Great, Pulcheria Augusta, Henry the second, Emperour, Alphonsus the Chast in SP AINE, Edwardus in Hungaria, Bolislaus in Polonia, Venceslaus in Bohemia.

All which are Canonized for Saints, and have erected and dedicated Temples to her memory: Neither have the Princes of this our Ile bin defective in doing her a possible honour, and in consecrating Chappells and Tempells to her memory: Fredericke the third Emperour, made the contemplation of her almost his onely foode. Stephanus, King of Hungarie, called his Kingdome, the *Marian* Family: In this glorious Family, whole Kingdoms and Common-Wealths have enrolled themselves. My Arithmeticke wil not serve me to number all those who have registred their names in the Sodallitie of the Rosary of this our Blessed Lady the Originall of which is derived from the battaile of Naupactum, gained by Iohn of Austria, and the Christians, which Victory was attributed to her intercession with her sonne. The Colonian Sodallity first Instituted, had out of Lovaine, 4000. of Brabant, 30000. out of Gueldria, 4000. out of Holland and Zeland 7000. &c. Many holy Orders also are of this Sodallity, as the Benedictines, the Franciscans and Carthusians and many others, If all these Testimonies and examples of great wor-

thy people will not move us to honour her, we shall be judged, both unworthy of this life, and ignorant of that better to come. For shame let not us alone deny her that honour, and praise with all the world allowes her. Pag. 247. Hee Invokes her, saying: O pardon Gracious Princeesse, my weake indeavours to sum up thy value, &c. And Pag. 248. Thou deservest a quire of Queenes here, and another of Angells, in Heaven, to sing thy praise, &c. And I confesse my sweetest Lady. Page 249. To give thee an estimation answerable to thy merit, is a thing impossible: I must therefore be content to do by thee, as the Ancient Heathen did by the Images of the gods; when by reason of their height they could not place the Crowns on their heads, they humbly laid them at their feet. In his Epistle to his Feminine Reader, speaking of the *Virgin Mary*: This is she who was on earth a confirmer of the good, and a reformer of the Reprobate; all her visitants were but so many converts, whose bad affections and erroneous opinions, the sweetnes of her discourse had rectified: the Leprosie of sin was her daily cure, and they, whom

vice

vice had blinded, were by her restored to their inward sight, and their prostrate Soules adored Divine, Majestically vertue residing in this sacred Temple: the knowledge of her humbled the most proud Natures, for the lustre of her merits rendered their owne obscure, And in his *Epistle to the Masculine Reader*: But this I will say, that though I impute not the late troubles and afflictions of the Protestant party in Germany to the small Reverence there paid her (many of Gods judgments according to Saint *Augustine*, being secret, none unjust) yet truly I believe, that the under-valuing of one so great and deare in Christs esteeme, (as his Mother) cannot but bee displeasing to him; and that the more we ascribe to her, (setting Invocation a part) the more gracious we appeare in his sight. He concludes it thus; I will only adde this, that since the finishing of this story, I have read a Booke of the now Bishop of *Chichester*, intituled *Apparatus*, &c. And I am glad to finde that I have not digressed from him in any one particular: Soe he, Loe therefore what a Metomorphosis of our Religion is here. Here is a new Goddesse, brought in among us, the Virgin *Mary* adorned, extolled, deified with Titles, Courtships, Encomium, Hymnes: taken out of Popish Missals, Hournes, Breviaries, Poems. The Author glorieth, that he is the first who hath written, (as he saith) in our *Vulgar tongue*, on this our blessed Virgin: And God grant he be the last: But he beares himselfe in all this upon the Church of England: where wee pray you? at last wee perceive this Church of England is the (then) Bishop of *Chichester* (*Montague*) in his *Apparatus*, from whom hee hath not digressed in any particular.

This Booke of *Staffords* giving very great scandall to Protestants, and encouragement to Papists, Mr. *Henry Burton*, in his Sermon intituled: *For God and the King*, page 123. 124. 125. discovered, censured these extravagant Popish Passages in it, advising the people to beware of it. For which, among other things, he was brought into the Star-Chamber and there censured: But on the contrary, this Popish Booke of *Staffords* with the forementioned scandalous Passages in it, were by the Archbishops speciall direction professedly justified, both by Doctor *Heylin* in his *Moderate Answer to Mr. Burton* (licensed by the Arch-bishops owne Chaplaine, and written by his command) pag. 123. 124. and by *Christopher Dow*, in his *Innovations unjustly charged*, page 51. 54. and this Booke neither called in nor corrected, so audaciously Popish was he growne, in this particular, among many others.

20. That the Church is alwayes Visible:

Bishop *Montague* his *Appeale*: Page 139. The Church of *Rome* hath ever beene visible, The Church of *Rome* is and ever was a true Church since it was a Church. Therefore the true Church hath ever bin visible. Which he thus seconds *Orig. Ecclesiasticarum Tomi primo: pars poster. page 463. Sancte credimus, defendimus, &c. Ecclesiam nullis interceptam, intercisam, intercapedinibus, perpetuo extantem, alicubi visibilem, oculis usurpandam, in eum finem, et eo modo ut intelligere possint quibus cura illud est apud quos habeatur verbum vite, &c.*

21. That Churches, Altars, Chalices, Church-yards, &c. ought to bee Consecrated by the Bishop, and that his Consecration puts an inkerent holinesse into them That one part of the Church or Chappell, is holier then another: That the place within the new Railes where the Altar stands is Sanctism Sanctorum, into which none but Priests ought to enter, yea, Christs Throne and Mercy seat.

Doctor *Pocklington*, *Altare Christianum*, page 51. Dedication and Consecration of Churches used by Godly Bishops, and taxed by the Centurists for the mystery

mytery of Iniquity: I will passe from the placing of the Bishops Chaire to the dedication of his Church where it was set. The dedication of Churches within two hundred yeares after Christ shewes cleerely there were Churches: *Saint Clemens* his Command both for building and Consecrating of Churches makes it apparent, page 80. At the upper end of the Chancell, was a place inclosed and Railed in from the rest of the Chancell, whereunto none, neither Priests that were Penitents nor Deacons were permitted to enter, and there to communicate and officiate in the Consecration of the Eucharist, or in the administration thereof unto Priests, but they themselves: This place was called *Sacrarium*, here stood the Altar or Lords Table, and hitherto none might approach but the Priests themselves. The Canon is cleare for it, no Lay-man may come within the Altar. Page 83. Prayer for Kings, for Bishops, for the whole Church, and the Lords Prayer was then only said at the Altar by the Priest in the holy of holies: Hee deserves not to be named in the Priests, prayer at the Altar that is an occasion to withdraw Priests from the Altar. page 108. They had shut up the Doore of the holy of holies whereunto he was entred to doe his reverence to the holy Altar, Page 141. A man may as lawfully and Christianly administer the blessed Sacrament in a Barne or Towne-hall, as in any place that is not Consecrated to such holy uses. And when the Church was Consecrated, was not the Altar the chiefe place which with most Ceremony and devotion was hallowed? when it was hallowed, was it not kept more carefully from Prophanation then any other part of the Church? was there not a Feast annually kept in a joyfull remembrance of the Dedication of every Church and did not the consecration of the Altar carry the name of the Feast, page 142. Was not the Altar set in *Sacratio* or *sancto sanctorum* in the highest place of all, whereunto the Priest ascended by steppes and degrees, and when they so ascended, were there not said Psalmes of degrees? This holy Altar is in his owne nature, but a stone, but being consecrated and dedicated *benedictionem accipit*.

Shelfords five Treatises page 2. From hence appeareth that the Altar is the principall part of Gods House, as being the cause and Originall of all the rest, &c.

A notable Passage to advance the Jurisdiction of Bishops, and deprive Patrons of their Rights.

Doctor *Ridley* his view of the Civill Law reprinted at Oxford 1634. in the marginall Annotations newly added to it, page 52. The Bishop of the place shall come & lift up his hands to Heaven and consecrate the place to God: P. 191. For that which concernes foundation and erection: All that the Patron had free to himselfe was but the thought, hee might thinke where he would designe the ground, &c. but this was nothing without execution, and to this the *Diocesan* was to be required as the most principall and most effectuall agent. If the Patron built a Church upon his owne ground without the Bishops consent, the Bishop might pull it downe without the Patrons consent: page 192. When he makes the consecration, the Crosse must bee set up behinde the holy Altar: word being brought to the Patriarch concerning the Church that is to be built, letters are directed either to the Exarch or to some of the Bishops, to request that the Church may be founded Consecrated and entituled to the Patriarchs *Ἐκ τῶν ἑπομένων* &c. Consecrated in the Name of such a Saint, page 193. Things for the most part were altogether disposed by, but nothing at all without the Bishops Jurisdiction. That the Patriarch or Bishop should challenge this Jurisdiction over the new Church &c. it seemes most reasonable, For what did the lay Patron more do, then a man of Israell who brought a Lambe but the Priest made it an Offering and an Attonement? The Patron perhaps might chuse the place, but till the Prelate came and sanctified the Ground, it might be as well a Denne of Theeves as a House of Prayer: The Patron might bring the Stones, the Bishop made it a Church, till then nothing was but the breathlesse body of a Temple, the soule being yet to come from a Diviner influence of the Diocesan: therefore the priviledge of a new Church followed not the building but the consecration of it, &c.

Richard Tedder in his Visitation Sermon: Licensed by Doctor *Samuell Baker*, Feb. 6. 1636. Printed at London 1637. It is the Consecration that makes Churches holy, and makes God esteeme them so, which though they be not capable of Grace, yet they receive by their Consecration a spirituall power, whereby they are

are made fit for Divine Service, and being consecrated, there is no danger in ascribing a holinesse unto them.

21. Totall and finall Apostacy from Grace.

Predestination a desperate Doctrine Resisting of Graee.

Bishop Mountagne in his Appeale, pag. 29, 30, 31. *Ex Artic. 16.* After that wee have received the *Holy Ghost* we may depart away from Grace. Till the Church expound otherwise, it is as free for me to take it according to the Letter, as for you to devise a figure. The Article insisteth on men justified, after Grace received; challenged it was in this sense as unsound at the Conference at *Hampton Court*; but defended, maintained avowed, averred for true, ancient, justifiable, good and Catholike by the greatest Bishops and Learnedst Divines then living in this Church against that absolute irrespective necessitating and fatall decree of your new Predestination; stiled then and there by Bishop *Bancroft* in publike audience with much vehemency without any Checke, dislike, distast, dissent (for we reade of none) a desperate doctrine of Predestination. At what time also that Reverend Prelate and most accomplished Divine Dr. *Overall* Bish. of *Norwich*, &c. said, That a justified man might fall away from Grace, and so *ipso facto* incurre Gods wrath; and was in state of wrath and damnation untill he did recover againe, *Pag. 33.* Can your Learning and understanding make any other Construction of these words then, *That a man may fall away from Grace, and become no Child of God at all.* This is spoken, and meant. *Not only of totall lapse for a time, but also of finall separation, and for ever.*

Pag. 37. I see no reason why I might not have beene as confident in maintaining falling away from Grace, as you and your Divines are upon weaker grounds in defending the contrary.

Pag. 60. I must confesse my dissent through and sincere from the faction of Novelizing. *Puritans*, but in no one point more than in this their desperate Doctrine of Predestination, *Vide pag. 50. and 70. 71. &c.* to like purpose. *Pag. 72. Id.* It is not in reason probable, that you should have the doctrine of the Church on your side against Master *Mountagne*.--For the Church holdeth and teacheth punctually, and that against the Opinion and with the dislike of the Learnedest of your side that Faith, true justifying Faith once had may be lost and recovered againe: that a man endued with Gods holy Spirit and enlightened with the heavenly light may lose that holy Spirit, have that light put out, become like unto *Saul* and *Judas*.

Pag. 89. If a man justified may fall away from Grace, which is the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, then without question hee may resist the grace of God offered.

Pag. 214. It is an *Supplie* of your other singularity, *That Faith once had cannot be lost totally and for ever.*

Edmond Reeve, pag. 13. Mar. The Church signifyeth, that it is possible for such as are made the Members of Christ to become the members of the Devill, if they take not due care.

Pag. 64. Seeing then that some have perished which have beene pronounced to have beene in the number of Gods Elect.

Shelfords five Treatises, pag. 187. Such as shall fall double, from lesse and from greater grace and never rise, for such Justice hath a double due, a naturall and a supernaturall death; seated not only in *pana damni*, but in *pana sensus*, which the torments of hell fire afford.

22. That

22. That there is universall Grace and Redemption, and no absolute Reprobation.

This having beene formerly touched, in the Evidence concerning Arminianisme, wee shall bee the briefer in it here. *Edmond Reeve* writes thus, page 19. 20.

Whereby doth God the Father draw all mankind unto Christ?

Ans. Holy Church doth signifie it unto us, where it saith, that Almighty God doth shew unto all that be in error the light of his truth, to the intent they may returne into the way of Righteousnesse. *St. Iohn* saith, Christ is the light that lighteth every man which cometh into the world. Many Scriptures more declare that God is mercifull to universall mankind, not willing the death of a sinner, &c. as the Divine service teacheth, and informeth us. The which Doctrine of hers as sundry more, though we in our youngnesse of Christian knowledge do not understand; yet are we to believe also & to know, that the Fathers which set forth the divine service did perfectly understand, like as also we are to beleive, that the Fathers of the Church now and alwayes doe in the great Mystery of Godlinesse comprehend many things which the Common people doe not; yea also some things which Ministers of the inferiour Order, as Priests, Pastors, and Teachers do not apprehend, who are therefore to bee guided in Divinity by those most reverend and right reverend Fathers in God, and not to say that such and such sayings in the Communion Booke are untrue, because they understand them not.

Page 60. *Saint Paul* saith, That he gave himselfe a rancome for all; hee died for universall mankind: Again the death of Christ is available for the redemption of all the world.

Page 61. Whereas it is said by some, that Christ died not for Vniversall mankind efficiently or effectually, namely for such as perish, they consider not what the Scripture signifieth Christ to have done, yet hee did it not in phantasy, but in reality, in every deed.

Page 66. 67. How could the Church ordaine and require for to be said unto every particular member of hers in the Communion. *The Body of our Lord Iesus Christ which was given for thee, &c.* if any one of them were absolutely reprobated, i. e. from all eternity unconditionally decreed to bee damned in Hell fire everlastingly.

The Booke intituled, *Gods love to mankind*; and *Doctor Jacksons Divine Essence and Attributes*, part. 1. are professedly written, to iustifie universall Grace and Redemption.

23. That the Personall succession of Bishops is a true note of the Church, and necessary: That Peters Chaire was at Rome, and he sate Bishop there: and that it is the honour and happinesse of our Church, that this Archbishop, of Cant. that now is, with our other Bishops and Ministers, can derive them personall succession and Ordination from the Sea and Popes of Rome.

Dr. Pocklington, Sunday no Sabbath, P. 2. Our Diocesan can derive himselfe the successor of an Apostle: it is *Saint Austins* resolution. *Successio Episcoporum ab ipsa sede Petri*, is that which among other things by him named, keepes us in gremio Ecclesie, and Subjects us to our Bishops Jurisdiction.

Page 47. Their vanity may appeare that against all Antiquity make fooles beleeve, *Saint Peter* was never at Rome; making the succession of Bishops and truth of the Latin Churches, as questionable as the *Centurists* orders.

Page 48. Reckon up your Priests who succeeded one another after *Saint Peter* in his Chaire, if you will bee esteemed Members of the Church; Hereby we may by Gods mercy make good the truth of our Church. For wee are able lineally to set downe the succession of our Bishops from *Saint Peter* to *Saint Gregory*, and from him

him to our first *Archbishop Saint Austin*, our English Apostle, as Bishop *Goodwin* calls him, downeward to his Grace *NOW*, that sits in his Chaire, Primate of all England and Metropolitan.

Which hee thus seconds in his *Altare Christianum*, Page 45. Saint Peters Chaire in Rome, succession of Bishops in the Church of England, &c.

Page 47. Though saith (Saint *Austin*) you slanderously call the Chaire in other Churches, *Cathedram Pestilentia*, what cause hath the Church of Rome giuen you to say so of it, *In qua Petrus sedet, et in qua hodie Anastasius sedet?*

The very note whereby Heretickes were knowne from Catholikes was, that Catholikes could shew their Churches and the very Chaires in them wherein there was not only a morrall succession in purity of Faith and manners, but a locall succession of Bishops, continued even from the Apostles times, which Heretickes could not shew, and therefore were hereby convinced to bee such, and so put to shame and confounded.

Page 48. Hee recons up those that had succeeded the Apostles, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul, in the Church of Rome.

Page 49. *Novatian* is neither Bishop nor Member of the Church (saith Saint *Cyprian*) because hee cannot prove his succession, according to Apostolicall Tradition.

If in all this time there were no materiall Churches, then there could be no materiall Chaire, wherein their Bishops were enthronized; and if no Chaire, then no reall Inthronization, then no personall succession from the Apostles, whereby the right faith was derived from God the Father to his Son, nor from the Sonne to his Apostles, nor from the Apostles to succeeding Bishops. Those that deprive us of the benefit of this Apostolicall Tradition, pluck one speciall staffe out of our hands, whereby we stay our selves from falling from the true Catholicke Church, and beat all Heretickes out of our Communion. Miserable were we if hee that *NOW* sitteth *Arch Bishop of CANTERBURY*, could not derive his succession from Saint *Augustine* St. *Augustine* from Saint *Gregory*: Saint *Gregory*, from Saint *Peter* for hee that remembreth whom he succeeds will doublelesse endeavour, and pray to be heire to their vertues, as well as possessor to their places. What a comfort is this to his Grace, and to all those that receive consecration from him, and to all those that they shall ordaine.

Page 51. Tell us when and from whence you come? and what you make your selves to do in the Church that are no Sons of the Church? We can with Saint *Iraneus* point you to the time of your coming in. You *Cartwright* and your brood came in, as most Sabbatarians did, under Archbishop *Whitgift*, and your *Ames* and *Brightman*, with your *Laodiceans*, came in under Archbishop *Bancroft*, and you *Vicars* and our *Cotton* with his fugitives, came in, or rather went out under Archbishop *Abbot*.

Page 144. I shall begin with my selfe. I had my Ordination from Bishop *Dove* he had his Consecration from Archbishop *Whitgift*, and the Archbishop his from the undoubted successours of Saint *Peter*.

Doctor *Heylin* his Moderat Answer to Mr. *Burton*, Page 72. Write; If you have any other Pedegree, as perhaps you have from *Wickliffe*, *Hus*, the *Albigenses*, and the rest which you use to boast of, keepe it to your selfe, *non tali auxilio*, the Church of England hath not need of so poore a shift.

Page 68. The next thing that offends you and you clamour as if that they claime a visible and perpetuall succession down from St. *Peter* to Pope *Gregory*, from him by *Austin* the Monk, first Archbishop of *Cant.* unto his Grace now being, and sic de cateris; That *Gregory* sent *Austin* into England to convert the Saxons and made him first Archbishop of the English, is generally delivered by all our writers. Finally that my Lord the Archbishop that now is, is lineally descended in a most faire and constant tenor of succession you shall easily finde, if you consult the learned

labours of Master Francis Mason de Ministerio Anglicano. The Papists would ex-
treamely thank you, and think you borne into the World for their speciall comfort
could you but tell him how to disprove that lineall succession of our Prelates,
which is there laid dowe.

By Mountague his Gagge page 49. The Church hath ever beene visible. In England
especially; how can this fellow impute invisibility to us who claime and prove a suc-
cession.

25. That Sunday is no Sabbath, nor of divine institution; that the strict sancti-
fication of it, is Jewish, superstitious, and Rabbinicall. That May-games,
Wakes, Revells, Dancing, Interludes with other sports and pastimes are not
only lawfull, but convenient and necessary thereon, not to be restrained but in-
couraged, and the Kings Declaration to that purpose, most pious and Religi-
ous. That two houres only of it, (viz. The time of publik service, and sermons)
are to be kept holy; and that the residue may be spent in Recreations, or ordi-
nary workes of our calling. That the Lords day Sabbath was never heard
of in the world till Dr. Bounds daies: That the Sabbath is not morrall.

THIS is the subject matter of many whole late printed Books against the morallity
and strict observation of the Lords-day Sabbath: wee shall instance only in
some few; beginning with Doctor Pocklington, in his *Sunday no Sabbath*; where thus
he most scandalously and prophanely writes page 6.

What shall wee think then of Knox and Whittingham, and their fellowes, that
in their letter to Calvin depart from the constitution, Ordinance and practice of the
Apostles and Apostolicke men, and call not this day the Lords day, or Sunday, but
with the piety of Jeroboam, make such a day of it, as they have devised in their owne
hearts, to serve their owne turne, and Anabaptising of it after the minde of some Jew,
hired to be the God Father, therefore call it the Sabbath page 7. This name Sabbath is
not a bare name, or like a spot in their foreheads to know Labans sheepe from Jacobs,
but indeed it is a Mystery of Iniquity intended against the Church, &c. page 13. But
what doe I speake *de integro die*, of a whole day? do but that in keeping the Lords
day which the Widdow did in her Almes that gave two mites; *sc tu duas horas*, so give
the Lord two houres: this if you do not, beware you lose not *integrorum annorum la-
bores*, the Labours of many whole yeares. Page 20. Others also for the Plots sake,
must uphold the name of Sabbath, that stalking behinde it, they may shoot against
the services appointed for the Lords day. Hence it is, that some for want of witte,
too much adore the Sabbath as an Image dropt downe from Jupiter, and cry
before it as they did before the Golden Calfe, This is an holy day unto the Lord;
whereas it is indeed the great Diana of the Ephesians, as they use it, whereby the
minde of their Proselytes are so perplexed and bewitched, that they cannot resolve,
whether the sinne be greater to bowle shoote or dance on their Sabbath, then to
commit Murder, or the Father to cut the throat of his owne child. All which doubts
would soon be resolved by plucking of the Vizard of the Sabbath from the face of the
Lords day, which doth as well and truly become it, as the Crowne of Thorns did the Lord
himselfe. This was plotted to expose him to damnable dirision, and that was plot-
ted to impose on it detestable superstition; yet to die for it they will call it a Sab-
bath, presuming in their zealous ignorance of guiltfull zeale, to be thought to speake
the Scripture phrased, when indeed the Drege of Ashdod flow from their Mouthes. p.
21. With us the Sabbath is Saturday, and no day else, no ancient Father, nay
no learned man, Heathen or Christian took it otherwise from the beginning of the
world till the beginning of their Schisme in 1554. page 22. Many that see so little
benefit will be sucked out of the constitutions of the Apostles practice and tradition
of holy Church, Doctrine of Godly and learned Fathers, that they have got them-
selves

selves heapes of Teachers, that to serve their owne turnes will call and keepe the Lords day, as a Sabbath, and so prophane it with such outcries, that the voyce of truth will become silent: but with *Moses, liberavi animam meam.*

Doctor Peter Heylin in his *History of the Sabbath*, dedicated to his Majetty, and printed by the *Archbishops speciall approbation*, is every way as prophane and bitter against the morality, and strict observation of the Lords-day Sabbath, as *Pocklington*; we shall instance but in a Passage or two: The first is in his *Epistle to the Reader*, before the second Booke of his *History*, in these termes.

And this part we have called the *History of the Sabbath* too; although the institution of the Lords day, and entertainment of the same in all times and ages since that Institution, be the chiefe thing whereof it treateth: for being it is said by some, that the Lords Day succeeded by the Lords appointment, into the place and rights of the Jewish Sabbath, this booke was wholly to be spent in the search thereof, whether in all, or any Ages of the Church, either such doctrine had beene preached, or such practise pressed, upon the Consciences of Gods people. And search indeed we did with all care and diligence, to see if we could finde a Sabbath in any evidence of Scripture, or writing of the holy Fathers, or edicts of Emperours, or decrees of Councils, or finally in any of the publike Acts and Monuments of the Christian Church, but after severall searches made, upon the *Alas*, and the *Pluries* wee still returne, *Non est inventus*: and thereupon resolve in the Poets language. *Et quod non invenit usquam, esse putet nusquam*; that which is no where to be found, may very strongly bee concluded not to be at all. *Buxdorsius* in the eleventh Chapter of his *Synagoga Judaica*, out of *Antonius Margarita*, tells of the Jewes. *Quod die Sabbatino, præter animam consuetam, præditi sunt & alia*, that on the Sabbath day, they are perswaded that they have an extraordinary soule infused into them, which doth enlarge their hearts, and rouse up their spirits. *Ut Sabbatum multo honorabilius peragere possint*, that they may celebrate the Sabbath with the greater honour. And though this *Sabbatharie soule*, may by a *Pythagoricall*. *περὶ μετεμίσθωσις* seeme to have transmigrated from the Jewes, into the bodies of some Christians, in these latter dayes, yet I am able to give my selfe good hopes, that by presenting to their view, the constant practise of Gods Church in a'l times before, and the consent of all Gods Churches at this present, they may be dispossessed thereof without great difficulties. It is but *anima superflua*, as *Buxdorsius* calls it, and may bee better spared then kept, because superfluous.

To which wee shall annex these passages in the eight Chapter of this his second Booke Sect. 7. pag. 249. &c. Thus upon search made and full examination of all parties, wee finde no *Lords Day-Sabbath* in the Booke of *Homilies*, no nor in any writings of particular men, in more then thirty three yeares after the *Homilies* were published, Then reciting Doctor *Bounds* opinion in his booke of the Sabbath pag. 211. All lawfull pleasures and honest Recreations, as *Shooting, Fencing, Bowling*, which are permitted on other dayes; were on this day to bee forborne No man to speake or talke of pleasures, or any worldly matter, (he saith) Most Magisterially determined, more like a Jewish Rabbi, then a Christian Doctor. Yet *Romish* and *Rabbini-call* though this doctrine were, it carried a faire face and shew of Piety, at least in the opinion of the Common people, &c. Sect. 8. p. 255. 256. We may perceive by this, that their intent from the beginning, was to cry downe the *Holy Dayes*, as superstitious, *Popish* Ordinances; that their new found Sabbath being placed alone, (and Sabbath now it must be called) might become more eminent. Nor were the ether, though more private effects thereof, of lesse dangerous nature; the people being so insnared with these new devices, and pressed with rigour more then Jewish; that certainly they are in as bad a condition, as were the *Israelites* of old, when they were captivated and kept under by the *Scribes* and *Pharises*. Some I have knowne, (for in this point, I will say nothing, without good assurance) who in a furious kinde of Zeale, like the madde Prophetesse in the Poet, have run into the open streets, yea, and searched private houles too, to looke for such as spent the

heures, on the *Lords Day*, in lawfull pastimes, which were not destinate by the Church, to Gods publike service, and having found them out, scattered the compaignie, and brake the Instruments; and, if my memory faile me not, the Musicians head too: and, which is more, they thought that they were bound in Conscience so to doe, &c. And *sect. 9. p. 258.* He most prophanely and scurrilously stiles the *Lords-Day*; *The NEW SAINTS SABBATH*; And *sect. 13. pag. 269. &c.* hee concludes thus. Nay which is more, it was so publickly avowed and printed, by one who had no calling to interpret lawes, except the provocation of his own ill spirit, *That Dancing on the Lords-Day, was an unlawfull pastime, punishable by the Statute of 1 Carl. c. 1. which intended (so he saith) to suppress Dancing on the Lords Day as well as Beare-Baiting, Bull-Baiting, Enterludes and common Playes, which were not then so rife and common, as dancing, when this Law was made.* Things being at this height, it pleased His Excellent Majestie, 'Observing, as hee saith himselfe, how much his people were debarred of Recreation, and finding in some Countie, that 'under the pretence of taking away of abuses, there had bin a generall forbidding, 'not only of ordinary meetings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of Churches, 'commonly called Wakes, to ratifie and publish the *Declaration of His Majesties Father*, before remembred: Adding, that all those feasts, with others should bee 'observed; and that all Neighbourhood, and freedome with manlike and lawfull 'exercises, be therein used; commanding all the Justices of Assize, in the severall 'Circuits, to see that no man doe trouble or molest any of his Loyall and dutifull 'people, in or for their lawfull recreations, having first done their duty to God and 'continuing in obedience unto His Majestie and his Lawes: and further, that publication thereof be made by Order from the Bishops, through all the parishes of 'their severall Diocesses respectively.

† The Kings
Declaration.

* He should
have said, No
Christian State
nor Church
rather.

NOTE.

Thus did it please His Excellent and Sacred Majestie to publish His *most pious and Religious purpose*, of opening to his Loyall people the *liberty of the Day*, which the day allowed of, and which *"all Christian States and Churches in all times before had never questioned*: withall, of shutting up that doore, whereat no lesse than *Judaisme* would in fine have entred, & so in time have over-ran the fairest and most beautifull Church, at this day in Christendome, And certainly, *it was a pious and Princely Act, nothing inferiour unto that of Constantine or any other Christian King, or Emperour, before remembred*; it being no lesse pious in it selfe considered, to keep the holy dayes free from Superstition, than to preserve them from Profanenesse; especially considering, that permission of lawfull pleasures, is no lesse proper to a festivall, then restraint from labour. Nay, of the two it is more ancient: for in his time, *Tertullian* tells us, that they did *diem Solis latitiae indulgere*, devote the Sunday partly unto mirth and recreation, not to devotion altogether; when in an hundred yeares after *Tertullian*'s time, there was no law or constitution to restraine men from labour this day, in the Christian Church. Yet did not his most Excellent Majestie finde such obedience in some men and such as *should have beene examples unto their flockes*, as his most Christian purpose did deserve: there being some, so settled in the opinion of a Sabbath Day, (a day not heard of in the Church of Christ 40. yeares agoe,) that they choose rather to deprive the Church of their paines and ministrie, than yeeld unto His Majesties just commands, for whose sakes specially, next unto my duty unto God, my Sovereigne and the Church my Mother, I have employed my time and Studdies, to compose this *History*: that they may see therein in briebe, the practise of Gods Church in the times before them, and frame themselves to do thereafter; casting aside those errours in the which they are, and walking in the way which they ought to travell; which way when all is done will bee *Via Regia, the Kings Highway*; as that which is most safe and of best assurance, because most travellers by Gods people. Our private pathes doe leade us often into errour, and sometimes also into danger, And therefore I beseech all those who have offended in that kind, to lay aside their *passions* and their *private interests*, if any are that way misguided; as also not to shut their eyes against those truths, which are presented to them for
their

their information; that to the King may have the honour of their due Obedience; the Church the comfort of their labours, and conformable ministry. For to what purpose should they hope, to bee ennobled for their sufferings, in so bad a cause, which neither hath the Doctrine, of the Scriptures to authorize it, or practise of the Church of God, the best expositer of the Scripture, to confirme, and countenance it? or to be counted constant to or in their first conclusions, having such weak and dangerous premises to support the same; since constancy not rightly grounded, is at best but obstinacy, and many times doth end in Heresie. Once againe therfore I exhort them even in Gods name, whose Ministers they are, and unto whom they are to give up an account of their imployment; and in the Kings Name, whom as Gods Deputy they are bound to obey, not for wrath only, but for Conscience sake, and in the Churches name, whose peace they are to study above all things else, and their owne names, lastly, whom it most concernes, that they desist, and goe not forward in this disobedience, *lest a worse mischiese fall upon them.* For my part, I have done my best, so farre to give them satisfaction in this present point, (so farre forth as the nature of an History would permit) as they might thinke it no disparagement to alter their opinions, and desert their errors, and change their resolutions: since in so doing, they shall conforme themselves unto the practise of Gods Church in all times and Ages.

This prophane Doctor in his *Epistle before Doctor Prideaux, his Lecture of the Sabbath*: and in his *Moderate Answer to Master Burton*, pag. 50. to 56. 76. 80. 81. 110, 112. hath many passages to the same effect, against the Sabbaths morality, the strict intire Sanctification of the Lords-Day; in yea Justification of the Book of sports, and of the Archbishops and Bishops silencing, excommunicating, censuring those who refused to read it to the people.

The like passages we meet with in Bishop *Whites*, Doctor *Primrose*, and Master *Joronsdes* Treatises of the Sabbath, in *Christopher Dew* his Innovations unjustly charged, chap. 10. 11, 12. in *Edmund Reeve* his Communion Booke Catechisme expounded; wherein the Piety, Necessitie, and Vtilitie of His Majesties Declaration for sports is extolled above *Elah* pag. 90. to 108. that these Pages were afterwards torne out of the Booke for very shame by the *Stationer*, they were so vile, licentious, and distastfull to most.

26. That Reading is Preaching: that Preaching is only for extraordinary persons and times, not for ordinary Ministers and seasons: that one Sermon a moneth is better than two every Lords-Day. That Bishops are not bound to preach, at least, not so often as other Ministers, by reason of their great temporall employments and Court attendance, &c. And that Saint P A U L read Homilies.

S Helfords five Treatises, pag. 35. 36. After this a wise and discreet Sermon not made by every Minister, but by a man of Reading and discretion, right well becometh this holy place.

Pag. 74. Some Parishes (as men say) have good Preachers but bad livers, and some have meane Preachers or Readers, but good livers, which of these are best? The good living Minister what he builds by his reading of Gods Word, Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, pulls not downe againe, but upholds all with his good life, therefore he is farre the best Preacher. Pag. 77. Hast thou not thy Minister to doe this for thee every Sunday and Holy-Day in Catechizing: But thou likest not of this because it is not a Sermon, how provest thou that? because it is not spoken out of the Pulpit, nor delivered out of a Text, &c.

Page 78. The very reading of it is preaching, and not only preaching, but lively and working preaching, working upon mens soules to grace and goodnesse. And that Gods Word read unto us, is preaching, you shall finde it expressed in, *Acts 15. 21.*

P. 82. What need is there of Preaching? The besotted negligence of our delicate Puritans is that which makes them to run so after Sermons. God speaks unto thee every Holy-Day by his owne Word.

Pag. 91. There is another kinde of preaching which is not fit for every kind of Minister, but for extraordinary and excellent men, called by God and the Church to reforme errors and abuses, or to promulge to the world new Lawes and Cannons. And as this kinde is to be performed by extraordinary men, so it is not alwayes so needfull but only when necessitie requireth, for when things are settled, there needs no more settling but only preserving. We ought not to have many *Moseses*, nor many *Evangelists*, nor many Apostles.

Pag. 93. The ancient and true doctrine of the Primitive Church by setted Articles is restored; therefore this extraordinary kind is not now so necessary, except it bee upon some notorious Crimes breaking in upon our people, or some exorbitances of greene heads, broaching the froth of their owne braines, which will hardly be reformed, untill many of these be unfurnished of their Licenses, and those that are permitted be restrained to certaine times and seasons. For better were it for our Church and people to have but one Sermon well premeditated in a moneth (which is insinuated by the Canon) then two upon a day proceeding from a rolling braine and mouth without due preparation.

NOTE.

Pag. 94. All the Bishops in the Land can hardly keepe downe their wrong and unseasoned doctrine: Having shewed this kinde of preaching to be extraordinary for speciall men, speciall times and occasions: It followes, that the preaching by reading is the ordinary preaching: This was the ordinary preaching in our Church before King *Henry* the eight.

Page 241. Preaching of its owne nature is indifferent, therefore the managing of it is not for all men; but only for such as are of a stayed head and large understanding.

NOTE.

*Dr. Pocklington*s Sunday no Sabbath, P. 31. No ground at all for the fruitlesse and disobedient exercise of their afternoone talent; It will bee hard for the best and stubbornest of them all, to shew a Sermon preached by any of the Fathers in the afternoone.

NOTE.

P. 32. *S. Paul* preached *ὁμιλίας* all the while he was in his Homilie: what his Homily was it is hard for mee to say, whether it was that himselfe made and did not read, or one that he read and another made: An Homily, I am sure it was, and it may be made by all the Apostles or the chiefe of the Apostles. Wherefore I take it for a cleare truth, that Saint *Paul* read the Decrees: and sure I am by the word used in the Text that when he read them, and no more but read them without adding or deminishing, that hee preached by way of Homilie *ὁμιλίας*. Reading of Homilies, then is preaching, and so adjudged by the Learned Bishops in the Council of *Rhemes*.

P. 34. If then Reading of Decrees of the Apostles, be preaching, and used for the profit and peace of the Church, and for the establishing of them in the faith, then surely is reading of *Lessons*, Epistle and Gospell, much more preaching, and the Reader is a Preacher.

Edmond Reeve his Communion Catechisme expounded, page 74. They are said to make an Idoll of Preaching, which place even the whole Christian Religion in hearing of Sermons; and in Comparison of preaching forth of a Pulpit, they nothing or very little account of the Common-prayer, and the reading of the Homilies.

Page 77. To preach unto a Congregation on every Sunday is the proper worke of

of Pastours. But the Bishops the Fathers in God having received the greatest measure of the holy Ghost are to be employed besides, in the greatest ministeriall matters of the Church, as to ordaine Priests and Deacons, Christs holy Ordinance of Consecration. P. 78. It is their worke to Consecrate Churches, &c. To require all the Ecclesiasticall Lawes of the Kingdome, to be observed, and to have to doe in the affaires of the Common-wealth. Page 79. Many more are the employments pertaining to their high order, and calling; by reason whereof they may but at some certaine times preach unto Congregations, when as they shall see occasion.

Page 94. Holy Church hath ordained, that in the Sunday afternoone, there should be taught her fundamentall Catechisme, her Lawes, her Canons, her Constitutions should be read, the Common-prayer with the Lessons be said, and that the Homilies should be read also.

27. That Bishops pretended Lordly superiority, in point of Order and Jurisdiction, over and above other Ministers, is of Divine right and institution, and that there neither is nor can be any true Church, where there are no such Lordly domineering Bishops.

THIS Archbishop of Canterbury himselfe determines thus in his Speech in Star-Chamber, page 67. This I will say and abide by it, that the calling of Bishops is *Iure Divino*, by divine Right: and this I say in as direct opposition to the Church of Rome as to the Puritan humour; and I say further, that from the Apostles times in all ages, in all places the Church of Christ was governed by Bishops. Now this is made by these men as if it were *contra Regem*, against the King in right or in power: But thats a meere ignorant shift, for our being Bishops *Iure Divino* by divine Right, takes nothing from the Kings Right.

In his Reply to Fisher, page 176. Hee positively affirms, That *ubi non est sacerdos, non est Ecclesia* St. Hierom: And in that place most manifest it is, that by *Sacerdos*, Saint Jerom meanes a Bishop: Soe even with him, NO BISHOP AND NOE CHURCH.

Doctor Heylin in his Moderate Answer to Mr. Burton, page 65. writes thus, by the Archbishops appointment: You are much offended with the Prelates that they will needs be Lord Bishops *Iure Divino*, page 66. Your first exception is, That the Episcopall Authority is claimed from Christ: and that some of the Bishops said in the High Commission. That if they could not prove it, they would cast away their Rochets: this is no more then what had formerly beene said in the Conference at Hampton Court, when on occasion of S. Hieroms saying, that a Bishop was not *divina Ordinationis*; the Bishop of London (Doctor Bancroft) interposed; that unlesse he could prove his ordination lawful out of the Scriptures, he would not be a Bishop foure houres, page 67. 70. Who is it, which of our Divines that holds Episcopall Authority to bee derived from any other fountaine then that of Christ and his Apostles? If any such there be, he is one of yours: Traversie, and Cartwright and the rest of your Prodecessors: Men never owned for hers by the Church of England: Geneva had their hearts, wee their bodies only.

This theame of Bishops superiority *Iure Divino*, over other Ministers; was professedly maintained by Bishop White, in his Preface to his Treatise of the Sabbath against Braburne by Christopher Dow in his Innovations unjustly charged chap. 19. p. 170. &c. by John Swan in his *Redde debitum*, Chap. 2. sect 2. p. 161. to 172. (asserting peremptorily, that the Hierarchy of the Bishops is *Iure Divino*) with sundry others in their printed Bookes yea: publicly affirmed with much confidence by both our Archbishops, with other Prelates in the Star-Chamber and High-Commission: maintained publicly

in the Divinity Schooles in both our Vniversities, and asserted almost in every Pulpit, at leastwise in Cathedralls. But this Erronious Position being satisfactorily refuted, and palpably displayed to all the world by Doctor *Bastwicke*, in his *Flagellum Apologeticus ad Prasules Anglicano* and by Master *Prynne*, in his *Vnbishoping of Timothy and Titus*; his *Brevia*, and *Catalogue of Writers in all ages refuting this position of theirs*; and by the Presbyterians in Scotland the Archbishop and his Confederate Prelaticall Brethren were so hardly put to it that they ieriously mustred up all their policy, learning, power, to maintaine their Episcopall Jurisdiction to be of divine right: Whereupon having engaged his Majesty and his Privy Councell to maintaine it by the Sword in the Field, he encouraged Doctor *Hall*, bishop of *Exeter* (very prone of himselfe to undertake such an enterprize) to defend it with his smooth Rhetoricall penne in the Presse. This Bishop upon his motion and request readily undertakes the designed service, compiles his Booke, intituled, *Episcopacy by divine Right*; the written Copy whereof he sent to the Archbishop, submitting it wholly to his power, to dispose of it at his pleasure, or alter any thing therein, which he or his Chaplaines should deeme meet: This *Treatise* was carefully read over by the Archbishop himselfe and his Chaplaines line by line, who altered it in some places, and then authorized it for the Presse. The particulars concerning the cause and grounds of compling it with the Bishops whole pretended Plot, how to support their tottering Hierarchie is fully related in the ensuing Letters of Bishop *Hall* to the Archbishop, and of the Archbishop to him, all found and seised on in his Study at *Lambbeth*.

We shall transcribe all these Letters according to their severall dates, the first of them (extracted out of the very originall) is this:

MOST Reverend Father in God, and my most Honourable Lord, I have received your Graces Answer in one to my three last, humbly thanking your Grace for your noble favours to that well deserving Petitioner, Master *Edgcombe*, whom I recommended to your Graces notice. For *Ashbrenton*, I gave order for a speedy satisfaction, and make account to receive it, ere the closure of this letter.

Yesternight I had the view of the Acts of the late Scottish Assembly, which I could not read without much indignation, in seeing the only true, and ancient Government of the Church so dispirefully trod upon by ignorant Factionists. Vpon the perusall whereof, I begin to think it were pity and shame they should carry it away so, and that so publike an insolence could admit of none but a more publike remedy, and may I be bold to impart unto your Grace what my thoughts were for some ease of this wrong, and mitigation of the scandall, under the hope of your Graces pardon, I shall not sticke to discover them, in this secret and fearelesse paper, humbly leaving them to your Graces favourable censure, although indeed, I should have needed a larger Preface to so bould an attempt. Since then for his Majesty to right the Church by the Sword, as the case now stands, is neither fit for our hopes nor our wishes (which were no other in so desperate a Schisme, then to reconquer his owne with much Charge, danger and blood) we thought it might be seasonable, safe and happie to imploy the spirituall sword, the remedy which the Church hath ever wont to make use of in such occasions, with blessed successe, I thought therefore if through your Graces mediation it might please his sacred Majesty, to cause a Generall Synod of the whole three Kingdomes to be indicted, wherein all the Reverend Bishops, and chiefe of the learned, and dignified Clergy, and the professors, and some other eminent Doctors of all the Vniversities in all the said Kingdomes may be assembled to passe their judgment (after free and full expectation) of these Schismaticall points, determined thus proudly, and rashly by our Northern Neighbours, it could not but sort to excellent effect, for so they might bee convinced of their absurd errors; or at least publicly before all the world, censured and condemned for what they are: and if they have any Remainers of shame they shall be made to blush at their owne miserable transportation. This would bee some comfort to those exiled Bishops, who put Holy Island (as I hear

heare to the same use whereto it was imployed at the first Plantation of the Gospell (to be a receptacle of persecuted Prelates) that they should see their cause taken to heart by the whole Church under his Majesties dominions; and why should we not think that the presence and Authority of your Grace; with that eminent and learned Primate of *Armagh*, and so many other grave and renowned Prelates, seconded by so irresistible powers of the learning and Judgment of so many assistant Divines (of great note and worth) cannot choose but certainly confound these heady and ignorant opposers of Government and good Order, and give great satisfaction to the world, who seeing the errors and groundlesse proceedings of these men, shall hiss them out of countenance, neither can they shelter themselves under the examples of other Churches in *France and Netherlands*, &c. Since necessity hath long agoe cast them into that condition which these men (after establishment in the right forme) have wilfully drawn upon themselves, with an impetuous exclusion of a settled government. And certainly my Lord, me thinks there should be a kinde of necessity in this course, since not some few, but the whole Church of *Scotland* hath thus broken out into Schisme, and shamed both it selfe and the Gospell, and without some timely prevention the mischief may yet grow further; whereas this way it may be (at the least) choakingly convinced and seasonably checked. Neither neede the charge hereof be great to his Majesties coffers, since the burthen of the Commissioners may be layd upon the severall Diocesse from whence they are sent. Your Grace sees whether my zeal hath carried me. If I have been to bold and forward in thus presuming, I humbly crave the pardon of your Grace, which hath been extended to greater errors: I hope a good heart will excuse all: the best wishes whereof are truly vowed, and duly paid to your Grace,

Exon. Pal. Sept. 28.

By your Graces in all faithfull
Observance to Command.
Jos. Exon.

Which Letter was thus directed. *To the most Reverend and most Honourable my singular good Lord; My Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury his Grace, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of Oxford, and one of the Lords of his Majesties most honourable Privy Councell, present these.*

And thus endorsed by the Arch-Bishops own hand. *Das. Sept. 28. Received Octob. 1629. B. of Exon. Dr. Hall, To move for a Generall Councell of all his Majesties Dominions, to settle the Scottis Schisme.*

What was done upon this Letter, and how the Arch-Bishop tooke occasion from it to engage *Bishop Hall*, to write in defence of *Episcopall Superiority by Divine Right and Institution*, will appear by the Bishops next Letter to this Arch-Prelate, the Originall whereof we have under *Bishop Halls* own hand and Seale.

May it please your Grace,

I Was not only glad but almost proud of your Graces acceptance of my poor but bold motion, which that it found favour in his Majesties eyes, upon your Graces recommendation, was as much above my hope, as above the possibility of my thankfulness. I do most humbly rest in the grounds of his Majesties most wise and just resolution, although that which I propounded was not in any ayme at the Reclamation of those stiffe Spirits, but at their conviction and shaming, together with the satisfaction and settling of any distempered or wavering minds, of any contentious person, at home or abroad. But since it hath

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pleased his Majestie to lay aside that thought, I am most submissively silent; As for that motion (which comming from your *Graces* hand is no lesse in my construction then a command) of my undertaking this great taske, of writing a satisfactory discourse in this subject: I beseech your *Grace* to give me leave to say, it doth too much overvalue me. If your *Grace* did but know my great weaknesse, so well as I know my little strength, your *Grace* would not have singled me out for so high and noble an undertaking. I confesse in an holy zeale to the cause, no man shall outstrip me, in abilities too many: yet since it hath pleased your *Grace* to honour me so farre, as to thinke mee capable, and worthy of such an imployment, I shall most gladly (without prejudice to any more able paines) endeavour my best this way. But would your *Grace* bee pleased to give mee leave to suggest another *Motion*. I thinke I should intimate that which would not a little advance the successe of this great service. Single labours will be easily passed over with neglect, what will the Vulgar bee more apt to say then, This is but one Doctors judgement? *Vis unita fortior*. Might it therefore please your *Grace* to single out and Empannell a whole Jury of learned Bishops and Divines to joyne together in this subject, it could not choose but sway much with the world.

And since I have taken the boldnesse to move so farre, will your *Grace* give mee leave (out of the zealous intention of my thoughts upon the speede of this notable service) to propound some further specialty; If therefore in Ireland, the Lord Primate, the Bishop of Kilmore, the Bishop of Downe, and Conner, men (as your *Grace* best knowes) of singular note in the Church. Heere at home, my Lord Bishop of Durham, and Bishop of Salisbury, and if your *Grace* shall thinke mee worthy to come in the arreare of these great and famous Prelates, I shall not faile of my best. With them the Professors and some other eminent Doctors in the name of both Universities, and three or foure of the Bishops and Doctors of Scotland, shall be enjoyned by your *Grace* to expresse thejr judgements fully, concerning these two Heads of *Episcopacy*, and *Lay Prebytery*; and to Print them together. It will bee a worke that will carry in it such authority and satisfaction, as will give great contentment to the world, and carry in it a strong rebuke of the Aversaries: And if your *Graces* reason and resolution should so lead you, as to bee seene in the head of this Learned Squadron; the worke would beare not much lesse sway, then if it were a *Synodicall Act*; Neither would I wish that each of these should write a Volume of this matter; but succinctly, (though fully and clearly) declare themselves in these particulars, with such evidence of Scripture, Antiquity, and Reasons, as may most convince. But whether these be done in *Thesi*, or *Hypothesi*; whether in way of *Parænesis*, or *Apology*, or reproofe, I humbly submit to your *Graces* judgement and direction. I beseech your *Grace* pardon this well-meant presumption, and make account of the dayly Devotions of

Exon. Pal. Oct. 12. 1639.

Your *Graces* in all faithfull
observance to Command.

Jos. Exon.

After I had sent away my Letters of complaint concerning *Coxe*, the man came to me, and upon our second and third conference, began to relent: and finding that I had sent up his Sermon to your *Grace*, resolved to wait voluntarily upon your *Grace*, so as I hope your *Grace* shall at once heare of his offence and submission

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If so, a free and publike recantation would doe more good here, then his exorbitance hath done hurt; he hath been *usque ad invidiam*, conformable, and is a sufficient Scholler, and of unblameable conversation otherwise; I humbly leave him to your Graces either justice, or mercy, or both,

J. E.

This Letter was thus Superscribed. *To the most Reverend Father in God, my ever most honoured Lord, my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, Primate of all England, and Metropolitane, Chancellor of Oxford, and one of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privie Counsell, present these.*

And thus Endorsed with the Arcbishops owne hand. *Rec. Oct. 16. 1639. The Bishop of Exeter. That more then one should write in defence of Episcopacie against the Scots.*

To this Letter the Archbishop returned an Answer; thereupon Bishop Hall acquaints him in his next Letter, with the whole Platforme and Subject matter of his Booke, which he submits to his judgement, craving his direction therein, as this Letter under his hand and seale will manifest.

Most Reverend and my most Honourable good Lord,

Notwithstanding the importunity of your Graces manifold occasions, I received (two dayes since) two Letters from your Grace at once, whereof the one signified his Majesties pleasure for the provision of a Benefice within my gift, for one of our poore exild neighbours, which I doe most willingly embrace, as out of my owne true commiseration, so much more out of my obedience to my Gracious Master, but for the time as your Grace knowes, *ὁ δὲ δὲ ἐμὴ γίναν χεῖρα*. In the other, I doe first meet with your Graces mercifull and Fatherly proceedings with one of my strayed Charge, Master Cox. I was in some hope of his relenting, ere I left him, if (as I perceive) the worke be perfected by your Graces effectuall counsels, it will be happy for him, and great contentment to his friends; in regard both of his former conformity, and great Charge. He is not yet come down, an hearty Recantation will redeeme all. In the next place, I finde your Graces zealous care of the successe of this worke, which upon your Graces motion, I have heartily undertaken; wherein for the not applying of so many hands, I doe humbly rest in his Majesties most wise determination, although the danger of variance might have received a prevention, since the whole worke must have had one rule, and have come under one rule and censure, but this course is both more sure and no lesse effectuall.

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For that which here concernes my selfe; I acknowledge my self much bound to your Grace for your good opinion of my ability for so great a shooke, which I shall deferre to improve to the utmost; and whereas it is thought requisite, that I should set downe those simple Propositions, which I shall undertake to make good in this worke: I doe most willingly entertaine it, and therefore shall make bold to acquaint your Grace with the whole plot of my intendment in this service, humbly yeelding it up to your Graces Censure, or better advise.

And first my purpose is, (wherein I doe somewhat please my selfe, if your Grace be so pleased) to take my rise from the 8th. Section of their last Synod of Edinborough, wherein Master George Graham is said to come in, and condemne Episcopacie, and to professe his repentance, which is there appointed to be recorded.

Hereupon, I meane to take this Mr. *George* to taske, and somewhat warmly to expostulate the matter with him, and when I shall, after a fervent preface, have driven him from the refuge of conforming herein to other (which I think I shall do to purpose) I shall then deale with him alone, and addresse my selfe to argue the case with him, and the Faction (whom I shall make my adversary the Faction, and not the Church of *Scotland*.) And shall undertake to make good these two points, as I conceive, both full and proper for the occasion.

1. First, That Episcopacie is a lawfull, most Ancient, holy, and Divine Institution (I meane, that which is joyned with imparity, and superiority of Jurisdiction) and therefore where it hath through Gods providence obtained, cannot by any humane power be abdicated, without a manifest violation of Gods Ordinance.

2. Secondly, That the Presbyterian Government, how ever vindicated under the glorious names of Christs Kingdome and Ordinance, hath no true footing, either in Scripture, or the practice of the Church in all Ages, from Christs time till the present, and that howsoever it may be of use in some such Cities, or Territories, as wherein Episcopall Government, through iniquity of times, cannot be had: yet to obtrude it upon a Church otherwise settled, under an acknowledged Monarchy, is utterly uncongruous, and unjustifiable. Before the prooffe of which two heads; I purpose to lay downe certaine cleare and undenyable *Postulata*, some 15. or 16 in number as the grounds of my following Arke, such as these; 1. That Government which was of Apostolicall Institution, cannot be denied to be of Divine Institution. 2. Not onely that Government which was directly commanded and enacted, but also that which was practised, and recommended by the Apostles to the Church, must justly passe for our Apostolicall Institution. 3. That which the Apostles by Divine inspiration instituted, was not for the present time but for continuance. 4. The Universall practise of the Church immediatly succeeding the Apostles, is the best and surest Commentary upon the practise of the Apostles, or of their expressions. 5. We may not entertain so irreverent an opinion of the Saints and Fathers of the Primitive Church, that they who were the immediate Successors of the Apostles, would, or durst set up a Government, either faulty, or of their owne heads. 6. If they would have been so presumptuous, yet they could not have diffused one uniforme order of Government through the the whole world, in so short a space. 7. The Ancient Histories of the Church, and Writings of the eldest Fathers are rather to be beleaved, in the report of the Primitive of the Church Government, then those of this last Age. 8. Those, whom the Ancient Church of God, and the holy and Orthodox Fathers condemned for Errors, or Heresies, are not fit to be followed as Authors of our opinion or practise for Church government. 9. The accession of honourable Titles or Priviledges makes no difference in the substance of the Calling. 10. Those Scriptures wherein any new forme of Government is grounded, had need to bee very cleare, and unquestionable, and more evident then those, whereon the former rejected Polity is raised. 11. If that Order which they say Christ set for the government of his Church (which they call the Kingdome and Ordinance of Christ) be but one and undoubted, then it would and should have beene ere this agreed upon against them; what, and which it is. 12. If this (which they pretend) be the Kingdome and Ordinance of Christ, then if any essentiuall part of it be wanting, Christs Kingdome is not in that Church erected. 13. Christian policy requires no impossible or absurd thing. 14. Those truths which are new, and unheard off in all ages of the Church (in many and essentiall points) are well worthy to bee suspected. 15. To depart from the practise of the universall Church of Christ, (ever from the Apostles times) and to betake our selves voluntarily to a new forme lately taken up, cannot but be odious and highly scandalous. Upon these grounds laid, I shall come to subsume; and shall both convince the Faction in aberration from them, and fully prove the two points intended; After

ter which, with some observations and Queries, I shall shut up in a vehement Exhortation both to them, and to our owne; if it may be for the reducing of the one, if not yet to the setting of the other. If your Grace shall approve of this Plot-forme, I shall accordingly prosecute it; if your Grace shall thinke fit to alter or detract, or adde ought, I am as ready to submit, with pardon craved for this length, and the unfained vowes of my hearty prayers, I take leave, and am,

Exon. Pal. Oct. 28.

Your Graces in all officious

observance to command,

Jos: Exon.

Which Letter was thus indorsed with the Archbishops owne hand; Received November 1. 1639. The Bishop of Exeter his account of the Heads of his booke Intended for Episcopacy against the Scots.

To this Letter the Archbishop returned the Answer under his owne hand, wherein he fully expresseth his opinion, both concerning Episcopacy and Presbytery.

The rest of your Lordships Letter is fitter to be answered by my owne hand, and so you have it. And since you are pleased so worthily and brotherlike to acquaint me with the whole plot of your intended worke, and to yeeld it up to my sensure and better advice, (so you are pleased to write) I doe not onely thanke you, heartily, for it, but shall in the same Brotherly way and with equall freedome put some few Animadversions, such as occure on the sudden, to your further Consideration, aiming at nothing but what you doe, the perfection of the worke in which so much is concerned.

And first for Mr. George Graham I leave you free to worke upon his businesse and his ignorance as you please, assuring my self that you will not depart from the gravity of your selfe, or the cause therein. Next you say in the first head; That Episcopacy is an ancient, Holy and Divine institution. It must needs be ancient and holy it divine: would it not be more full, went it thus? So ancient as that it is of divine Institution. There you define Episcopacy by being joyn'd with imparity, and superiority of Jurisdiction, this seemes short for every Arch-Presbyters, or Arch-Deacons place, is so, yea and so was Mr. Henderson in his Chaire at Glasgow: unlesse you will define it by a distinction of Order, I draw the superiority not from that Jurisdiction which is attributed to Bishops, *Jure Positivo*, in their Audience of Ecclesiasticall matters. But from that which is Intrinsicall and originall in the power of Excommunication. Again you say in that first point; That where Episcopacy hath obtained, it cannot be abdicated without violation of Gods Ordinance. This proposition I conceive, *est niter munis habentes*; for never was there any Church yet, where it hath not obtained, the Christian faith was never yet planted any where but the very first feature, of the body of a Church was by, or with Episcopacy, and wheresoever now Episcopacy is not suffered to be, it is by such an abdication, for certainly there it was a *Principio*. In your second head you grant that the Presbyterian Government may be of use, where Episcopacy may not be had. First I pray you consider whether this Concession be not needlesse here, and in it selfe of a dangerous consequence. Next I conceive there is no place where Episcopacy may not be had, if there be a Church more then in title onely. Thirdly since they challenge their Presbyterian fiction to be Christs Kingdome and Ordinance (as your selfe expresseth) and cast out Episcopacy as opposite to it, wee must not use any mincing termes, but unmaske them plainly, nor shall I ever give way to hamper our selves for feare of speaking plain truth though it be against *Amsterdam* or *Geneva*; and this must be sadly thought on

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on concerning your *Postulata* I shall pray you to allow me the like freedome, among which the two first are true, but (as exprest) too restrictive. For Episcopacy is not so to be asserted to Apostolicall Institution, as to barre it from looking higher, and from fetching it Materially and originally in the ground and intention of it, from Christ himselfe, though perhaps the Apostles formerlyzed it. And here give me leave a litle to enlarge: The Adversaries of Episcopacy are not onely the furious *Aerian* Hereticks (out of which are now raised *Prynne*, *Bastwicke* and our Scottish masters) but some also of a milder and subtiler Alloy, both in the *Genevean* and the *Roman* faction: And it will become the Church of *England* so to vindicate it, against the furious Puritans, as that we lay it not open to be wounded by either of the other two, more cunning and more learned Adversaries. Not to the *Roman* faction, for that will be content it shall be *Iuris Divini Mediati*, by, from, for, and under the *Pope*; that so the Government of the Church may be Monarchicall in him; but not *Immediati*, which makes the Church Aristocraticall in the Bishops. This is the *Italian Rocke*, not the *Genevean*; For that will not deny Episcopacy to be *Iuris Divini*, so you will take it, *ut suadentis vel approbantis*, but not *Imperantis*; for then they may take and leave as they will, which is that they would be at. Nay (if I much forget not) *Beza* himselfe is said to have acknowledg'd Episcopacy to be *Iuris Divini Imperantis*, so you will not take it as, *Vni versaliter imperantis*, for then *Geneva* might escape, *et citra considerationem Durationis*; for then thought they had it before, yet now upon wiser thoughts, they may be without it; which *Scotland* sayes now, and who will may say it after, if this be good Divinity: And then all in that time shall bee Democraticall. I am bold to adde this, because I find in your second *Postulatum*, that Episcopacy is directly commanded, but you goe not so farre as to meete with this subtilty of *Beza*, which is the great Rocke in the Lake of *Geneva*. In your 9. *Postulatum*, that the accession of Honourable Titles or Priviledges makes no difference in the substance of the calling. If you meane the Titles of Archbishops, Primates, Metropolitans, Patriarkes, &c. 'tis well: And I presume you doe so: But then in any case take heed you assert it so, as that the faction lay not hold of it, as if the Bishops were but the Title of honour, and the same Calling with a Priest, for that they all ayme at, &c. The 11. *Postulatum*, is large and I shall not repeate it, because I am sure you retaine a Coppy of what you writ to me, being the ribbs of your worke, nor shall I say more to it, then that it must be warily handled for feare of a saucy answer, which is more ready a great deale with them then a learned one. I presume I am pardoned already for this freedome, by your submission of all to me, And now I heartily pray you be pleased to send me up (keeping a Coppy to your selfe against the accidents of carriage) not the whole worke together, but each particular Head, or *Postulatum*, as you finish it; that so wee here, may be the better able to consider of it, and the worke come on the faster, So to Gods b. protection, &c.

Lambeth, Nov. 11. 1639.

Wil. Cant.

This Letter was thus endorsed with the Archbishops owne hand. *My Answer (of Novemb. 11. 1639.) to the Heads of the Bishop of Exons Bookes, intended for Episcopacie.*

What Reply *Bishop Hall* returned to this his *Graces* Letter, these following Lines of his will disclose.

My most Reverend and most Honourable good Lord.

I Should be unthankfull, if I did not acknowledge every one of these Lines of so long a Letter, written with your *Graces* owne hand, a new obligation to me, who know the price of your time; yet the matter of them binds mee more; those

those Animadversions were so just, that I had amended those passages (divers of them) voluntarily, ere I received this Gracious Admonition, for I did onely send your Grace the rude draught of what I meant to polish in the Expression; your Grace observes truly some mitigation in stating the Cause, which I confesse to have purposely used, out of a desire to hold as good Termes with our neighbour Churches abroad, as I safely might; your Grace knowes well how Doctor Field, and Doctor Downam have handled that point, if we may make the Case sure for us, with the least aspersion cast upon them, (who honour our Government, and cannot obtaine it) I conceived it the better, especially, since the *Scottish* case so palpably differs; yet I would so determine it, as that nothing but necessity can either excuse them, or hold up the truth of their being. In the *Presbyterie* I must fall foule with them, howsoever; That Clause of abdication was inserted, with respect to the present occasion; I shall willingly abdicate it, Those many scruples which may arise, and must be met with in this cause, will bee avoyded, if we doe plainly and shortly state the Question thus; Whether the Majority of Bishops above Presbyters, be by Divine Institution? which if we make good, I suppose, is as much as can be reasonably desired: for what Christian can thinke it safe or lawfull to depart from that which Christ and his Apostles have set in his Church, with an intent of perpetuall continuance? I have noted in my discourse, those two sorts of Adversaries, and with respect to them put in these two words, *Lawfull*, against the first; and against the second, *Divine*; though the latter in the tractation comprehendeth both.

We shall not much neede, I hope, in this way to come within the Ken of that Roman Rock of *jus Divinum mediatum*, although it must fall into our mention. Shortly, I shall take carefull heede to those points which you Grace adviseth; and when I have laid my last hand upon the first part, whereof each clause must *Bis ad Limam, semel ad linguam*, I shall transcribe and send it to your Grace for your full and free Censure. In the meane time, with my best prayers, I take leave; and vow my selfe,

Exon. Pal. Nov. 16.

Your Graces in all faithfull
observance to command,

Jos. Exon.

The Archbishop with his owne hand thus endorfed this Letter. Received Nov. 18. 1639. L. Exon. his Answer to those Animadversions I made upon the heads of his intended Booke for Episcopacie.

The Archbishop returning an Answer to this Letter, thereupon Bishop Hall sent up his *Treatise of Episcopacy by Divine Right*, accompanied with this Epistle, and the ensuing Propositions, which together with his Booke, he wholly submitted to his Graces judgement and disposall.

Most Reverend and my ever most Honourable good Lord,

I Have received your Graces speedy and full answer to my last. And now according to my promise, I present to your Graces hands this Worke of mine, the bulk whereof I swelled under my hand, beyond my purpose; whiles I could think no passage of it unnecessary; I humbly submit it to your Graces free Censure, not personall, (for I could not be so weake as to thinke your Grace could lose so much time in perusall of it) but Deputative. The more and the more judicious eyes passe upon it, the better. Whether for haste, or delay; for impression, or suppression,

sion or suppression, I am altogether indifferent: for my owne judgement I doe not think it werthy or capable of the attestation of others, especially my betters, for that I do both take my rise from a particular occasion and do often intersperse polemicall dissertations, as with *M. Parker, Anti-Tilenus, Vedelius*, and others, without which me thought I could not satisfactorily clear those points,) which passages I have no reason to think others should take upon them, either to own or justify. It was my second bold motion to your *Grace*, That divers select Bishops and Divines, should shortly and fully expresse their judgements in this subject; Your *Grace* thought fitter (to which I subscribed) that it should be done by one or two, and allowed and seconded by more, such a discourse should be only positive and short: As for this, I suppose the judicious perusers will thinke it may be of good use to settle and prepare the mindes of men, towards an unanimity of Judgement in this point, which perhaps may be otherwise varying: And if I may have leave to shoot my bolt I should conceive, (if an attestation to our just Tenent be thought requisite from many and the best hands) it would sort best, that the substance of it should be drawn up into some short and full Propositions (such as these which I have taken the boldnesse to inclose) and sent or tendred to them for their subscription; wherein I should hold a generality of expression the safest. I beseech your *Grace* pardon this presumption of mine, and for this my Labour, if it be found that it may be of any profitable use, in these wayward times, let it flye; other wise it may this festivall be employed in *Thuris Piperisne Cucullos*. I shall be well content with either the light or the fire. Your *Grace* will soon finde that I have been plain enough with our *Genevians*: for the Forraign Churches I have taken the same course, with our learned Bishop *Andrews*, as pittying their alleadging necessity, not approving their form: in the mean time not thinking it best to make Enemies where we may have friends. I do finde and shew the *Scottish* case utterly unlike theirs for our greater advantage: I have driven the point further than some worthy Divines before me; and especially have laboured in that part, where the cause beares most, viz. in matter of Scripture; and the next following Antiquity. What it is, is wholly and absolutely at your *Graces* disposing, to what ever purpose your *Grace* will think fit: And so with the appreciation of an happy New year to your *Grace*, and to this whole Church, I take my humble leave, and am

Your Graces in all faithfull

Exon. Pal. S. Tho. Day.

Observance to Command.

JOS. EXON.

This Letter was thus superscribed: To the most Reverend and most honourable my singular good Lord, my Lord Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* his Grace, Primate of all *England*, and Metropolitan, Chancellor of *Oxford*, and one of the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Councell, *present these*.

And thus indorsed with the Arch-bishops own hand. Received Jan. 30. 1640.
L. Exon Concerning his book: and the submission of it to my judgement.

The Propositions inclosed in this Letter were these following, to which the Arch-bishop added this Title, and some insertions with his own hand here noted with a distinct Character,

Concerning

Concerning Church Government and the estate of Episcopacy.

1. God had never any Church upon earth that was ruled by a Parity.

2. The first Church of God which was reduced to a publike policy ^{*}was among the Jewes, and by his owne appointment was governed by a settled imparity of High-Priest, Priests, Levites.

^{*}Inserted with the Archbishops owne hand.

3. The Evangelicall Church was founded by our Saviour in a knowne imparity; for though the Apostles were equall among themselves, yet they were above the 70. and all other Disciples, and were specially indued with power from on high.

4. The same God and Saviour after his Assention did set severall ranks and orders of the holy Ministry: First Apostles: Secondly Prophets: Thirdly Teachers, &c. all which acknowledged the eminence and authority of the Apostles.

5. The Apostles after the Assention of our Saviour by the direction of Gods spirit, did exercise that power and superiority of spirituall Jurisdiction over the rest of the Church, which was given them by Christ, and stood upon their Majority above all other Ministers of the Gospell.

6. The same Apostles did not carry that power up to heaven with them, and leave the Church unfurnished with the due helps of her further propagation and Government, but by vertue of this power and by the same direction of Gods spirit, ordayned in severall parts spirituall guides and Governours of Gods people to ayde and succede them.

7. The spirituall persons so by them ordained were at the first promiscuously called Bishops and Presbyters, and managed the Church affaires, by common advice but still under the Government of the Apostles their Ordainers and overseers.

8. But when the Apostles found that Quarrels and Emulations grew in the Church; ^{*}even while many of them were living; through the Parity of Presbyters, and side takings of the people; The same Apostles by the appointment and direction of the same spirit, raised in each City, where the Church was more frequent, one amongst the Presbyters to a more eminent Authority then the rest to succeed them, in their ordinary power of ordination and censure, and encharged them, peculiarly with the care of Church-Government, such were Timothy and Titus, and those which were stiled the Angells, of the seven Asian Churches.

^{*}Added with the Archbishops owne hand.

9. These selected persons were then and ever since distinguished from the rest by the name *Episcopi*-Bishops.

10. In the very times of the Apostles, and by the imposition of their hands, there were divers such persons settled in the Church of God, being severally ordayned and appointed to the over-sight of those populous Citties where their charge lay, to whom all the Presbyters and Deacons were subject.

11. These Bishops continued their fixed superiority over their Clergy all the time of their life, with the well allowed expresse of spirituall Jurisdiction, and after their death **other Presbyters were chosen to succeed them*, by the due imposition of the hands of their fellow Bishops.

** This was altered by the Arch-bishop, and put in lieu of : were succeeded by others of their own Order or Degree*

12. There was no Church of Christ upon earth, ever since the times of the Apostles, governed any otherwise then by Bishops, thus successively (after decease) ordayned.

13. This course of Government thus set by the Apostles in their life time, by the speciall direction of the holy spirit, is not alterable by any humane Authority, but ought to be perpetuated in the Church to the end of the world.

14. Those which in the new Testament are called the Elders of the Church were no other then spirituall persons, such as had the charge of feeding the Flocke of Christ by Word and Doctrine.

15. It is not lawfull for any Lay-person to lay hands on those which are to be ordayned, nor to have any hand in managing the Censures of the Church, which onely pertaine to them who have the power of the Keyes delivered to them by Christ.

16. There was never any Lay Presbyter heard or read of in the Church of Christ in any History, untill this present age: ** All which wee declare to the Doctrine and Judgement of the Church of England, concerning these points of Church Government.*

** This clause was added by the Arch-bishop, with his own hand.*

These Propositions were thus endorsed with the Arch-Bishops owne hand: *Rec. Decemb. 29. 1639. Bishop Hall of Exeter his propositions concerning Episcopacy; These perhaps may be thought fit for a subscription of others.*

** Here. p. 263. to 267.*

There were two more Letters which passed between these Prelates about this subject and Book, which we have referred to a more proper place, where you may peruse them: All which compared together will fully discover, the whole plot and designe of the Archbishop and his confederates, in maintaining their Lordly Episcopall Superiority to be of divine Institution and Right, and how it was driven on by them, till it brake them all in pieces, by the authority and Justice of the present Parliament.

The last head I shall mention, is the summe and substance of all the fore-mentioned: namely,

That

21. *That the Church of Rome is a true visible Church, and never erred in fundamentalls, no not in the worst times: That she is the Ancient holy Mother Church; That her Religion, and ours of the Church of England, is all one: That men may be saved in that Church and Religion as well as in ours; and that it is a crime to be recanted, to hold Papists, as Papists, to be damned.*

This main comprehensive Proposition, ratifies and clearly demonstrates to us, the true drift & scope of all the former; to wit, a re-union and reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*; the foundation whereof was first laid by this Arch-bishops creature, Bishop *Mountague*, who determines thus in his *Gagge* pag. 14. The Articles of our Creed are confessed on both sides and held plain enough. The controverted points are of a larger and an inferior alloy: of them a man may be ignorant without any danger of his soul at all, pag. 50. Moderate men on both sides confesse, this controversie may cease, *Ecclesia Romana manet Christi Ecclesia & sponsa, &c.* In his Appeal pag. 136. Since there first was a Church in *England, France, Spain,* and *Rome*, there hath not ceased to be a true Church there: pag. 139. The Church of *Rome* is, and ever was, a true Church, since it was a Church. pag. 113. I am absolutely perswaded, that the Church of *Rome* is a true, though not a sound Church of Christ, as well since as before the Councell of *Trent*; In essentialls and fundamentalls, they agree, in holding one faith in one Lord.

This Position was strenuously maintained by Master *Chomley*, and *Butterfield* (who soon after turned Seminary Priest) in their Books against Master *Burtons*, *Babel no Bethel*; wherein they justified the Church of *Rome* to be a true Church, this being the subject matter of both their Treatises.

Tho. Chureus, in his *Collectiones Theologicae*, Dedicated to the Archbishop, and Licensed by *Heywood* his Chaplain, August 26. 1634. cap. 16. p. 45. 46. determines thus: *Quenam sit Romana Ecclesia? Cum constat Romanam Ecclesiam, in primariis temporibus, velut inter ignes Luna Minores, cæteris Ecclesiis præluxisse, cæterisque Mechanicis castam, & pudicam veritatis conservatricem extitisse, nec in pessimis usque eo degenerasse censemus ut in primariis & fundamentalibus Religionis capitibus aberrasse videatur; quidniquamvis in cæteris forsan vitiatam & temeratam, Ecclesiæ tamen nomine honestandam censeam, &c.*

This passage Doctor *Bastwick* taking exception against at his censure in the High-Commission, read it openly in Court, where the Arch-bishop publickly justified it in his speech, affirming: *That the Church of Rome was a true Church, and that it never erred in fundamentalls*, in which we differ not, but onely *circa fundamentalia*.

This distinction of his was afterwards thus justified in Print by *Christopher Dove*, in his *Innovations unjustly charged*, pag. 48. Nor is it an absurd distinction (as he unreverently and absurdly termed it) that a great Prelate used in the High-Commission at the censure of Doctor *Bastwick*, when he said: That we and the Church of *Rome* differ not *in fundamentalibus*, but *circa fundamentalia* pag. 49. The distinction is not absurd, but it may most truly and fitly be said, that we may and do differ about, and not in fundamentals: which Doctor *Heylin* likewise seconds in his *Moderate Answer*, to *Henry Burton*, p. 6. 124. 125. No difference between the Church of *Rome* and *England* in fundamentalls. Suppose a great Prelate in the High-Commission Court, had said openly, that we and the Church of *Rome* differ not *in fundamentalibus*, yet how comes this to be an Innovation, &c. The Church of *Rome* hath done more against the Heretickes of this age, than you, or any of your Divines, be he whom he will. But for the Church of *Rome*, it is a true Church, and that we differ not from them in fundamentalls: see the Reconciler.

Doctor *Potter*, in his booke which he submitted to the Arch-bishops censure, concludes thus; pag. 62. 77. The most necessary and fundamentall truths, which constitute a Church, are on both sides unquestioned. We hope well of those holy souls who in former ages lived and dyed in the Church of *Rome*, &c. Nay, our charity reacheth further, to all those this day who in simplicity of heart beleeve the Roman Religion and professe it.

Doctor *Pocklington*, *Altare Christianum*, pag. 114. Termes *Rome* by the name of *Holy Church*, and applauds her canonized Popish Saints, styling them, *The Holy Saints and Martyrs of Jesus Christ, whose names are written in heaven: And our Protestant Martyrs, Traytors, Murderers, Rebels, and Hereticks*.

The Arch-bishop himselfe was a professed maintainer of the truth and visibility of the faith and Church of *Rome*, not only in his Speech in the high Commission, at Doctor *Bastwick*'s censure there, and in his Speech in Star-chamber, pag. 36. but likewise in his late *Reply to Fisher*, Epist. Ded. p. 16. And were not this so, we should never be troubled with that idle and impertinent question of theirs: Where was your Church before *Luther*? For it was just there, where theirs is now. *One and the same Church still, no doubt of that*; one in substance, but not one in condition of State and purity; Their part of the same Church remaining in corruption: and our part of the same Church under Reformation. In the *Reply* it selfe, pag. 370. 371. *Rome*, but with all particular Churches and no more than other Patriarchall Churches was and is, *radix existentia*, the roote of the Churches existence. The Church of *Rome* and every other

other particular Church, &c. Indeed Apostolike she is, as being the See of one, and he a prime Apostle, but not the onely Apostolike: Visible, I may not deny, God hath hitherto preserved her. And p. 376. Secondly, if the Religion of the Protestants be in conscience a known false Religion, then the Romanists Religion is so too, for their Religion is the same. Nor do the Church of Rome and the Protestants set up a different Religion (for the Christian Religion is the same to both) but they differ in the same Religion; and their difference is in certain grosse corruptions.

I shall close up this with a *publike Recantation*, drawn up and prescribed by Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, to one Mr. Ridler Minister of Little Deane, about 7. miles from that City: who having many Papists in his Parish, and preaching in a Sermon there, *That Papists, as Papists were damned, and that the true Protestant Religion was the onely true and safe way to Salvation*: he was upon the complaint of some Papists, convicted before this Bishop, and by him enjoined to make this following *Recantation*, prescribed to him, in writing, in the Cathedrall Church at Gloucester on Jan. 2. 1636. and for refusing to make it, he was afterwards on the 5. of March next following suspended from his living.

(IHS)

IN the Name of the Father and of the Sonne and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Whereas I did deliver in a Sermon, lately preacht in this Diocese, *That if we are saved the Papists are damned*; I am right heartily sorry that I should deliver any such doctrine, wherein I must acknowledge mine owne errour, and my great fault and offence.

Note.

First, against his *Majesties Instructions*, thus rashly and unadvisedly to affirme, *That Papists are damned*.

Secondly, it is an offence against the laws of the Kingdome, *For in the eye of the Law we are still one with the same Catholike Church*: for were we of a distinct or severall Church, *Then our Church could claim no right or Title to those Priviledges, Charters, Foundations, and Revenues which it enjoys at this day, for these were granted to Papists, and for many hundred yeares possessed by them*; and since there hath beene no new Law for transferring them upon a different or contrary Church; But this is made much more manifest by the expresse words of the Statute, as it appeares by the Act of Parliament which was made upon the first breach with the *Papists*: the words are these, *That they do not thereby intend to seperate themselves from Gods Catholike Church, but onely for some politicall respects, to preserve the Kingdome from Ruine*. This was made the 25. of Hen. 8. and it is in force at this day, so that to make such a difference between these two Churches, as is between damnation and salvation, certainly is against the Common Lawes, and the Statute Law of this Kingdome, besides many acts of State, which being above my element, I will not presume to touch upon.

Note.

Third-

Note.

Thirdly, against the Church of England; It is impossible there should be any greater offence, in regard of the affinity that is between both Churches, for we have the same Holy Orders, the same Church Service, the same Ceremonies, the same Fasts, the same Festivals, and we have generally the same Canon Lawes; and therefore through sides of the Church of Rome they do but give deadly and mortall wounds to the Church of England who affirme, that Papists are damned.

Fourthly it is an offence to Christian Religion; for we are to preach the Meanes how men may attaine Salvation, and to preach Christ as a Saviour, we must not rashly intrude upon his Judicall power on every slight occasion, to point out those that are damned, as if we would shorten the mercyes of God and Monopolize them wholly to our selves, there is no militant Church without blemishes and imperfections, but as long as the foundation is sound, that we believe in Christ crucified, and that we believe the three Creeds, so long there is hope of Salvation; Severall churches, though differing in many things, yet may be contained in the bounds of the Catholique church: Thus the Greeke church and the Latine Church, may be saved both, though they have difference betweene themselves; and thus the Christians that lived in those parts of the world, which have beene lately discovered [and therefore did never partake with the rest of the Catholike church] yet no doubt but those may be saved.

Fiftly, there is nothing so proper to Christians, as love and charity, and a man may be damned as well for want of charity, as for want of faith; and there cannot bee possible a greater want of charity, then to exclude men from Salvation: and therefore they who are apt in their owne ungodly malice to damne others, certainly themselves are damned; Let it suffice that if any man shall aske God forgiveness of his sins, as no doubt every man doth, (for it is one part of the Lords prayer,) and these sins doe imply not onely the Transgressions of our lives, but likewise the erour of our faith, so that asking God forgiveness no doubt but God is mercifull.

And here I must likewise expresse my great sorrow and griefe, that I have so much offended against the memory of our forefathers and Progenitors, such as built our Churches, and were the meanes under God, not onely to give us life, but also to make us Christians: when I consider their Piety and their Mortification, shall I thinke these tended to nothing but onely to damne them? No, God forbid; and therefore in all humility and obedience, I doe here acknowledge my great fault, and do aske forgiveness of God, of the Church, and of our Reverend Diocesan, and I desire you all to testifie this my Sorrow and unfained repentance.

Note.

By all these Authorized Popish positions, you may easily guesse at this Arch-Prelates Popish intentions, to reduce us backe to Rome.

We shall close up this catalogue of Authotized printed Popish Doctrines and Positions, with two remarkable particulars more, sufficient to amaze all Protestant Readers for their strangenesse.

The

The first is, the extraordinary commendation of the most impious Councell of Trent, the Popes Masterpiece, the principall establishment, support, of the whole body of Popery, and strongest Pillar to support both the Faith, Pope, and Church of Rome.

For this we shall produce one memorable clause, which you may read in the exact collection of all the Roman Emperours lives, from Julius Caesar to the now reigning Ferdinando the second; Printed at London for George Hutton, and licensed by Doctor weekes, Chaplaine both to the Archbishop and Bishop of London, Ann. 1636. p. 374. Ferdinando the Brother of Charles, and Sonne of Philip King of Castile was a man well learned, especially in the Latine tongue, and also in Armes most expert and active; wherefore it was doubted whether he were of more agility in Chevalry, or more eloquent and fluent in the Latin, Italian, Spanish, High-Dutch, Hungarian, and Bohemian Languages. In the time of his Emperiall Government the Councell of Trent, was held, which was so commodious and profitable to the generall good of the world, that it may serve for a certaine Rule, both of Government of States, and a forme of good life. In which proceedings this Emperour shewed himselfe very forward and a great assistant.

Note.

What greater Encomions could be given of this damnable Popish Councell by publike Authority, without censure, revocation, or any Index expurgatorius, let all Protestants judge.

The second is: The printing of the Popish Index Biblicus, here in London by Authority, An: 1640. made by Priests and Iesuits, for their Vulgar Latin Bible, and binding it up with the Latin Bibles of Junius, Tremellius and Bezaes Translation, to seduce the Readers and corrupt the Text.

You have heard before, how the Archbishop commanded the whole History of our Saviours Nativity, Life, Passion, Resurrection, Assention, to be publicly printed, and inserted both into English and Latin Bibles, after the Popish garbe, taking his paterne from the Masse-booke; to pollute, pervert the text, and infect the Readers by degrees with Popery, even by these very Bibles, which otherwise would most alienate them from it. But not contented herewith he and his agents the better, sooner, to seduce the people to Popery, even by the very Bible it selfe, caused some two or three thousand Popish Indexes (made for the Popish Vulgar Translation of the Bible by Priests and Iesuits, and bound up with it) to be printed here in London by authority Anno. 1640. and bound up with our small Latin Bibles of Junius and Bezaes translation; to which it was never formerly annexed, as a fit Index for them. In which Index Biblicus, the grossest points of Popery are positively asserted, as directly contained in, and justified by the Scripture texts, to which it doth referre.

The publike printing, & sale of these Indexes here in London with our Protestant Latin Bibles without controule, was attested by Michael Sparke Senior, Master Walley and others, and these popish passages read out of them at the Lords Barr, by Mr. Prynne: *Adoratio Angelis & hominibus tributa*, Gen. 18. 2. &c. *Aqua benedicta. Baptismus tollit omnia peccata*, Gen. 17. 14. &c. *Benedictio qua Creatura consecrantur & sanctificantur*, Exod. 28. 2. &c. *Hinc consecratio Sacerdotum, Vestium, Altarium, Templorum, Cercorum, Aqua lustralis: &c. Castitas celibum, praefortior Castitati conjugali*. P. 45. 15. &c. *Castitas haec consulitur, ut perfectiq; Evangelica: 1. Cor. 7. 25. Certi non sumus de accepta peccatorum remissione, vel vita aeterna consequenda Eccle. 9. 3, 4. &c. Charitas virtus fide praestantior: Proverb. 10. 12. &c. Confirmationis Sacramentum Acts 8. 17. Heb. 6. 2. Doctrina Apostolica scripta et non Scripta firmiter tenenda. Rom. 16. 17. &c. Ecclesia est una & visibilis; Gen. 6. 14. Eucharistia sub altera tantum, nimirum panis specie Iohan 6. 58. data a Christo Luk. 24. 30.*

31. *ab Apostolis*, Acts 2. 42. *Eucharistia non remanet substantia panis post consecrationem, sed est verum Christi corpus & sanguis*, Mat. 26. 26. *Eucharistiam in publicis supplicationibus circumferendam esse. praefiguratur*: Jehos. 6. 9. 15. 1. Schem. 4. 5. 2. Schem. 6. 4. 5. 6. &c. *Fides sine operibus non justificat*: 1 Cor. 13. 2. Gal. 5. 6. &c. *Jejunii meritum*, Jerem. 35. 14. 19. *Jejunatur pro mortuis*. 1 Schem. 31. 13. *Imagines jussit Deus fieri*. Exod. 25. 18. *Impositio manus in Sacramento ordinis & confirmationis*, Actor: 6. 6. *Iusti vetè in hac vita*. Luke 1. 6. &c. *Iustificatio qua quis ex iusto fit justior, ascribitur bonis operibus*: Rom. 2. 13. *Iustificatio impij non solum fidei ascribitur, sed etiam aliquatenus alijs virtutibus, ut spes*: Rom. 8. 23. *Penitentiae operibus*: Jech. 18. 21. 22. Math. 3. 2. and Luke 7. &c. *Librum arbitrium etiam post lapsum in homine mansit*. Gen. 4. 7. *Librum arbitrium Co-operatur gratia Dei*. 1 Schem. 7. 3. &c. *Matrimonium cujus rei sacramentum*. Eph. 5. 32. &c. *Confert Gratiam et sanctificationem*: 1 Thes. 4. 4. *Operum merita & retributio seu merces*. Psal. 119. 112. &c. *Opera bona Deo grata sunt, & premium merentur*: Gen. 4. 4. 7. &c. *Operari bene propter mercedem & retributionem licitum est*: Psal. 119. 112. Mat. 5. 12. *Non in quolibet opere homo peccat*: 2 Pet. 1. 10. &c. *Ordinum sacramentum*, Joha. 20. 22. *Peccatum sacerdos remittit auctoritate Divina*: Math. 18. 18. &c. *Petrus primus Apostolorum*: Math. 10. 2. *Quadragesimalis Jejunij exemplum Moſe*: Exod. 24. 18. &c. *Reliquiae, & vestes sanctorum, quam vim a Deo habeant, quidne per eas operatur Deus, ut pallium Elija*: 2 Reg. 2. 14. *Vmbra Christi*, Mat. 9. 20. *Revelationes & visiones*, Jehos. 6. 1. *Sacrificium Novi Testamenti appellatur Ingis cultus*, Dan. 11. 31. *Celebrabitur donec veniat dominus*: 1 Cor. 11. 26. *Sancti etiam defuncti rectè à nobis laudantur*: Joh. 12. 26. *In sanctis suis Deus laudatur*: Psal. 151. 1. &c. *Scriptura difficilis intellectu*: 2 Pet. 3. 16. *Nec omnia scriptis Apostoli mandarunt*: John 20. 30.

All these, with sundry other Popish Doctrines were contained in this *Index Biblicus*, bound up with our Protestant Bibles, to pervert the Scriptures, seduce the Readers, and make the very Bible itselfe (as much as in them lay) the very Patron and Propagator of Popery. Now what more desperate project could there be to undermine our established Religion, and set up Popery then this, to corrupt the very Scriptures themselves by annexing such a pernicious *Index* to them; A crime so transcendently execrable in an Arch-Prelate, intrusted with the greatest care of our Religion, as no tongue is able to expresse its detestableness to the full, no punishment great enough to expiate its guilt.

Wee have represented you with an *Epitome* of the severall Popish Doctrines printed and authorized of late yeares in our Church by the Archbishop himself, his Chaplaines and Instruments; and could have furnished you with infinite others of this kinde: but because Master Bayly in his, *Canterburians selfe-conviction*, the last Edition, hath collected and published most of them already to the world, where the studious may praise them at their leisure, and we desire rather to satisfie, then surfet or tyre out the Reader with instances of this nature, we shall passe them by in silence, onely with this knowne experimentall observation, That all kindes of Popish, Arminian Doctrines were ever more bold and frequent in our Pulpits throughout the Realme, then in our Presses, especially in our *Universities* and the *Kings owne Chappell*; a truth so universally knowne to all, so plentifully manifested to the world in Mr. Whites first *Century of scandalous and malignant Priests*, that to prove it by witnesses or Inductions of particulars, would be to light a Candle to the sunne, and wast much precious time in proving that, which no impartiall intelligent man so much as doubts of, but knowes most true of his owne wofull experience.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, having given you this large account of what popish doctrines and positions both himselfe, his Chaplaines, Agents, printed, authorized to corrupt the peoples judgement; we shall next present you with a large English *Index Expurgatorius*, of what passages he and they expunged out of sundry English Writers. tendered them to licentia, before they could passe the Presse; which will most clearly discover his and their Jesuiticall practises, confederacies and designs to introduce the whole body of Popery among us with little or no opposition.

We shall begin with purgations of this nature, made by the Bishop himselfe, some of them before he had any publike authority to license Books, but most of them after he usurped this power, all of them so remarkable, that all Protestant Churches, Readers will stand amazed at them.

The first we shall instance in, is his purgations made in Doctor Sibthorps Sermon preached at Northampton Assizes, before the Judges, in the yeere 1627. intituled, *Apostolicall Obedience*, the whole scope of this Sermon, was to justify *The lawfulnessse of the generall Loane* (then set on foot by the Kings ill Counsellours, to keep off Parliaments) and of *the Kings imposing publike Taxes by his owne regall power, without consent in Parliament*; and to prove, that the people in poynt of conscience and religion ought cheerfully to submit to such Loanes and Taxes without any opposition. To sweeten this sower theame, the Doctor had cunningly inserted some popular passages into this Sermon against evill Counsellours, the toleration of Papists, Popery, and the prophanation of the Sabbath, which this Bishop (who procured this Sermon of his to be printed) expunged with his owne hand, as was evidenced by the Originall written Copy, found in his Study, produced at the Lords Barre, and attested by Master Prynn.

The first passage he expunged was this; 'When not onely the Emperour extirpates the Protestants in *Bohemia*, where he professeth it, and *Bavaria* in the *Palatinate*, where he hath a pretext of revenge for it, or the Spaniard and Arch-duchesse in their Dominions, where the Jesuits make it a case of Conscience, but even the King of France not onely at *Roschel* and *Mountabon*, but also in other his confines: and when the Pope unites all these in a holy League; what may we expect will become of Brittain, if like that wise King in the Gospell, ours sends not out whilest the enemies are yet a farre off? you know how speedily this Iland hath been overrunne with but a few being once entred, and our Ilands are not now better fortified.

The next was this; He that Disturbs the State, and drawes the Prince to ill, is to undergoe what he intended to others, as *Haman* and his complices for their plot against the Jewes. *Ester* 7. 8. 9. chapters: He that under pretence of honour to the King is an enemy to Religion, should suffer for a Seducer, as those betrayers of the Prophet. *Dan*. 6. 4. to 23. It is probable that this Bishop being then newly made a Privy Counsellour, and putting the King upon pernicious and illegall projects, to the disturbance of the State and prejudice of Religion, grew conscious to himself, that this passage if unexpunged, might one day rise up in judgement against him and be applied to himselfe in after times; wherefore out of a provident foresight, he thought it a poynt of wisdom to expunge it: But since divine providence hath brought it to publike light, we conceive it will be a very good president to direct your Lordships judgement in the sentence of this *Haman*, this Arch-Malefactor against our State and Religion.

The the third expunged clause was this; And whereas there is not onely a law of God but even of man against Sabbath-breaking which concernes the fourth Commandement, and divers against Popery which trencheth upon the first and second Commandement, &c. let not the other which concernes the Sabbath, seem to have been consented to, onely upon the importunity of a few Precise persons, but never intended for execution, least God set such a Memorandum upon them and you (who will not be carefull of the Obedience set upon that Commandement) that who so hearth of it, both his eares shall tingle, as stories tell us, he hath done upon both Prince and People in France, Denmarke, yea and here in England, offending in that kind. Let not all the other Statutes tending towards the first and second Commandement, seem meer engines of state to draw reward for toleration.

I V.
Notable passages against Popery expunged out of new licensed Books by the Arch-bishop and his Agents in imitation of the popish *Index Expurgatorius*.

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dispensation and connivancy, least God connive not at, nor displease with such intolerable dissimulation; least he make the gaine gotten by this dividing of Adoration betwixt him and Idols, to be like that of Solomons, in that case, which was recompenced with the losse and dividing of his Kingdome, betwixt his sonne and a stranger, 1 Reg. 11, and 12. Chapters: But oh farre be that from the State of this Island, and from you to be Instruments in it.

And in the Margin this Note, affixed to the word, *stories*, was quite purged out; Greg. Turonensis. Magdeburg. cent. 12. c. 6. at London 1583, &c. in which places meaner persons working, greater sporting, Kings fighting battailes on the Sabbath dayes, are all reported to be overthrowne and destroyed with fearfull judgments.

These being the onely pious, Orthodox passages in all this Sermon (against popery, Papists, Sabbath-breaking and ill Counsellours) were quite crossed out with this Bishops owne hand, (who altered and added many things in it, for the worse) and all to this very purpose, that the people might not take notice of any designe in forraigne parts, to extirpate the Protestant Religion, or to tolerate, set up Popery, or suspend the Lawes against it, or Papists, Priests and Sabbath-breakers, at home, whereof these Clauses gave them notice; which this Doctor (as bad as he was) foresaw would produce that division in our Kingdom, which we now experimentally suffer under, threatening utter desolation to us: all these purgations in one Sermon were made by this pragmaticall Prelat before he had any legall power to license Books for the Presse.

Secondly, we shall proceed to some higher attempts after he had gained such authority, some of them even upon the publike Records of our Church.

NOTE:

The Statute of 3. Jacobi ch. 1. intituled, *An Act for a publike Thanksgiving to Almighty God every yeere, on the fifth day of November; ordaineth this day to be had in perpetuall remembrance, that all ages to come might yeld prayes to God for our deliverance from the most inhumane, cruell, and barbarous Gunpowder-plot of the Papists, and have in memory this joyfull day of deliverance: Hereupon there was a speciall booke of Prayers and Thanksgiving compiled, and enjoyned by authority to be used on this day; in one of the prayers whereof, there was this clause; Root out the Babylonish and Antichristian Sect, which say of Ierusalem, downe with it, downe with it, even to the ground; and to that end, strengthen the hands of our gracious King, the Nobles & Magistrates of the Land with judgement and justice, to cut off these workers of iniquity (whose Religion is Rebellion, whose Faith is Faction, whose practice is murdering of soules and bodies) and to root them out of the confines of this Kingdom &c.* This clause continued in all these publike books without the least exception or alteration, from the yeere of our Lord 1606. till 1635. and then this Arch-bishop conceiving this passage to lay an imputation and scandall, First, upon the profession of Romish Priests, Jesuits, and blood-thirsty papists, by stiling them, a *Babylonish and Antichristian sect*; Secondly, upon their Romish Religion, *whose religion is rebellion, whose faith is faction*; Thirdly, upon their Rebellious and traiterous practises, in stiling them, *these workers of iniquity, whose practice is murdering of soules and bodies*; Fourthly, upon their persons, as unfit to be tolerated in the Realm, and meet to be rooted out of the confines of this Kingdom by the King, Nobles and Magistrates; a clause altogether inconsistent with our toleration of, and his reconciliation of us & our religion with them and Rome then actually intended, endeavoured by this Arch-prelat and his Confederates: he thereupon in the yeere 1635. caused this Book to be re-printed and, altered the fore-mentioned clauses in this ensuing forme (only to gratifie the Jesuits, Priests, popish Recusants, and take off these just charges against them and their Religion, both for the time past and future) by turning the edge of this prayer upon the Puritanes, on whom the Papists would have fathered this their horrid treason, had it taken effect; *Root out that Babylonish and Antichristian sect (of them) which say of Ierusalem, &c. And to that end strengthen the hands of our gracious King, the Nobles and Magistrates of the Land with justice and judgement, to cut off these workers of iniquity, who turne Religion into Rebellion, and faith into Faction, &c.*

Master

Matter Henry Burton in his Sermons on the fifth of November 1636. intituled, *For God and the King* p. 130. to 142. informed the people of this most grosse alteration, and charged the Arch-bishop to be the Author of it, aggravating his offence to the full; Master Prynne doing the like in his Epistle Dedicatory to his *Quench-Cole*: For this good service among others, they were brought into the Star-chamber by the Arch-bishops instigation: who in his *Speech in that Court at their censure* (published by special command) First of all confessed that he made this alteration; Secondly, justified the making of it, because it gave offence and scandall to the Papists, which ever ought to be avoyded as much as may be: adding, that it laid an imputation on their Religion, as if it were rebellion, spending (a) pages in justification of this alteration as most fitting and necessary; averring, that our religion and the Papists was all one, and rendring three reasons why this change was made; Thirdly, he addes by way of justification & excuse, that though he made this alteration, yet he did it by his Majesties command, p. 33, 34. His Majesty expressly commanded me to make the Alterations, and see them printed; and here are both the Books with his Majesties warrant to each of them: so that herein I averre I did not offend, unlesse that I gave not these men notice of it, or asked them leave to obey the King. To which it was answered; First, that the Arch-bishop confesseth clearly in his Speech and publisheth it to all the world in print, That he made the alterations in this prayer, which neither of his Predecessors Bancroft or Abbot darst once to think of or attempt: Secondly, That he esteemed Master Burtons and Master Prynnes dislike of him for making these alterations in extenuation of the horrid Gunpowder-plot, and favour of traitorous Jesuits, Priests, Romanists, and the popish Religion, a most transcendent crime, worthy the severest, bloodiest censure that ever was inflicted on any person in the Star-chamber, as appeared by their barbarous Sentence there, for which he heartily thanked the Lords in the close of his speech; whereas his offence was certainly ten thousand times greater in making these alterations, then theirs in charging him with them (when himselfe confesseth and justifieth them) or disliking them when made for such sinister, popish ends: Thirdly, that his reasons to justify these alterations to be fit and necessary, were very absurd; discovering the rottenesse of his heart, with his extraordinary affection to popery, and Papists: His first reason, that it was fit and necessary to make these Alterations, to avoyd scandall and offence to Papists, in calling their religion Rebellion, &c. was very unreasonable and absurd; For since this clause had continued un-altered, un-excepted against, neer thirty yeers space together, and was never deemed scandalous by K. James, K. Charles, our subsequent Parliaments or Church, which approved and confirmed it, no solid reason can be given why it should grow unseasonable or scandalous, only now, so far as to call for a necessary alteration, but that the Arch bishop and his confederates had now a new resolved plot to reconcile us to Rome and her Religion, which former ages never had; to which designe this clause might happily prove scandalous and obstrusive: Besides, he could not but conclude the alteration of it after so many yeers continuance, of purpose to gratifie Papists, priests and Jesuits, the sole contrivers of that matchlesse, execrable Gunpowder-plot, would give extraordinary scandall & offence to all the whole Church, State, and cordiall protestants of Engl. and lay a secret tax, if not a publike censure on them and on K. James, for injuring the papists and their Religion even in these publike prayers neer thirty yeers space together; yet this zealous Romish Agent would rather scandalize, censure, injure our whole Church, State, parliaments, King James, with all true-hearted English protestants then give the least scandall to the papists, or suffer this just imputation of Rebellion to continue upon their religion. Moreover, the whole parliament of 3. Jacobs in the Oath of Alleagiance then enjoyned with all our parliaments, prelates, Peers, who since have approved it: The second part of our authorized Homilies for Whit-sunday, with our Homilies against wilful rebellion; Bishop Bon in his True difference between Christian Subjection and unchristian Rebellion; Bishop Jewel in his Defence of the Apology of the Church of England part. 4. p. 439. to 470. Doctor John White in his Sermon at Pauls-Crosse, and in his Defence of the Way, ch. 6. 11. Doctor Crakenthorps Treatise of the Popes temporall Monarchy,

Deus & Rex, Hadden contra Osoriam; and generally all our Writers against the Popes supremacy at home, and in the reformed Churches abroad, resolve unanimously in their writings, the Romanists Religion and Faith in the points of deposing, excommunicating, murdering Christian Princes, Kings, Emperours; of absolving subjects from their allegiance, & arming them against their Sovereigns, by the Popes authority and command, for not submitting to his tyrannicall or Antichristian Edicts, it is meere Rebellion and Faction: For this Arch-prelate then thus publicly to averre it a scandalous imputation to them and their religion; and upon this ground to make these alterations in this prayer, and not in all those Statutes, Homilies, Authors too, is a most false, absurd, scandalous suggestion, and in truth, a meere evasion to colour his affection to papists & their Antichristian Religion. His second reason, that it will be of dangerous consequence sadly to avow, that the *Papists Religion is Rebellion*, because it is *Christian religion* and the same with ours: is both false & fallacious; for *popish religion*, as *popish* is not Christian, but Antichristian; and though papists hold many points of Christian Religion, as they are Christians; yet not one point of it as Papists; *popery* truly so called, being no part of Christian Religion, but deviations from, or paradoxes against it: Yea, himselfe confessing, (b) *That some opinions of theirs teach rebellion*: That's apparently true; which opinions of theirs, are that part of their Religion, which this prayer calls *Rebellion*, refutes his owne Objection: His third reason, that if you make their religion to be rebellion, then you make their religion and rebellion to be all one; and that is against the ground both of State and Law, &c. which never put any man to death for Religion, but for Treason and Rebellion onely, is a meere childish fallacy; For their Religion is not any actual treason or rebellion (for which only they suffered death) but doctrinall and habituall rebellion prone to produce actual rebellions, and the mother of them; in which sense onely this prayer styles it *Rebellion*; yet such, for which no Romanist ever dyed, unlesse he reduced it into some treasonable and rebellious action; and then he suffered onely for the act, not the Religion or opinion which induced him thereunto; he might well then have spared these three irrational reasons for this Alteration, with this assertion of his p. 39. *I took it my duty to lay it before you, that the King had not onely Power, but Reason to command it*; which onely aggravate, not extenuate or justify his fact, his justification then rests solely upon the Kings command and warrant; but this will not excuse his guilt: For we have nothing but his own bare word in his own case (to which no faith can be given, having so often bin taken tardy in this kind) to prove; first, that himselfe did not move the King to command these alterations to be made which is more than probable by his alleaging the reasons whereupon they were made, and his activity in other changes of this nature: Secondly, that himselfe did not procure the Warrant for these Alterations after they were made and printed (being written with his own hand and having no witness but himselfe to prove the date) as he hath done in other cases: Thirdly, admit the command and warrant proceeded originally from the King himselfe, not him; yet he being by his place and office principally entrusted with the care, honour, safety of our Religion and Church, so much concerned in these alterations; it had been his duty to have disobeyed this command, and dissuaded his Majesty from such a dishonourable, scandalous and offensive act, which would scandalize and disgust all his well-affected protestant Subjects, dishonour his owne royall Father King James, our Parliaments, Church, State, who all authorized, approved, used this prayer for thirty yeeres space together; encourage Papists, Priests, Jesuits, to such like horrid treasons, and exceedingly animate, elevate the popish faction causing them to deride, if not to insult over the Protestants and our Church, which must now alter retract her own approved Collects to gratifie them and their Antichristian Religion: But so farre is he from this, that he readily obeyes the first command without the least dissuasion, resistance, without advising with, or giving notice thereof to any other of his Brethren, the Privy-Counsell, Judges, and other publike persons, as much concerned in it as himselfe, (to whom he ought to have given notice, and asked their leave, at least opinions) herein ere he obeyed the King, though not Master Burtons and Master Prynnes;) being more ready to obey than his Majesty to command:

b Speech in
Star-Chamber,
p. 36, 37.

mand them: Finally admit his Majesty had commanded him to make these alterations yet for him in his owne cause, in an open Court of Justice (where by Law he ought not to have been present, or spoken as a Judge) to lay all the *Odium* of these alterations with all his other Innovations in Religion only on his Majesty, to render him odious to his people, to cloke his own shame, extenuate his own guilt, and then to publish it in print to all the World to his perpetuall dishonour, when there was no necessity, and that by pretext of his Majesties speciall command, was such a disloyalty, and transcendent aggravation of his crime as no age can paralell, no punishment expiate, but that which the Gunpowder Traytors justly suffered. Besides this after the publication of his *Speech in Star-chamber*, he specially imployed Doctor Heylin to iustifie these alterations to the world in print; in his *Moderate Answer to the seditious and scandalous charges* of Henry Burton (as he styles them) written by his * speciall command, and licensed by his Chaplaine, p. 150. to 157. and ordered Christopher Dove to second him herein, in his *Innovations unjustly charged upon the present Church and State*, p. 136. to 141. where thus he writes: *Secondly. I say, that (the alteration of those Prayers) being done by the same authority that first set them forth, it is neither for him nor me, nor any other of inferiour ranke to question them, but with humble reverence to submit to their judgements, and to think them wiser and farre more fit to order those things that belong to their places, than we; whom it neither concernes, nor indeed can know the reasons that move them either to doe or alter any thing: But more particularly, that which he objecteth against the former, is, that they would not hereby have all Jesuits and Papists termed, a Babylonish and Antichristian Sect, but restraine it to some few of them, and mentally transerre it to those Puritanes who cry, downe with Babylon, that is, popery. But what then? what if out of a charitable respect to those which in that Religion are peaceable and honest men (as no doubt but some of them, whatsoever Master B. beleeves of them, are such) they are not willing, nor think it fit to pray for the rooting up and confusion of all Papists, indiscriminately, under those harsh termes; surely charitably minded Christians cannot but approve such an alteration, if there were no other ground than that for it: As for any mans transferring it to Puritanes, that is as meer a surmise as it is a false slander; that any of those whom he intimates doe call Rome Jerusalem, or Popery the true Catholique Religion: Yet I know not why such furious cryers downe of popery (as Master B. hath shewed himselfe) may not be accounted of a Babylonish and Antichristian Sect as well as any Jesuit in the world; nor why we may not pray (and that with better reason than Master B. would have men to doe, and under those titles against the Hierarchy of our church, that God would root them out of the Land, &c. Wherein he makes zealous opposers of popery, & those the world then stiled Puritanes, more dangerous persons, and fitter to be rooted out of the Land as a Babylonish & Antichristian Sect, than papists or Jesuits. Now thus to iustifie this alteration in so daring, impudent a manner, in favour of popery priests, Papists, Jesuits, what a transcendent crime it is, and of what a rotten popish spirit it savours, let all impartiall persons determine.*

The third purgation made by himselfe, discovering the hidden popery of his heart, is his purging out this notable clause against popery, in the first Collect of the publike book of prayers, appointed at the generall Fast for ceasing the Plague, in the yeere 1636. *Thou hast delivered us from Superstition and Idolatry, wherein we were utterly drowned, and hast brought us into the most cleare and comfortable light of thy blessed Word, by which we are taught how to serve and honour thee, and how to live orderly with our Neighbours in truth and verity.* The King by his Proclamation Anno 1636. commanded that the Booke of prayers for the Fast, formerly set forth by authority, should be re-printed, re-published, and likewise used in all Churches and places at the publike meetings during this Fast. The Arch-bishop instead of re-printing the book formerly set forth by authority, purgeth this clause out of it in the new impression, though used in the Fast-books upon like occasions in Queen Elizabeths and King James their severall reignes and in that of 1. Caroli; and that upon these very grounds which should have moved him to retaine it still, had his heart been upright or sincere to God and our Religion, because it layes a just censure and blemish upon popery, by stiling it *superstitions*

See his speech in Star-chamber, p. 73 and Heylins Preface.

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tion and idolatry, and thankfully recites Gods goodnesse to us in delivering us from Popish superstition and idolatry, wherein we were utterly drowned, and bringing us into the most cleare and comfortable light of his holy Word, by which we are taught how to serve and honour him, &c. A clause so pious, so just and equitable, that it is almost a miracle, how any but a most inveterate Papist could except against it; yet this Arch-bishop is so irreconcilably angry with it, that it must be wholly obliterated and quite omitted out of this new impression; and that without any speciall order or command from his Majesty (which he pleaded for the former alterations in the Gunpowder-treatise book) or any suggestion from Papists, Priests or Jesuits, who were scandalized with it, (for he doth not so much as pretend any such thing in his justification of this purge) but by his owne papall authority, contrary to his Majesties Proclamation, out of his own meere popish genius; which perswades us, that the former alterations in the book for the fifth of Novem. proceeded originally from himself too as well as this, however he would translate it to the K. himself. Moreover, in the Order for the Fast, in the very last page of the book, he purged out these words condemning the popish Doctrine of the meritoriousnesse of fasting, viz. to avoyd the inconvenience that may grow by fasting; some esteeming it a meritorious Work; others, a good Work and of it self acceptable to God, without due regard of the end, &c. In brieft, whatever in this Fast-book did in the least degree reflect upon popery, or seemingly oppugne any errors of it, this Arch-prelat out of his ardent zeal against Popery, and fatherly care for the maintainance of our Protestant Religion, did totally expunge it, non obstante his Majesties Proclamation to the contrary.

For this Jesuiticall practice, the Arch-bishop being justly taxed by the Author of *Newes from Ipswitch* and Master Henry Burton in his *Humble Appeal to his Majesty*, page 3. and his Sermon on the fifth of November 1636. intituled, *For God and the King*, p. 141. to 149. He reputed the very dislike of these his Romish purgations such a crime, that he arraigned these books and the Authors of them in Star-chamber, as capitall malefactors, procured the heaviest, bloodiest, unjustest sentence against them, that ever was inflicted by that Court; and had the impudency not onely to justify these purges in print, by his two popish Champions, Doctor Heylyn, in his *Moderate Answer to the seditious and scandalous Challenges of Henry Burton*, p. 157. to 167. and Christopher Dow, in his *Innovations unjustly charged upon the present Church and State*, p. 141. to 150. but even in open Court, in a large and bitter speech, at the sentence of his Accusers in Starre-chamber, June 14. 1637. which he had the boldnesse afterwards to publish to all the world: In which (b) Speech, though he cunningly omitted these expurged clauses, which if recited at large had no colour of defence; yet he justifies the expurging of them to be his owne voluntary act; adding, that it was lawfull for him and his brother Bishops (notwithstanding the Kings Proclamation) to alter what they thought fit: And then renders this most absurd reason of blotting out the first recited clause: Thirdly, for the branch in the oser, which is the first Collect, *Though God did deliver our forefathers out of Romish superstition, yet (God be blessed for it) we were never in: And therefore that clause being unsuitably expressed, We thought fit to passe it over.* Which reason is altogether untrue: First, because there are many ancient people yet living among us who were totally drowned in popish superstition and idolatry in Queen Marie's dayes, and the beginning of Queen Elizabeths reigne, from which God hath graciously delivered them since, & brought them into the most cleare and comfortable light of his holy word, of later yeeres, when preaching and godly preaching Ministers have been more frequent in most places of our Realm, then in the beginning of Reformation, when they were very rare, scarce one or two in a whole County: Secondly, we our selves were utterly drowned in popish superstition and idolatry in our forefathers, and delivered out of it in their deliverance from it; otherwise, we had continued drowned therein till this very day; As therefore the sacred Scripture in direct and proper termes oft informed the Posterity of the Children of Israel, whose Ancestors many generations before were bondslaves in, & delivered out of Egypt; I brought YOU forth of Egypt, and brought YOU forth of the house of bondage, and have brought YOU

Y^OU to the Land which I sware unto your Fathers, &c. Judg. 2. 1. c. 6. 8 9. 2 Chro. 7. 22. Jer. 2. 6. 7. Hag. 2. 5. and as Daniel in his solemn prayer and fasting blessed God for this mercy in his days, as if the deliverance had bin then wrought for that generation, Dan. 9. 15. And NOW oh Lord our God thou hast brought thy people forth of the Land of Egypt by a mighty hand, and hast gotten thee renowne AS AT THIS DAY; and as God upbraided the Israelites for their ingratitude to him for this mercy, in Jeremi-ah's dayes, as if this deliverance had then been wrought for that Generation, Jer. 2. 6, 7. Neither said they, Where is the Lord that brought us up out of the Land of Egypt, and that led us through the Wildernesse, through a Land of deserts and of pits, through a Land of drought, and of the shadow of death? &c. And I brought you into a plenti- full Country, to eat the fruit thereof, and the goodnesse thereof; but when ye entred, ye defiled my Land, and made mine heretage an abomination; wherefore I will plead with you, saith the Lord, and with your childrens children will I plead: So we by like congruity of reason, and in proper Scripture phrase (which this Arch-prelate styles an *unfitting expression*, though frequent in all Authors as well as in the sacred Text) may as truly be said, to be delivered from Popish superstition and idolatry, wherein we were utterly drowned; and ought to blesse and prayse God for the deliverance of our forefathers out of it, as if we our selves had been actually delivered, their delive- rance being in truth the cause of ours, and an actuall deliverance unto us from this Egyptian Romish bondage and Antichristian deluge. This excuse therefore of his is but a meere ridiculous pretence to delude the simple; and the true reason of this expun- ction onely this: His Grace-ship had conspired with Priests and Jesuits once more to drowne us utterly in Romish superstition and idolatry, and to deprive us of the cleare and comfortable light of Gods holy Word, by extinguishing, silencing, suppressing most godly lights, Ministers, preaching throughout the realme, and to corrupt the true worship of God with superstitious Ceremonies and idolatrous Adorations, if not to extirpate truth and verity from among us, by introducing equivocations, hypocrisie, false accusers of the brethren in every place: therefore this passage so con- trary to his popish designs must not be tolerated in any wise, but utterly delected, and He so imudent as to justify it before all the world, when he neitther saw nor dreaded any superiour powers to draw him into question for this transcendent crime, for which wet rust he shall now give an exact account to this supreme Tribunall.

The fourth purgation made by his speciall direction and advice, was in the second Edition of Doctor Christopher Potter's, Want of Charity justly charged, London, 1634. This Doctor being about to publish a second Edition of that booke of his, writ thus unto his Lordship, to send him directions to alter or correct any thing that should be offensive to his Grace.

My most honoured Lord, &c.

THe Copies of my answer to the mistaker are most sold, and a new Impression intended, I am now reviewing it. I shall be glad to receive from your Grace, by your servant Master Dell, or others, any direction to alter or correct, if any thing be therein offensive to you: I humbly commend your Grace to the blessed protection of the Lord Almighty, and will be ever your Graces in all humility,

Octob. 6. 1634. Queens Coll.

CHR. POTTER:

To which the Arch-bishop returned this answer, as was manifested by the Letter it selfe, thus indorsed with his owne hand (found in his Study and attested by Master Prymme) Octob. 18. 1633. Doctor Potter, A second Impression of his booke, and my Answer to it.

BUt to the last clause of your Letter, about the re-printing of your booke, I have done that which you so have desired, as you will see by this inclosed paper: they are but a few scattered phrases, and I put them to your consideration, as much for conveniency and cha- ritableness

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ritable expression, as for truth: Doe what you will with them so you mistake not me, in that which your selfe have caused me to doe: but in that place, page 26. where you say, it may (viz. Mat. 11. 17.) be understood of any Assembly, as well civill as Ecclesiasticall; doe you not thereby give as much power to the Parliament as to the Church in Church affaires? I read in haste, and it may be a mistake, but you shall doe very well to consider it: so in haste I leave you to the grace of God, &c.

WIL. CANT.

The principall purgations mentioned in the inclosed paper appeare to be these, written with the Arch-bishops owne hand which was produced.

Page 4. *believe in the Pope: the Idol of Rome:* page 15. *onely in the Catholique Church:* page 26. *that in Saint Matthew (c. 18. v. 17.) tell the Church, which may be understood of any Assembly, as well civill as Ecclesiasticall:* page 97. *never any Church so farre as Rome:* page 2. page 8. *the Scripture by its owne light, &c.* all which were left out in the second Edition, as that notable passage in *Theodoret*, concerning Laymens reading the Scriptures, in the first Edition of this Doctors Sermon at the consecration of the Bishop of Carlisle, London 1629. was quite expunged out of the second Impression: belike by this Prelats direction, as well as these forementioned.

The fifth purgations and alterations of highest consequence for the introducing of sundry Popish doctrines, ceremonies, Transubstantiation and the Masse it selfe, were by this Arch-prelat made in that Common-prayer. booke, which he endeavoured to inforce upon the Church of Scotland, all written with his owne hand; (already mentioned at large in *A necessary Introduction to the Arch-bishop of Canterbury his Tryall*, page 156. to 164. to which the Reader may resort for satisfaction herein;) which are so palpably popish and destructive to our Religion, that this Prelate had no other plea or fence against them when they began to be pressed upon him, but onely the *Act of Pacification and Oblivion*, which he peremptorily insisted on, though the Committee of the Commons House, who managed the Evidence, alleadged that they were clearly without this Act, & that they insisted on them only as Evidences to prove his endeavours to introduce Popery, and his good affection thereunto, in maintenance of the seventh and tenth originall Articles of his impeachment, not to prove him an Incendiary between both Kingdomes, in justification of the twelfth originall Article, to which he onely pleaded the Act of Oblivion.

We shall next proceed to other purgations made by his Chaplaines and Creatures, no doubt by his speciall direction: Beginning first with a booke written by Sir Anthony Hungerford, who being a Papist in his younger dayes, and afterwards upon better consideration, converted to our Religion, did thereupon write a Treatise to his Mother, then a Roman Catholike, to disswade her from that Religion, intituled, *The Advice of a Sonne, professing the Religion established in the present Church of England, to his deare Mother a Roman Catholike;* containing an acknowledgement of Gods great mercy in bringing him to the profession of the true religion established in the Church of England, advising and exhorting his children to persevere therein; Sir Edward Hungerford his Sonne (a Member of the House of Commons) deposed upon Oath, that about the yeere 1635. he carried this Book, writ by his Father Sir Anthony, to the Arch-bishops Chaplaine, Doctor Bray, to license for the Presse, for the satisfaction and conversion of other seduced Romanists; who perusing the same, took exceptions at some harsh passages (as he termed them) against Popes and Popery in the 8. 14. 15. 17. and 62. pages thereof, which he told him must be quite expunged, or else the Treatise must not passe the Presse.

The passages were these: p. 8: *Yet even those truths they recommended unto us, upon as perilous and false a ground, as if a man should therefore believe Christ Jesus to be the sonne of the living God, because the devil did confesse it:* page 14. 15. *They will acknowledge that the Pope may be as wicked a man in life, as any other in the world, and by experience it hath been found, that sundry of them have scarce had matches in this kind;* as for instance of one, Pope Alexander the sixth, whom Guicciardine (though himselfe

NOTE.

himselfe a Papist) doth thus decipher: His manner and customes were dishonest, little sincerity in his Administrations, no shame in his face, small truth in his words, little faith in his heart, and lesse religion in his opinions; all his actions were defaced with unsatiable covetousnesse, moderate ambition, barbarous cruelty; he was not ashamed contrary to the custome of former Popes (who to cast some colour over their infamy, were wont to call them their Nephewes) to call his sonnes his children; and for such to expresse them to the world. The bruit went, that in the love of his daughter Lucretia were concurrent, not onely his two sonnes, the Duke of Candy, and the Cardinall of Valence, but himselfe also, that was her Father, who as soone as he was chosen Pope, tooke her from her husband and married her to the Lord of Pesare, but not able to suffer her husband to be his corrivall, he dissolved that marriage also, and tooke her to himselfe, by vertue of Saint Peters Keyes, and it was amongst other graces, his naturall custome to use poysonings, not onely to be avenged of his enemies, but also to dispoyle the wealthy Cardinals of their riches, and thus he spared not to doe against his dearest friend, till at the last, having a purpose at a Banquet to poyson divers Cardinals, and for that end appointed his Cup-bearer to give attendance with Wine made ready for the noyce (who mistaking the bottle gave the poysoned cup to him) was thus himselfe dispatched by the just judgement of God, that purposed to murder his friends, that he might be their Heir: Thus farre the Historian: page 17. I dare presume it shall be made evidently to appeare unto you in the presence of any that would oppose it, that their principle concerning the Popes infallibility (being the maine supporter of all Religion at this day in the Church of Rome) is not so ancient by so many ages in the world, as is the Alcoran of that accursed Mahomet: if the foundation be proved new, what rule can they propose to secure your conscience for the antiquity of the building? their continued Priest-hood, their daily sacrifice, their satisfaction for sinne, their works of merit: page 62. I was withall perswaded in my conscience, and so rest yet, that this transcendent power and (f) usurpation of the Roman Bishop in the spirituall and civill Regiment of the world, is so farre a stranger to the Church of God, as that it could be no other but the Kingdome of that man of sin, which agreeable to the prediſſion of the holy Ghost, was to be raised in the bosome of the Church, for the last, the most powerfull, the most dangerous delusion of the christian world.

(t) Papatus, id est, Principatus, tam in spiritualibus, quam in temporalibus, Pa-normital.

Verely any real, cordiall Protestant might stand amazed, that an Arch-bishop's Chaplaine, professing himselfe a Protestant, should so farre scruple at such passages as these, against the Popes supremacy in the spirituall and civill Regiment of the world; and those other dangerous poynts of Popery censured in these passages, but especially at this relation of Guicciardine a Popish Author concerning the Viciousnesse and Exorbitanees of some Popes lives, recorded by sundry other of their owne Popish Writers; and that passages of this nature must not now be remembered by our Writers, or suffered to passe our Presses without an Index Expurgatorius; yet such was the condition and degeneracy of these times, that Doctor Bray told Sir Edward Hungerford he must give way for all these offensive passages to be expunged, else neither of these Treatises should be printed: At which Sir Edward admiring, demanded the reason why these clauses against Popery writ by his Father (once a Papist) to satisfie others of that Religion, might not passe at this time, as they did commonly in other English licensed Authors heretofore without exception? Who answered, that we were now in a faire way to win the Papists, and therefore we must not use any harsh phrases against them: adding, that these passages would give offence to those of that Religion and therefore unlesse he would yeeld to have them expunged, he would by no means license the Books: To which Sir Edward replied, that he being his Father's Executor and trusted with his writings, would never consent they should be so mangled, but would have all printed or none: Yet all the perswasions and friends he could use would not prevaile; unlesse these clauses were omitted, naught would be licensed: Whereupon Sir Edward went to the Arch-bishop himselfe, and acquainted him with all the premises, earnestly desiring his Grace that the Treatises might be printed without these purgations, which would much mutilate the Treatises, and prejudice the Author: To whom the Arch-bishop gave this answer; Sir, I have many employments,

and am very busie now, and have trusted my Chaplaines with those things, to whom you must repaire: Then Sir Edward pressing him againe, that they would not license them unlesse these passages were rased out; the Arch-bishop answered, I referre this wholly to my Chaplaines, having many other employments my selfe, and therefore what they thinke fit to be done, you must submit unto: Whereupon these Treatises were then stopt from printing, till Sir Edward some two or three yeeres after got them printed at Oxford, in the yeere 1639. without these expunctions, or the Arch-bishop's privity.

Doctor Daniel Featly, depofed upon Oath, that he having printed seventy Sermons of his, preached upon severall occasions, formerly licensed for the Presse; when the Book was ready to be published, the Arch-bishop having notice of it, sent for him to Lambeth, and demanded of him whether he was not about to publish some Sermons of his owne in print; who answered yes my Lord; then he demanded of him, whether his Sermons were licensed, and whether any of his Chaplaines had perused them or not? he answered, that they were licensed long since when himselfe had power to license books, and printed by vertue of that license, and that none of his Graces Chaplaines had perused them: Then the Arch-bishop said, he thought, being so neere a neighbour to him, he would not have published any thing without acquainting him first therewith: To which the Doctor answered, that he intended as soone as ever the book was published, to present his Grace in the first place with one of them. Then the Arch-bishop commanded him, before he published these Sermons, to carry them to Doctor Bray his Chaplaine to peruse, to see if there were any offensive or unsuiting passages in them; to the end, that if any such were, they might be corrected, or expunged. To which the Doctor replied, that he hoped there were no such offensive clauses in them, and that the book was already printed off, so as no alterations could conveniently be made therein, without new printing the sheets wherein they were made: yet in obedience to his Graces command, he would attend Doctor Bray with his Sermons to the end he might license them before they should be published; which he did accordingly: Doctor Bray having read over his Sermons, gelt them exceedingly, and and purged out all the smart and masculine passages against both the Papists, Jesuits and Arminians, to his great grieve; Whereupon he expostulated the matter with him why these passages of his, which passed currently without exceptions at White-hall before King James, King Charles; the University, and other publike Auditories when they were preached, and were highly approved of in former times, might not passe the presse without an *Index expurgatorius* now; alleaging, that it would be a great injury to himselfe, and much cost and prejudice to the Stationer to re-print so many whole sheets as he had altered: But all this would not prevaile, these passages could not suit with the present times, & therefore they must stand purged, or the book be totally suppressed: Hereupon the Doctor acquainted Sir Edmund Scot therewith by way of complaint, and moved him to informe the Arch-bishop of it; who answered him, that he conceived it would be to no purpose to complaine, for he thought the Arch-bishop's Chaplaines had directions from their Lord for what they did, and that his Grace would not alter any thing of this kind done by his Chaplaines; whereupon he submitted and complained no further; and so the Stationer was enforced to re-print some sixteen or eighteen sheets anew that Doctor Bray had thus altered and purged (which Master Bourne the Stationer likewise depofed) to his great prejudice and cost.

Master Thomas White a Minister depofed, that Doctor Clarke, one of the Prebends of Canterbury, a very learned, pious Divine, and one of the Translators of the Bible, leaving the copyes of diverse of his choyselt Sermons, written with his owne hand, in his custody at his death, which he desired him to see carefully printed for the publike good after his decease; he thereupon, in discharge of this his trust, repaired to Doctor Heywood, the Arch-bishop's household Chaplaine, to peruse and authorize for the presse; who receiving no lesse then forty shillings for his fee for perusing and licensing them, expunged all the chiefe passages in them against the Pope, Popery, Priests, Jesuits, Arminians, &c. Arminians, and did in some places alter and corrupt the authors words

Thirdly, passages tending to the blemishing of some Popish writers, and the disgrace of Popery, and the unwarrantable practice of Popish people, and people Popishly affected; in the lesser book, page 1. *a.* and 2. *a. b. c.* and 5. *b. i. l.* and 6. *a.* and 8. *a.* and 9. *c.* and 17. *g.* and 44. *a.*

Fourthly, poynts mainly and *In terminis*, controverted between us and the Papists; in the great book, page 11. 15. 17. 19. 23. 25. 26. 43. *bis.* 57. 58. 59. 62. 63. *bis.* 65. 67. 73. 75. 77. 81. 83. 85. 87. 89. 91. 93. 101. 121. 123. 124. 127. 131.

Fifthly, poynts and passages tending to the overthrow of Pelagianisme and Arminianisme, or the Remonstrants tenents; in the greater book, page 31. 33. 35. 37. 43. 53. 54. 62. 79. 97. 125. 130. 132. 138. 139. 140. in the lesser book, page 1. *d.* and 4. *a. b. d. e.* and 9. *g.* and 18. *e. f.* and 19. *g.* and 25. *a.* and 28. *c.* and 29. *d.* and 40. *a. c.* and 51. *a.*

Sixthly, things not at all in controversie, *viz.* in the greater book, page 7. 9. 39. 41. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 99. 105. 115. 123. 124. 135. in the lesser book, page 5. *k.* and 6. *e.* and 8. *e.* and 9. *d.* and 10. *d. e.* and 11. *f. g.* and 17. *e.* and 21. *a.* and 30. *b.* and 48. *b. c.* and 53. *g. h.* and 57. *e.*

Seventhly, passages tending to reprove the vices and evill customes of some great ones; in the greater book, page 50. 51. and in the lesser, page 4. *f.* and 42. *e.* and 43. *f.*

Eighthly, passages and poynts obliterated, tending highly to the honour and glory of God (in the lesser book, page 7. *i.* and 8. *b.* and 19. *b.* and 28. *e.*) and of Christ (page 57. *a.*) and Diety of the holy Ghost, page 58. *d.*

Ninthly, the very sentences of Scripture expunged; in the lesser book, page 7. *b.* and 21. *b. c.* and 23. *a.* and 27. *f.* and 58. *d.*

Thus I have made bold to make this godly and grave Senate acquainted with the intolerable wrong which my weak labours have suffered by these obliterations, and of the disgrace and discredit which hath reflected upon my selfe also thereby; for those who are ignorant of the abuses done by the Licenser, must needs impute all the absurdities and non sense, and lame and imperfect passages either to the ignorance or negligence of the Author, this work being my first, and I my selfe but little knowne in the world when I put it forth: And therefore I humbly sue to this honourable Assembly, that you would be pleased to license for the Presse these notes contained in these two Manuscripts, which were expunged by the Licenser, that thereby I may have power to re-print and perfect my now most imperfect books: And your humble Petitioner shall be alwayes bound to pray to the Lord of glory and fountaine of all grace, for a blessing upon your proceedings, persons, estates, lives, soules, and all that concernes you.

Rich. Ward.

Many such like purgations in other new books might be produced, but we will insist on these alone, reducing the severall passages purged out of them under distinct heads, which will infallibly evidence, and most perspicuously demonstrate his Jesuiticall intentions, to usher the whole body of popery into our Church by degrees, without the least publike opposition: We shall begin with

- I. Purgations of sundry notable passages against Popery it selfe in generall, which must not passe the Presse upon any termes, but have a speciall deleatur drawne over them.

In Doctor Clarkes Sermons, page 431. Sermon 19. l. 30. in the printed copy, Dr. Haywood the Licenser (the Arch-bishops own Chaplaine) purged out this clause against popery; *God there expounds himselfe, least some Papists say, 'tis but my glosse; POPERY IS IDOLATRY by God's owne censure there, that prayes unto Images.* It seems this practice and popery must not now be called *Idolary* (as our Homilies against the perill of Idolatry, and all our writers formerly use to stile it) for that would scandalize the papists and make people to abhorre popery, so as never to embrace it.

Ibidem Sermon 20. page 443. l. 6. Popery a patchery and meer medley of moldy heresies; are deleted by the Licenſer: It muſt have the honourable title of the old Religion ſtill, theſe two down-right Epithites will overmuch diſgrace it.

Ibidem Sermon 20. page 451. 452. this paſſage is expunged as ſcandalous to the Roman Religion: When he (the Pope or Priſt) preacheth, it is lightly of legendary lyes; all Romes Religion is almoſt lyes: If I ſhall ſay, the Clergy-men lye not, I ſhall lye too: not lightly in his Doctrine, though the Romanists doe, that write and preach lyes.

Maſter Richard Ward in his Comentarꝝ upon Matthew, had theſe paſſages obliterated among ſundry others: We may juſtly feare that our Church ſhall have her period, when the Word ſhall depart from us to ſome other Nation that hath not enjoyed it, by a reſe into Popery, as we did in Queen Mariestime; or that we ſhall be overwhelmed by Atheiſme, and (as Rome doth now) onely retaine a falſe ſhew of a Church, being drowned either with ſome blind ſuperſtition, or impious corruption; therefore we ſhould be afraid of Superſtition, prophaneneſſe, impiety and contempt of the Word of God, leaſt our bread be taken away and given unto the dogges, &c. Some workes are odious unto God, but gratefull unto men, as to temporize, to flatter and ſooth up great men, to embrace the Religion commanded by their Kings and Governours, be it never ſo Idolatrous, falſe and ſuperſtitious; theſe workes are not to be done.

In Doctör Featlye's Sermons. tiled *Clavis Mystica*, page 226. the Doctör having ſpoken ſomething againſt gaudy Images, Tapers, Perfumes, and prayer in an unknowne tongue in the Roman Church, concluded thus; But me thinks I have ſtayd too long in the TEMPLE OF RIMMON, I reurne therefore to the Temple of the living God: This Doctör Bray the Arch-biſhops Chaplaine, blotted out, as ſcandalous to the Church of Rome, cauſing the whole ſheet to be re-printed: And in the very laſt Sermon and page of his book, page 907. he purged out this whole devout prayer in the cloſe of the Sermon, onely becauſe this phraſe, of bowing to the Romiſh Baal, was comprized therein: Purge our polluted conſciences by faith in his blood; that though our finnes be as red as ſcarlet, yet they may be made as white as woole. Vouchſafe to looke downe from thy higheſt Throne of Maſtey upon this whole Land proſtrating her ſelfe at thy foot-ſtoole, and wallowing in duſt and aſhes; deſpiſe not the ſighing of ſo many contrite hearts; deſpiſe not the prayers of ſo many thouſands, which thou knoweſt proceed not out of fained lips; ſet a marke upon thoſe that mourne in ſecret for all thoſe impieties, iniquities, impurities and abominations which it is not in their power to redreſſe, and ſpare the Kingdome for their ſake who never have bowed to the ROMISH BAAL, nor given way to any corruption of thy pure worſhip, but have ſought thee with an upright heart. O Lord, for our finnes thou didſt deſervedly ſmite us with Peſtilence after the manner of Egypt; yet when we turned to thee by faſting, weeping and mourning, thou commandedſt thy Angell to ſheath his ſword: and ſince that thou threatnedſt to ſend a famine amongſt us, and cleanneneſſe of teeth in all our coaſts; yet when we humbled our ſelves before thee, as at this day, thou commandedſt the wind and clouds, and they obeyed thee, and for ſowing one day in teares, we reaped in joy the harveſt of the whole yeere: And now O Lord, what is our hope? our hope is even in thee: the clouds are gathered together from divers parts of the earth, and they threaten thundering and lightning in ſuch ſort, that we have juſt cauſe to feare a black and diſmall day, a bloody day of invaſion, and utter deſolation neere at hand: Yet O Lord, behold this whole Nation as one man, ſtretching out her hands unto thee, behold thy Sonne ſtretching out his hands on the Croſſe for her: Heare us we beſeech thee for our Prince, and our Prince for us; heare us for the Peeres and Nobles, and the Peeres and Nobles for us; heare us for the Commons and the Commons for us; heare us for this whole Church, and the Church for us, and Chriſt for all: Remove our finnes as a cloud and our tranſgreſſions as a miſt, and let the light of thy countenance and beames of thy favour ſhine upon us, and dry up thoſe teares, which out of the bitterneſſe of our hearts we now ſhed abundantly before thee, ſo ſhall we thy people and ſheep of thy paſture, ſing unto thee in the great congregation, and prayſe thy name even to our laſt breath, Amen.

words so farre as to make him an *Arminian* in those very poynts, wherein he opposed their Arminian opinions, and utterly refused to license one Sermon of his concerning Election, because the whole scope of it was against Arminius and his errors. At which Master *White* being very much discontented, to see his deceased friend's Sermons so abused, demanded his intire copy and moneys again, but could procure neither of them, but the copy thus altered & expunged, which must either be totally suppressed or printed as he had castrated it: Whereupon he carried some other of his Sermons to Doctor *Weekes* and Doctor *Baker*, (the Arch-bishops great creatures) Chaplaines to the Bishop of *London*, who made the like alterations and purgations in them, as Doctor *Haywood* had made in the rest; an exact catalogue whereof, amounting to 210. corruptions and purgations, Master *White* presented at the Barre upon his oath, which were afterwards made use of and reduced under severall heads.

Master *Cherwin* attested, that Dr. *William Jones* of *East-Berghall* in *Suffolk*, writ a Comentary on the Epistles of *Paul* to *Philemon* and the *Hebrewes*, which he carried to Dr. *Samuel Baker*, Chaplain to the Bishop of *London*, (Anno 1636.) a great Instrument of the Arch-bishop's, to license for the Presse; who purged out all the principall clauses in it against Altars, Images, Masse, Transubstantiation, Popery, Papists, and for the sanctification of the Lord's day; a catalogue of the most whereof he had collected out of the written copy, which was so obliterated, that he could not read the same in many places, above 150. lines being made unlegible. That this book being printed according to the expunged, altered copy, which otherwise could not passe the Presse, the good old Dr. upon the perusal of it after its printing, was so much discontented at the alterations and purgations made therein without his privity, that he disclaimed it to be his work, saying, it was the Licencer's only, not his; who had made him a favourite of those Popish opinions, by his corrupting and changing his words, which he professedly opposed, refuted in his own genuine work; The regrette of which injury went so near his heart, that he fell sick through discontent, and soon after dyed; and is by these alterations and purgations, which were generally taken notice of, the sale of the book was extreamly hindred, to the great losse of the Stationer that printed it.

Peter Cole Stationer, living in *Cornhill London*, testified, that he printed Master *Richard Ward*, his Comentary on *Matthew* anno 1639. out of which Doctor *Weekes* the Licencer, purged so many principall passages against Popery and Arminianisme, as amounted to two small written volumes collected by Mr. *Ward* himself, who was much grieved, injured thereby, and the sale of the book quite spoyled, to his great prejudice. These two small volumes with this ensuing *Abstract* of them, were presented by Master *Ward* himselfe to the Parliament, who examined this abuse at the Committee for printing.

'Because it is an offence highly to be punished to abuse your Honours pious and most just cares with untruths; I have therefore presumed to present to your Honours view the heads and particular grosse abuses which my poore Book hath suffered by the Licencer's too numerous obliterations: whereby it will appeare as cleere as the Sunne, that our Licensers liberty in the licensing of bookes is most licencious, and that Popery and Pelagianisme were too much favoured and befriended by them; wholly leaving it to your grave, pious and prudent consideration, how these and the like abuses may be best redressed for the time to come.

'First, the Licenser by his deleturs, hath made some places and passages of my book ridiculous and non-sense, E. G. in my written copy fol. 338. the first line, the Reader is referred for more full satisfaction to the foregoing Objection; which Objection is wholly obliterated because it suited not with the Licensers opinion; and thus the Reader of my book is referred to that which is not in my booke, but expunged out of it: What the Objections were which were obliterated, your Honours may see in the greater of these two books, which I present to this honourable Court, page 138. 139. Again, in my written copy, fol. 339. I have these words; Our Saviour seems here to imply, that many Antichrists under the name of Christ, shall deceive many, whence these Questions following may be demanded, namely, &c. These words are printed,

but all the Questions promised were wholly expunged, save onely one which concernes not Antichrist at all; here my Reader is promised some Questions in the plurall number concerning Antichrist, but he finds but one onely in the singular number concerning the true Christ: What these expunged Questions were, your Honours may see in the greater book, page 65.

Again, in my written copy, fol. 366. I have these words; Here therefore I lay downe these three things, viz. &c. and this is printed, but the Reader finds but two: for the second is expunged; and what it was your honours may read in the lesser of these two books, page 51. *a.* and another parallel'd place, page 37. *c.*

Secondly, the Licenser by his obliterations, hath in some places quite altered and perverted the sense; E. G. In my written copy, fol. 18. I proponnd a Question concerning the excellency of Baptisme above Circumcision, and first shew what *Pererius* the Jesuite answers thereunto; and then what I justly except against his answer, and upon what grounds: Now the Licenser here lets the Jesuits answer stand, and expunges wholly what I say against it, making me thus by my silence to seem to my Reader to subscribe to what the Jesuit affirms: Your honours may see both *Pererius* and my owne words in the greatest of these two books, page 3. and another parallel'd place in the lesser of these books, page 48. *l.*

Thirdly, some places and passages by the Licensers deleturs. are maimed, lamed and left altogether unsatisfactory to the intelligent and quick-sighted Reader; examples whereof your Honours have in the lesser book, pag. 9. *f.* and pag. 18. *d.* and pag. 51. *b.* and pag. 58. *a.* great book pag. 49. line 2.

Fourthly, some words and sentences are by him changed and altered; as your Honours may perceive by this lesser book, pag. 4. *l.* and pag. 21. *b.* and pag. 41. *b.* and pag. 42. *b.*

Fifthly and lastly, some places and passages are by the licenser so wholly obliterated and expunged, that no prints or foot-steps at all remaine of what was there; as will evidently appeare to your Honours by the greater of these books which I present to your perusall, and by the *Index expurgatorius* thereof, which I have here joyned.

Because the employments of this grave Senate and religious Assembly are so many and weighty, that it wants leisure to read and peruse all which was expunged out of my book, and which is contained in these two severall Manuscripts; I have therefore reduced all things contained in them both to some few heads, and a most compendious *Index*; by which, as in a glasse, your honours may quickly take a view of them all, and readily turne to any thing you please to peruse; If you should desire that I should referre your Honours to some particuler places and passages, then I humbly beseech you to be pleased to cast your eyes upon these which follow, wherein you shall find notable things expunged, and things not altogether unworthy of your pious paines and consideration, viz.

In the greater of these two Manuscripts, these; page 5. 11. 25. 27. 28. 65. 91. 93. 99. 103. 105. 109. 115. 125. 134. 127. 138. &c. that the fulfilling of the Law is impossible, pag. 43. Quest. 1. and 57. Quest. 1. and 58. Quest. 2. and 59. Object. and 128. that Election is not from a fore-sight of works, pag. 75. 81. 83.

In the lesser of these two Manuscripts these; pag. 1. *a.* and 2. *a. c.* and 4. *c.* and 5. *ll.* and 6. *d.* and 8. *a. c.* and 10. *b.* and 12. *a.* and 14. *a.* and 16. *b.* and 18. *b. c.* and 25. *b. c.* and 29. *f.* and 39. *c.* and 41. *g.* and 42. *c.* and 48. *d.* and 58. *b.* the things which were wholly expunged by the Licenser, may be reduced to these few heads; namely;

First, things charged upon the Papists; in the greater book, pag. 5. and 71. twice, and 109. 110. in the lesser book, pag. 4. *c.* and 25. *b. c.* and 40. *b.*

Secondly, poynts and passages tending to the overthrow of some Popish Tenents; in the greater book, pag. 1. 2. 19. five, and 20. 27. In the lesser book, pag. 1. *f.* and 2. *b.* and 5. *m.* and 6. *b.* and 10. *a.* and 12. *c.* and 14. *b.* and 15. *c.* and 17. *b.* and 18. *a.* and 36. *b.* and 40. *d.* and 52. *d. e.*

Thirdly,

Strange is it, that so devout and pious a prayer as this, should be totally expunged for filling Masse and popery the *Romish Baal*.

What the true intention and designe in purging out these and the following passages against Popery were, will most cleerly, yea infallibly appear by these remarkable clauses expunged by the Licenser out of Doctor Jones his Commentary upon the *Hebrewes*. In the Manuscript copy, page 443. the Doctor upon these words; *Follow peace with all men*: had commented thus; *We must distinguish between Peace and Familiarity; We may be at a generall peace even with the enemies of God; but we must not be familiar with them: There is danger in that: Be at peace with a Papist, but be not familiar with a Papist. Secondly, We may be at peace with the persons of all, but with the vices of none: Be at peace with a Papist but not with his Popery and Idolatry: Be at peace with a drunkard, but not with his drunkenness; reprove that, (show thy dislike of that: The Licenser obliterates these two clauses (omitted wholly thereupon out of the printed copy) page 560. Be at peace with a Papist, but be not familiar with a Papist; be at peace with a Papist, but not with his Popery and Idolatry: Their designe was to reconcile us to Rome, and therefore this Doctrine, that we must not be familiar with papists, though we be at peace with them, because there is danger in that; and that we must not be at peace with their Popery and Idolatry, but onely with their persons; must by all means be totally expunged, as heterodox and seismaticall Doctrine.*

NOTE.

The same Doctor in his Manuscript copy, page 236. had this passage closed with a good prayer: *England that was ever rude and barbarous, is now become civill and religious; and all that ever received the Beast's mark, have now banished the Beast; and GOD GRANT MAY NEVER CHANGE FROM THAT: The Licenser, whose designe was consonant to his Arch-bishops projects to have us change to popery and receive the Beast and his mark againe, quite rased out these words, relating particularly to England (totally omitted in the printed Book, page 278.) And all that ever received the beast's marke, have now banished the beast, and God grant it may never change from it. Was not this a Romish beast indeed, and no true Protestant, who durst obliterate such a passage?*

NOTE.

The Doctor in his written copy, page 93. used this dissuasion from popery to those who pleaded the example of their forefathers continuance in it; *Thy Father was a spend-thrift and made all away, and wilt thou doe so too? Thy father had the French-pox for his uncleane life, and must thou desire it too? So thy Father had the Romish* *Popery, being infected with the Romish Religion, therefore must thou obstinately continue in that disease.* All this the Licenser totally deleted: and thereupon it is left out of the printed copy, page 128. where it should have been inserted.

NOTE.

The Doctor in his Manuscript, page 148. had this passage; *If he happen to be seduced by Papists or other hereticks, we that are preachers must have compassion on such.* The Licenser wholly rased out: *If he happen to be seduced by Papists or other Hereticks: because the designe was, we should be seduced by such; and in such a case Preachers must have no compassion on us; therefore it is omitted in the printed copy, page 196.*

NOTE.

Finally, the Doctor in his Manuscript, page 106. had this serious Exhortation: *We have begun in pure and sound religion, Let us not end in Popery, in Atheisme, in Brownisme, in Anabaptisme.* The Licenser to demonstrate where he and his Arch-bishop would have us end and settle at last; blots out the word *popery*, and puts in *prophanesne* in its stead; and so it is printed, page 140. *Let us not end in prophanesne, instead of, Let us not end in Popery; in which they then intended we should all shortly end, though God (by his omnipotent power and admirable providence) hath wholly frustrated this their intended end: We shall now proceed to another head of expunctions, to wit,*

NOTE.

- 2 Passages expunged out of bookes tendred to license, against the Papacy, Rome, the Popes Supremacy, Pride, Tyranny, Cruelty, Treasons, murdering and deposing Princes: Popes vicious lives, practises, and being Antichrist, that man of sinne, &c.

Doctor Jones in his Comentary on the Hebrewes, had inserted these severall passages against the Pope in his written copy, which the Licenser expunged as insufferable, and thereupon they are quite omitted in the printed booke, page 179. 251. 309. 377. 396. 406.

Page 206. in the written copy; Our Saviour Christ was as wise a man as the Pope, furnished with gifts for both offices as well as he, yet he would not meddle with civil matters, Luke 12. 14. of the extraordinary example of Melchisedeck, no ordinary rule can be made. Page 266. All papists kisse the Pope's feet, yea Kings, Princes and Emperours (saith the copy) yea in so doing they make an Idol of him, as the idolaters kised Baal. Page 284. Antichrist hath been discovered, every man may see what he is, unlesse the God of the world blind their eyes, naught is wanting, unlesse it be the open conversion of the Jewes. Page 301. Nay the Pope himselfe he must be carried on mens shoulders.

Page 308. The holy Ghost thinks it sufficient to call Christ the great Priest; that will not content the Pope, he must be Sacerdos maximus: Christ hath the positive, he must have the superlative; a proud prelat, that Antichrist that exalteth himselfe above God. Page 130. As for the calling of Luther, Calvin and Beza, and of the Ministers of the Gospel, it is warrantable by the Word, we can shew our Letters of Orders from Jesus Christ, the great Bishop of our soules: Are we not true Ministers, because we are not created by the Pope and his Bishops? The Apostles were not made by the Pharisees or any priestes of that time yet good Ministers; and so may we though not made by the Bishop of Rome: it is succession evoclas, not apoclas, as Nazianzen speaks; that is, a good, lawfull succession. Good God! that such passages as these should ever be expunged by such who professe themselves protestant prelates or Ministers! certainly they had a Pope in their hearts, whatever good words we find in their mouths.

Master Ward in his Comentary upon Matthew, had an Index expurgatorius passed on these ensuing clauses, against the Pope his pardons, power and usurped authority; fol. 224. The Pope is called the Adversary, or he who opposeth himselfe against Christ, 2 Thes. 2. 11. and is justly so called, because he and his admirers doe maintaine assertions directly contrary to the word of Christ; one example whereof we have in this verse; Who-soever shall put away his Wife. Fol. 314. Quest. 7. We have no need of a second purging. How derogatory then are the Papists to the sufferings of Christ, who ascribe more to the Popes pardons then to Christ's pangs: Antichrist by his indulgencies, can both deliver and preserve from purgatory, and send the soule streight into Heaven but they will dye in the quarrell before they will grant such or so much power and efficacy to be in the death blood-shed and merits of Christ, fol. 160. Quest. 2. who are like unto the Pharisees? &c. Answ. The Church of Rome, whose commandments are more observed then the commandments of God; as appeare, by this; it is there taught, &c. I I. That to eat flesh upon a good Friday, is a greater sinne then to commit murder, or adultery, and yet that is the Friday on which Christ did ordinarily eat the paschall Lambe. I I I. To blaspheme the name of God in this world is a small offence, but to speak ill of the Pope (especially in Italy and Spaine) is an unpardonable and damnable offence. I V. The Jewes have a Religion whereby they affirme Christ to be a cozeners; but to say that there is no other purgatory but the blood of Jesus Christ, is a crime deserving the inquisition. V. Every Bishop of France may give absolution for faults committed against the law of God but they cannot absolve men of sins committed against the Pope and his See. Secondly, in the Roman church they teach things contrary to the Word of God; for first, God saith, &c. I I. God saith in his Law, six dayes shalt thou labour, but the Pope saith, thou shalt not labour six dayes, but shalt observe the Feasts commanded by the Pope to be observed. I V. God's commands by his

his Apostle, 1 Cor. 10. *That when we are invited to the house of Infidels, we should eat of that which is set before us, making no scruple*: On the contrary, the Church of Rome commands when we are invited to the house of *Hereticks*, not to eat of all that which is set before us in *Lent*, or on Good-Friday, and fasting dayes. Fol. 163. Answ. 2. *Let us avoyd all Popish errors*. Answ. 3. Thirdly, they are to blame also, who bind themselves by a Vow, not to eat flesh upon some certaine dayes, and upon such dayes have no other care then to abstaine from flesh onely.

Ibid. On *Mat. 15. 9.* these passages are obliterated: In vaine doe they worship me.

These words being urged by us against the Popes power in making lawes, which binds the conscience, *Bellarmino* answers three things therunto, namely:

First, by the Commandements of men, are understood Commandements which are contrary to the law of God, but the Popes precepts are not so: To this we answer.

I. All the commandements of men, in whose observation the worship of God is placed, is expressly and directly condemned; for God is to be worshipped as himselfe prescribes.

II. All such commandements are contrary to the law of God, which saith, *Thou shalt not adde to the word which I command thee*; namely, in substantiall things, or which are imposed as essentiall parts of God's worship.

III. There is no mysticall ceremony introduced or brought into the Church by the Popes or Popish Clergy, which was lesse contrary to the laws of God, then was that tradition of washing hands before meat which was ordained by the Elders of the Jewes.

Secondly, the Jesuit answers, that our Saviour blames here onely unprofitable and frivolous ceremonies, onely invented by a humane braine or spirit; but the precepts of the Pope are no such: To this we answer,

I. If all the Jewes, both Priests and people, did use such foolish and frivolous ceremonies, as *Bellarmino* here saith are condemned, then why may not the Pope and Papists use such, or be guilty of the same error.

II. All such mysticall ceremonies which are brought now into the Church of Rome without the warrant of Gods Word, were invented by a humane spirit, for the blessed Spirit of God never taught any other worship to the Church, then that which Christ instituted, *John 14. 26.*

III. If many, yea most of their ceremonies be not frivolous, foolish and ridiculous. I know not what is; but (as a work or subject not worth the insisting upon) I passe it by.

Thirdly, the Jewes (saith *Bellarmino*) were taxed by Christ, because they esteemed more highly of some humane lawes, then they did of the law of God, as *Mat. 23. 23.* but the Papists doe more so. To this I answer; that this was never more seen in the Jewes then in the Papists, as was clearly shewed and proved in the last Question of the former verie.

Many such like passages are purged out of this Author, which we pretermitt.

But the grossest imputations of all the rest, were made by Doctor Bray in Doctor Clarke's Sermons upon the fifth of November, and upon other occasions, as will appeare by these ensuing censurements, at which every zealous Protestant may wel stand amazed.

Page 218. 219. 220. &c. the Licensor hath expunged this which followeth: Such another woman saw the Prophet Zachary, her name was *Wickednesse*; Kins. woman to this, may was not this shee? for the Prophet sayes, *shee was carried into Babylon*. And they say, *Rome is Babylon*; we say it, themselves say it. But I will discharge the Pope so, to make his *Holinesse* this *Wickednesse*. Now what this vision meanes, and who this woman is, an *Angel* expounds in the rest of the chapter; looke at the last verse; the woman is said there to be the great City that usurps sovereignty over the whole earth; by which that Rome is meant, is superfluous to prove, Romanists acknowledge it; and Rome too in a Metonymy; not the streets and wals of Rome, but the power and policy and government of Rome; they yeald that also, but with caution, that we meane of *Heathen Rome*, not *Christian Rome*, as it was the seat of *Cæsars*, not the seat of Popes, the throne of *Antichrist*; they grant that too, but the Pagan

Emperours must be that *Antichrist*, not their Bishops. But I find it (with their fa-
 vours) to be the Church of Rome, and therefore this woman I expound to be the Pa-
 pacy: I prove it not, it is needlesse unto you, and bootlesse unto them; if their lear-
 ned labours who daily write of it, cannot perswade them, what am I to hope it? and
 yet some of their Jesuits, *Vega* and *Ribera*, doe now at length acknowledge it. The
 woman then is Rome, not onely *Neronizing* under Emperours, but also *tyrannizing*
 under Popes; who shee was in *Jobe's* time doth not skill us much; we are to consider
 what shee is now: It is not the Empire but the Church of Rome; it was the Empire
 once that being converted, cherished the church: But *filia devoravit Matrem*, the
 Church hath choaked the Empire, and is her selfe become this woman: Now this
 bloody woman, drunken with the blood of Saints. In the third chapter (whereof
 this chapter is a comentary) there is not one onely, but two Beasts, the first is
 the Empire, the latter is the Papacy, which therefore had two hornes, which are
 the Popes two swords, as in whom are met both powers, Patriarchall and Emperi-
 all. Pope Boniface protest it at the publique Jubilee, riding one day in the Ha-
 bit of a Pope, and the next of an Emperour, commanding to be cryed, *Ecce*
duo gladij hic; behold he had two swords. Nay, why should I grant it was
 the Empire once? I meane this woman; what though the blood of Saints
 were shed by Roman Emperours? yet this is not meane here; the Article is
 relative, it referres us to the first verse, to the woman there; there she is called
 a Whore; that title is proper onely to the Papacy, superstition, and Idolatry, and
 prodigious impiety, hath cast the appellation of an Harlot upon it. I am not wor-
 thy to hold the light to them that have written on this Prophecie; but me thinks
 they need not yeeld that this vision concernes the Empire, but meerly the Pope, for
 this whorish woman is said at the second verse, to have made drunke all Kings with
 her abominations, that is, with her idolatry; shall I say all Nations had their idolatry
 from Rome, I meane the Empire? where read we it? where prove we it? nay but
 Rome had rather her idolatry from them: It worshipped all the gods of all the coun-
 tries that it conquered. That I read both in prophane and Ecclesiasticall History;
 What needed the Empire to teach the Empire that they had before? it learned of
 them, it taught them not, being tyed to so short a time. I cannot argue any point;
 that to prove the Pope this woman, the title of *Antichrist* is intayld to him, and the
 number of the beast fals fit to him: What need I when so many and so learned books
 proves them both; yea, as the high Priest prophesied of Christ unwillingly; so hath
 a learned Bishop of our Land observed, that one of the Popes men hath inscribed a book
 to him, and in his simplicity, hath put the beasts name on him, *Paulo quinto vice-Deo*,
 To Paul the fifth Vice-God: In the numerall letters of these words is just contained
 the number of the beasts, 666. Nay, but the Pope will none of it, if the date be not
 out and expired in the Empire; but we will needs extend it unto these times too,
 and make the woman, the Malignant church, then it is the church of England; we
 are this woman, we prosecute, we execute, we shed the blood of Saints, even this
 very church of Canterbury, both shed the blood of Saints, Saint Thomas Becket's blood:
 'tis not the Popes of Rome, but the Kings and Queens of England; King Henry was
 this woman, Queen Elizabeth, King James, all slaughterers of Saints; witnesse
 Sir Thomas Moore's and Bishop Fisher's blood; witnesse Saint Campions and Saint
 Gornets blood, a blood that wrought miracles. If Canonists say truly, that if the
 Pope send troops of soules to hell, no man may oppose him: *Domine cur sic facis*, ask him
 why he does so? shall I be unmannerly, if I list to lose a little and helpe our Kings, to
 cry *Domine cur sic dicis*, ask him why he sayes so? the Pope hath power to alter sub-
 stances & can he not change qualities, make Treason, Holinesse, and Traitors, Saints? But
 it is Harlots manner to call honest women Whores: This proves the Pope rather to be
 this whorish woman; *constat de persona*, we have the person: Pilate said of Christ, be-
 hold the man; I may say of Christ's Vicar, behold the woman: We have her person,
 let us have her parts. The Woman is described, &c.

All Princes have become his Vassals, and I think he tyed them to pay tribute and
 blood;

blood; so pleasing to the Pope's palate, that howsoever they have differed in their lusts to meats, some to Peacock, and some to Parke, all of them have liked one kind of drink, and that is blood: Let no man wrangle, &c.

What doth the Pope pop us in the mouth with Emperours? Julian the most malicious of them all, vexed the Christians, but would shed no blood; but the Pope is all for blood; his Bulls and Briefes like Dracoes lawes, written not with Inke but blood. I plead not for the Hereticke, as if I held he might not suffer death, such may be the Heresie; but the Pope maintaines distinction between mortall sinne and veniall, holds it towards God, and failes it to the Pope; are some veniall to Gods selfe, and all mortall to Gods Vicar? pardons may be purchast for offenders against God, but he must dye the death that trespasseth the Pope: The least ill word, Pope Alexander punished with death, their owne liege people write it; Onuphrius, &c.

Bona verba quæso; it is the Pope, the shamefuller his sinne, the holy Father, to spill holy blood; belike as Parsons said he had a holy Italy, so the Pope happily hath a holy thirst; for why not? why not sacra sitis, as well as sacra fames? or doth his Holinesse mistake the blood? he might if Popes could erre, but they cannot, and he doth not; but wittingly and willingly he sheds the blood of Saints: Faine would he cover this impious blood thirstinesse, by calling them Hugonists, Lollards and Heretiques: For the two first of them, I know no harme in them; and for the third, what Harlot will not call an honest woman whore? The faith which they have suffered for and their holinesse have Sainted them, without the Popes canonization: They may be Saints though not of his making and of a better order then the Popes, to wit, of the holy Ghosts, he is the right Saint-maker, &c.

So sweet is blood to the throat, that he sheds it where he finds it, be it of what rank, what sex, what age soever, etiam in infantem (saith Tertullian) nullius hostem; nullius reum, &c. the harmlesse Infant that hath done no hurt, that doth think no hurt, even his blood will this Herod have; what doe I call him Herod? a more inhumane blood-sucker then ever Herod was, then ever Pharaoh was; both of them shed the blood of babes new borne, this monster spils the blood of babes unborn; a Kid might not be sod in the mothers milke, this beast spares not the babe in the mothers wombe, &c.

A woman that affects the title of Holinesse, her head the Popes holinesse, her selfe, holy Mother-church, can this holy woman marther holy men? shee that canonizeth Saints, the founder of their feasts, the builder of their Temples, the adorer, the admirer, the adorer of Saints, can shee shed the blood of Saints? shee can, shee does, and that in such abundance.

Drunkennesse becoms any ill, a Bishop worst; of all men Church-men should be sober; what a sight is this? John sees here a Bishop drunken; the Universall Bishop, the Prince, Patriarch, the Pope drunken; for we are bold under his benediction, to make that man, this woman, not wine-drunke (though by their leave some of these are noted for that too, as Leo 10. and Nicholas 5.) but blood-drunken, &c.

Wherefore are the Jesuits in France, and here, and every where, but to be his slaughtermen, to shed Kings blood? their feet swift to spill it, because his throat lusts to swallow it; be wise now therefore O ye Kings, and be learned by France, O ye Princes of the earth; at least let the Lyon learne by the Flower de luce, to watch not the Jesuit onely, whose fingers itch to spill his blood, but the Recusant also, as very a Traitor in his heart as he; the Lord convert their persons, and confound their plots. as many as look at Jacob with an Esau-eye, &c. The woman that rid on a beast of hell, hammers her bloody plots from the forge of hell, the Pope, &c.

The wicked Antichrist would purchase heaven by sending us to hell: had the Romish Canibols thirsted for our blood, yet charity would they should have wished well to our soules; but the Pope like Satan, the sonne like to the fire, malices even our soules; he would have sacrificed our blood, and our soules should have ascended into the flames of the Altar, not like Manoa's Angel into heaven, but our soules and bodies

‘bodies too, into that part of the Ayre, where the prince of the Ayre and his angels have their residence, that is *in votis*, the Pope wished it so, I will not say, &c.

‘Their *Jupiter Latialis*, their Lord God the Pope; or their *Jupiter Infernalis*, their Lord God the Devil, should have many *Hecatombes*, &c.

‘The *Vicar* of Christ, a sticker of *Christians*, the successor of Saint Peter, a worker with *salt-peter*; he that makes God’s blood of Wine, to drinke mans blood as Wine.

In Doctor *Clarke’s* second Sermon on the fifth of November, page 237. the Licensor hath obliterated three whole leaves together, against the tyranny, bloodinesse and viciousnesse of Popes and their Instruments, so as they cannot be read; and in the same Sermon, page 234. 235. 237. he hath deleated these clauses and phrases. The spawn of *Antichrist*; *Romes Martyrs* and canonized Saints, I hold them neither: All Martyrs are Christs, Martyrs of Jesus. A discription of *Antichrist*; the Romish *Antichrist*: There are two *Antichrists*, Gog in the west, and Magog in the east: Nay beside Magog the Turke, Rome hath two at times: First, the Empire, then the Papacy; this woman in the latter described here. Aristotle makes mention of one so inhumane, that shee would rip up womens wombs to eat the infants. Saint John’s woman here hath been as savage; hath not spar’d a babe, springing out of the wombe of the mother at the stake: Into the fire with it, ’tis a young Heretick.

In his 23. Sermon, page 463. this passage is deleated: Popes are free peradventure, may it is past peradventure: my Text sayes every man, one Pope was free, he was a woman: nay all are free, for Popes are Gods; ’tis their own phrase, Our Lord God the Pope, or if not God, yet not meere man, something between both, their saying too; but by good chance, ’tis not here every man, but every one; who will scape that? yet as the Devil would not be belyed, so neither would the Pope be wrongd: Preaching against iniquity, let me doe none. ’Tis every one that calls on Christ’s name: some Popes doe not; *Julius* the second called on the Devils name. In *nomine omnium diabolorum*, in all the Devils names at his losing of *Ravenna*: But take the passive sense; all that are called by Christ’s name, *Christians*: Popes are all so; not all so neither; *Paul* the III. was no Christian it seems, for he doubted of hell, of the resurrection and of God; surely *Gregory* the IX. was none, he called Christ an Imposter. Yet the Pope pretends Christ’s name, titles himself by him, will be Christ’s *Vicar*, beare Christ’s name above all men, affect Christ’s titles above all men; his attribute of Holinesse. Men on earth, Saints in Heaven, are but called holy; *Peter* is no more, his Predecessor *sanctus Petrus*, Christ’s Mother is no more, *sancta Maria*; holy *Peter*, holy *Mary*; God’s selfe rests in it too, every person; holy Father sayes Christ, *John* 17. The sonne *sanctus Dei*, God’s holy one, *Mark* 1. the Spirit, the holy Ghost. The Pope likes not this positive degree, he will be stiled *Sanctissimus*, the most holy: ’tis not likely that iniquity is in this man, this most holy man: *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* charge him with much, both his person and his doctrine, but they are lyars, hereticks all; *Sacriledge* and *Symony*, Incest and Adultery, setting of Subjects against Sovereignes, King against King, Murther and Massacre, infinite iniquities: fie, that holy Father Pope should doe such things; they are not *Calvin’s* calumnies, nor *Luther’s* lyes, but confest by their owne Writers; nor doe Popes thus in person onely; that craves some pardon: But ’tis their Doctrine too, their Churches Doctrine, That a Priest or Jesuit may forswear, deny his parents, defraud his friend, betray his country, kill his King; fie, that holy Mother Church should teach such things. This theame (some may say) fits not this place neither; the Pope is not here, &c.

In his Sermon upon *Quadragesima*, page 122. line 10. & page 124. line 37. the Licensor hath quite expunged these following lines. How then is the Popedome in the Devils gift, if Kingdomes be not? Satan gives it, and it is a kind of Kingdome, *Regnum sacerdotale*, a priestly Kingdome: The Pope a *Melchisedeck*, King and Priest, wears a Crowne, beares a sword, both Regallities, three Crownes, *multa diademata*, Christ does, *Revel.* 19. and he is his Vicar: two swords, *Ecce duo gladij hic*: Popes are Kings betters, Cardinals Kings Peers; is the Pope the Devils creature and not Kings? But the Pope.

Popedome is not Satans gift neither, *Aeneas Sylvius* himselfe sometimes a Pope, writes, that one got the Popedome *fraude diabolica*; we beleeve it, moe then one *Silvester* the Nectromancer, *Boniface 7.* *Gregory 7.* all *fraude diabolica*: by devillish machinations, that does not prove the Devill made them, or construe it if you will, by the Devils meanes, it will not serve so neither, so Kings come often to their Crownes by devillish meanes, and yet God gives them; God may be the author of an act, whereof Satan may be in the meanes; God gave his Sonne to death for us, yet the Devill had his hand in it; *John* sayes the Devill put in *Indus* heart to betray Christ; God destroyes *Abaz*, but the Devill was his meanes; a lying spirit in the mouth of all the Prophets: God would afflict *Iob*, the Devill was his instrument, 'tis plaine in the story. For the poynt, as I would not belye, so I would not rob the Devill of his right; the Popedome is of God, but the Papacy is of Satan: To be a Prince and Bishop, yea I will yeeld him highest Bishop too, God gives him that; but his universall Prelacy and presumption over Princes, the Devill gives him that: his power is from God, but his pride is from the Devill, Satan is yet more frack.

The Pope Patrissall playes satan; some here craves not *prostration* onely, least happily you say, that's but civill reverence; and yet saying his reverence, 'tis more then the greatest Monarch craves in all our Westerne Kingdome; I say, he craves not *prostration* onely, but adoration too: Worship, divine worship, what else meant the cry of the Cicilian Ambassadors prostrate before him, *Tu tollis peccati mundi, miserere nostris*; O thou that takest away the sinnes of the world, have mercy upon us: &c.

Ibid. page 172. line 4. this is deleted by the Licenser; Was not *Indas* an Apostle? *Origen* sayes he was, the Gospell sayes he was among the twelve Apostles; not Disciples onely, but Apostles. Saint *Matthew* reckons him; here is then a place pat for the *Papists*, which they never yet observed, for their *Apostolicall Traditions*; here is *Traditio Apostolica* indeed. Here I observe it not, what doe they selfe *πρωτοε* is their *εργασια*, Trechery their occupation, Treason the Pope's trade; best they leave it, 'tis *Indas* act, and brings a sort of them to *Indas* end, it will strangle the Papacy it selfe at length.

In his second Sermon upon severall occasions, page 293. l. 10. the Licenser deletes: And theres a man in Rome, the Pope, will be as God the Sonne, for he is his Vicar.

Ibid. page 495. l. 22. Gods Peere, that's little, will be his superior, will be worships (Paul sayes) above all that is called God: who is that? even the Pope, &c. This Monster, &c. Let every soule be subject to the higher Powers, Paul bids: be the Clergy exempt, they are not bound to the Lay barre; Thou shalt not make an Image, nor bow downe to it, thou shalt doe both, Gods lawes are strait, the Pope will dispence with them, break thy Oath, marry thy wives sister, thine owne sister, thine Aunt, keep a Concubine, be a Catamite or Sodomite, kill a King though a catholike, the Pope will absolve thee. Hold we the Pope arrogant in the title of Christs Vicar; he is more, his power (it seems) is above Christs. Page 296. bids God a Bishop, be the husband *unius* of one Wife; the Popes bids *nullius*, marry not at all; forbids the Cup at the Communion of the Lord, though Christ have ordained it; Scripture, Gods Word sayes *Sylu Perer*: hath none authority, but from the Pope; I must end, the Pope is Omnipotent, Gods Attribute, yet one calls this Pope so: He can doe all things, yea he is all things; Gods peculiar too, so he is Gods Peere, behold the man is become like one of us. *Idem*: page 301. Theres a people in *Affricke* curse the Sunne because it fireth them, theres a Pope to curse the *Starres*, *Mars*, *Venus*, *Iupiter* and *Mercury*, because he lost at dice, gamesters here curse Cards and Dice, bite them, teare them, thats all, at most banne one another, tame Protestants and base spirited, learne of holy Father Pope to curse the Heavens and God; why wrong I our brave spirits as hereticall as the Pope? was not Christ God? his passions, wounds, nayles, blood and death, yea heart and soule, black mouthed blasphemy? what dares it not doe against Heaven in execrable Oathes? The Law, &c. page 338. The Popes Mint can coyne words too, to his Forge nothing comes amiss: in its Scriptures, Fathers, Counsels; yea, if it needs be, hee in a word writes too, In spite of all Gramarians, if the Pope say but.

Fiatur: page 344. *Balaak of Spaine*, heires *Balaam of Rome* to curse *Israel*, his brothers of *France*, to root out all the Religion in his Realme, or if *Ierusalem* will needs be there, it shall not have peace there: The enemies, &c. page 346. *Michael* is *Christ*, his Angels are true Christians, *Rome* now is that Synagogue, pretends *Saint Peters chaire*, *Caiaphas* sits in it and convents *Christ*, and there is the *Dragons Generall*, the *Popes*, his captaine, Kings of his communion, all enemies to peace, &c. In the 13. *Sermon*, page 384. Tis now a proverbe in the *Popes* court, tis not for Princes but for Merchants to keep oathes: of *Popes* and their partisons, tis true which *Zosimus* falsly said of *Constantine*, that perjury was ordinary. *Philip of Macedon*, *Pausanias* writes of him, that he brake all Leagues, all promises, all oaths; wee beare with him; 'twas the fashion of his Countrey: not *Cretians* onely as *Saint Paul* sayes, from the Poet, but *Grecians*, all were lyars; heathen *Grecians*: The *Pope*, &c. page 387. That rough handed *Esau*, that thirsts for *Jacobs* blood, that sends his associates to murder Kings, swears them to murder them, assailes men easily from all their oathes of Alleagiance whatsoever, let him practise. In the 17. *Sermon*, page 420. *John* saw a woman drunken with the blood of Saints; that's not the *Pope*, his sex saves him from that charge, he is a man, if you doubt, one was a woman; *Paul* is for him, calls him the man of sinne. In the 20. *Sermon*, page 443. l. 3. The hope of the life to come; they hold an old wivestale, hell a fable too: the worlds end, the resurrection and *Christ*s comming unto judgement, *Inter Nanas habentur*, they reckon them meere fallacies. *Petrarch* sayes, one of their owne church; That blasphemous speeches came from a *Popes* mouth; *Quantas nobis opes peperit illa fabula de Christo*; It was *Leo X.* he reckoned even the Gospell a legend of lyes.

Sermon 27. page 449. I thought *Papists* held Letchery one of the seven deadly sins, it seems a veniall one, very veniall by the *Pope*, who grants *Priests* Concubines, licenseth the *Stewes*, leases out *Curtizans* in Fee-farme: *B. Jewels* phrase. *Joannes de Cosa* Dean of the Catholike chamber, wrote a book in praise of the lewdest kind of lust: they will shortly say, I think, as *Hierom* writes, that *Vigilantius* sayd, that continency is heresie; then happily all the letchers in the land will turne Catholikes. a Religion fit for them; the Whore of *Babylon* will favour Harlots, her sonnes (it seemes) profess it all, for they fleere a chaste and honest man, call him an Eunuch: But *Satan*, *Popes* and *Cardinals* are lyars: all Gods, &c.

Above twenty more passages of this nature, concerning the *Pope*, *Papacy*, *Rome*, are obliterated in this Doctors Sermons, which for brevity we pretermitt: onely we shall conclude with one more, containing the good old Doctors hopes to see the *Popes* and *Romes* speedy downfall, which this Arch-palat with his confederates could no wayes patiently endure to heare of; and that is in his second *Sermon* on the fifth of *November*, page 234. l. 3. The whole world will one day wonder, as he, at her drunkenness, so it at her fall. Fals are incident to the drunken, and *Saint John* foretels that too, in two chapters; doubles the word in both, *Cecidit, cecidit*. shee is fallen, shee is fallen, say I one day. That day (I hope) is neer, and the *Popes* period at hand: My selfe am unlikely by my yeers, (but I hope) my successors shall preach this womans funerall, and that many here present, shall see this prophesie of *Saint John* fulfilled: *cecidit, cecidit*. This drunken woman is neerly fallen, shee reels already, and that foreleads a fall, she hath reeled a long time, sundry whole Kingdoms besides many parts of *Germany* and *France*, relinquisht her a long time since; God will hasten the rest: Pray we all that, and blesse we God for saving us; pray he will so still, even for his Sonne our Saviours sake, unto both which blessed persons, with the holy Ghost, be all glory, &c. Amen.

Now we appeale to any intelligent mans conscience, what the oblitterating of all these passages against the *Pope*, *Popery*, *Rome*, &c. out of these new books, by the Arch-bishop and his Chaplaines, portend and intimate, but a professed confederacy in them to reduce us back to our ancient vassalage to the *Pope* and Sea of *Rome*, and the re-establishing of the *Popes* authority, his Instruments Agents and *Popery* among us in the highest degree; which the ensuing particulars will more fully demonstrate.

3. Passages purged out of new licensed Books, against seducing traiterous Papists, Popish Priests, Jesuits, Monks, Arminians; our toleration of, and remissness in executing Lawes against them, and revolting to Popery.

Doctor Jones in his written Comentary on the Hebrewes, had these ensuing passages against Papists, Jesuits and their errors, expunged: page 446. One Papist if he be permitted will quickly make many Papists: p. 148. If we happen to be seduced by Papists or other Hereticks: page 348. Though the Papists be many and we but few, yet we may be of the Church: page 161. This was called confirmation, whereas the Papists afterwards abused it, and made a Sacrament of it, exalting it above Baptisme: page 90. God hardneth not only permissive, as Bellarm. and the rest of the Papists contend: page 101. Not to seek salvation by the observation of the Law, as the Papists doe: page 241. We need not stand a loose, as the Papists would have us: page 137. The Papists this day cleave hard to the Pope, nothing shall separate them from him: page 291. Both the Jesuits and theirs, cannot avoyd this place, &c. page 341. To deny Christ, saith Bellarmine, is an heresie, or an error next doore to heresie; yet Pererius the Jesuit denyes that they be in that Paradise wherein Adam was; therefore he is neere to an Hereticks, &c.

In Doctor Clerke's Sermons, page 52. l. 28. this clause was expunged: *And as himselfe the great Goliath of hell, this little Sonne of David hath cast downe and beheaded: so his seed in this Land, blood thirsty Catholikes, incarnate devils, the word incarnate, root them out of Israel; and the devils horne, which is the Beast of Rome; the Horne of salvation knock it off in Zion; so shall King Jacob be safe, and his Israel be glad.*

Page 231. l. 13. Doctor Haywood expunged these memorable passages against traiterous blood-thirsty Jesuits and Papists. Wherefore are the Jesuits in France and here and every where, but to be his slaughter-men, to shed Kings blood? their feet are swift to spill it, because his throat luts to swallow it: *Be wise now therefore O ye Kings, and be learned by France O ye Princes of the earth; at least let the Lyon learne by the Flower-de-luce to watch not the Jesuit onely, whose fingers itch to spill his blood, but the Recusant also, as very a traitor in his heart as he: The Lord convert their persons and confound their plots, as many as look at Jacob with an Esau eye.*

We should wonder both at the mans selfe and at the mans men, not at the Jesuits onely, and the Seminary Priests, you shall not know them, to make them the wonderment: But the Recusant Papist, yea every profest Papist, let us wonder at them too: They wax in number and in spirit, and their mouthes speak presumptuous things; Think you they censure that treason from their heart? surely I will think that he that sayes as the Pope sayes, will also doe as the Pope does: Say he comes to Church, and hold the Kings supremacy; *tamen Romanus est, as Segismund the Emperour said of a Cardinall*, yet he is a Papist; *nullus est fidus eorum affectus, quorum est diversa fides*: therefore trust not that man that holds any Popery; if he kisse like a Serpent, he sure will sting too: his peace is with thee, but *rebus sit stantibus*, he is that womans Son; he thirsts for blood, even thy blood that embraceth him; he sayes with Esau in his heart, the dayes of mourning for Isaac will come one day; then I will kill my Brother Jacob; but let us wonder.

Ibid. page 286. l. 10. these words are expunged: Instance but in the Pope; he is but one Serpent, but a great one, *Draco magnus*, in the Apocalipse: He curseth Kings, and States by his Bulls, that is his Hissie, murders and massacres by his Jesuits, they are his sting: page 416. l. 25. I will not say the Jew, but surely the Gentile before the Jesuit: page 420. l. 14. Rome is no Court of Arches, to license the Jesuit to reach where he will: page 427. l. 6. No Papist, no right Papist is a right Israelite, for there is guile in him: page 429. l. 5. The Epicure Jesuits and Stoick Priests, call these Calvinists babblers; others of them say, they set forth strange gods, for they preach to the people *Iesus & sola fides*, a Male God and a Female: may we not know what this doctrine, this

new doctrine, whereof these Calvinists speak, is? we will know what these things doe meane: Unhappy Recusants.

Page 348. l. 6. To so many hearers, so intelligent, little need application, yet the times crave it: Is not this Land a limbe of this *Jerusalem*? of *Jerusalem* it is but not of this, not of *David's Jerusalem*; you heare *Jerusalem* tax roughly by the Prophet, both for murder and adultery, for shedding Saints blood, and serving strange gods; *England* is no persecutor, but it is an halter between two Religions: *Dagon affronts Gods Arke*; heres both Eucharist and Masse, *Babylon is in Jerusalem*: It's not unworthy the observing, that *Jerusalem* in the Originall tongue is of the Duall number; there are two *Jerusalems*; *David* bids pray for *Jerusalems* peace, but whether *Jerusalem*? that surely which he here describes, where is Unity, v. 2. Religion, v. 4. and Justice, v. 5. *Jerusalem is a City that is at Unity within it self, thither goe up the Tribes to prayse the Lord, and there are our seats of judgement*. Is our *Jerusalem* such? schisme in the Church and faction in the State shew there is no Unity: *Pottery and Atheisme spread over the whole Land*; prove there is small Religion; and impunity lesse Justice; and may we pray for peace on this *Jerusalem*? we may; but yet it must be by some other Text; pray we may for any; *Moses* did for *Israel* though fallen grievously; *Samuel* for *Saul* though a grand sinner; we may well curse, though happily in vaine; for *God* sayes, *non est pax, there's no peace to the wicked*; sinne at length captiv'd *Israel*, sackt the City, rased the Temple; *nunc seges est, grassie growes at Jerusalem*: Yet despair not daughter *Zion* return our *Sullamite*, *theres no peace to the wicked*: cease we to doe evil, sorry we for sinnes, heartily weep we; pray we *God* for peace, we shall have peace: the prodigious pride of women, their wanton vanities, censured often by preachers, but in vaine; they will come with them to Church in spite of us I think in spite of Angels too, who are ever present in our Church, and the drunkenness of men their whoredomes and blasphemies, draw downe divine revenge on our *Jerusalem*; *France* will be *Gods* rod, and *Spain* will be his hammer to scourge and beat *Jerusalem* to powder; mature repentance will prevent all, and peace will be on *Israel*.

And page 445. 446. *Jesuits* must speak for *Mammon*, he is their god: There are seekers of ionics, a phrase frequent in Scripture, seekers of blood, *Jesuits* are such; seek soules they should, *Iesus* *scilicet* did it; he sought to save them. *Jesuits* doe but to destroy them: They *Querere animas*, but not in *Christi* sense, in *Satans* sense to devour them; they seek carefully, for they will *repentari*, do as the devil does, walk about the world to doe that worke: There are seekers of lyes, v. 42. The Church of *Rome* swarms with such seekers: That's from below too, another of *Satans* seekers, whom *Christ* calls father of lyes.

These passages are all deleted by the Licenser as heterodox.

In *Master Ward's* Commentary upon *Matthew*, these clauses were purged out by the Licenser, fol. 120. Thirdly, *Fishes*, i. e. men, not onely rich men, but all men, and therefore the Monks are but bad fishers, who fish onely for great and rich men, labouring onely to draw them into their nets: Fol. 148. First, my servants shall drink and ye shall be thirsty, and therefore it is a great insolency in the Papists, thus diametrically to contradict the direct promises of *God*. Secondly, *Aliquando bonus dormit Homerus*, wise men may play the foole sometimes, and subtile Sophisters dispute absurdly, as our witty country-man *Stapleton* doth in this present Argument, disputing thus, &c. Secondly, if our country-man *Stapleton* had not been a professor of Divinity, and a teacher of others, he might have gone to the Logick professor to learne to frame a better Argument, this thus framed by him being so absurd; Those that desire temporall things are wicked, therefore those who want temporall things are not happy; he had need look well to this Syllogisme or Argument, least with its four feet it runne away from him. Fol. 154. Secondly, there is an unlawfull Hospitality, which is shewed to Traytors, *Jesuits*, popish Priests: Fourthly, they are faulty here, who give unto the rich, as the Papists, who plentifully feast the fat Monks, and send large presents to the *Jesuits* and *Capuchins*. Secondly, there are sowers of discord in Kingdomes, viz. those who instigate others unto warres, as the Cardinals and *Jesuits* upon every

every occasion doe whisper in the eares of Princes. to make warre upon their Neigh-
bours. when they perceive any advantage to be had thereby. Fol. 212. Secondly,
adde nothing to the Word of God: Neither first, the chaffe of superstition with the Pa-
pists: Nor secondly, Machavillinsime and unwarrantable policy, with some Starists: Nei-
ther thirdly, New opinions, &c. Fol. 213. Secondly, that is no true sense of Scripture
which doth make any sentence in Scripture false. as the Papists make the Word of
God quarrell with, and thwart, and crosse it selfe; Example: they would prove *Rom.*
3. 28. & 4. 25. to be false by *Iam.* 2. 21. Now we know these expositions to be false,
because the establishing of the one place, is the demolishing of the other. Fol. 276.
Thirdly the Papists have Rimes which must be said over three or four times every day:
certainly with a little pains a man might make a good Parrot a good Papist, for he might
be taught to speak all this. Fol. 476. Q. Wherein are the Papists to blame concerning
the Augmentation of Faith? *Answ.* They are faulty in two things; *Negant fiduciam &*
certitudinem fidei, they grant faith but deny both confidence and certainty of faith &c.
fol. 52. *Answ.* But the Monkish life is not persecution except thus because the Locusts
(which are no other but Monks and Fryars) *Revel.* 19 doe bite and sting like Serpents,
that is do secretly wound mens consciences: (and four lines after) Thirdly, all go not to
Christ that come into Monasteries but rather goe from him, they living after another
rule then Christs; for *Francis* their great founder, erected a new sect of Monkery, and
found out a new rule for them, which he called *regulam Evangelicam*, the rule of the
Gospell, as though Christs rule were not sufficient. Many other passages of like na-
ture, over-umerous to recite, were blotted out of this Author by the Licenser.

We shall conclude with such passages as Doctor *Bray*, with the Arch-bishop's privi-
ty, purged out of Doctor *Featlyes Sermons*, wherein some Texts of Scripture were ex-
-punged to do Popish Priests & seducers a favour: p. 90. What are the great Foxes but the
Priests and Jesuits? what are the little Foxes but the Demipelagian cubs, which will
spoyle our fairest clausters, the Colledges of both Universities, if in time they be not
looked unto, as they have done already in our neighbour Vine in the Low-countrie.
&c. page 472. If these cries of the soules under the Alter awake not the zealous Magi-
strates whom God hath made protectors of his Spouse, to draw out the sword of whol-
some Statutes out of the scabbard to wound the hairy scalpe of the Strumpet; yet let
them at least take compassion on the soules of the living, even their sonnes and daugh-
ters, who are dayly enticed by secular Priests and Jesuits, and by their Agents convey-
ed over beyond the Seas to be sacrificed to the *Molech* at Rome; (a) What, or how shall
I speake unto you, beloved brethren? I need rather teares then words to bewaile the great
losse our Church sustaineth of hundred, nay thousand of soules, that have been drawn out
of the right way, and are fallen into the snares of Satan, and den of the Beast. &c. Here
though I lose my voyce by it, I cannot but cry aloud with zealous (b) Bullenger, What
clemency call you this, to suffer the Lords Vineyard to be spoyled and layd waste by ugly
monsters? what mercy to spare the Wolves, which spare not Christs sheep redeemed with his
precious blood?

(c) *Ubi nunc lex Iulia dormis?*

To what purpose serves our wholesome Lawes and Statutes, if they rust, as the (d) O-
rator speaketh, like swords in the scabbards, and are never drawne upon the sworne ene-
mies of our Church and State? &c. page 485. That the severity of our Lawes and Canons
should fall upon Praying Doves, silly seduced persons, without any gall at all while
the Black-birds of Antichrist are let alone: if chaste *Lydia* be silenced for her undif-
fected zeale, let not *Jezabel* be suffered to teach and to deceive Gods servants, &c. page
495. I know, to restrain such abuses is the peculiar duty of the Ecclesiasticall and civill
Magistrates, but to detect and discover them to authority, and to refrain from socie-
ty of Idolaters, is the duty of us all; and I beseech you for the love of him who hath
espoused your soules to himselfe, and decked them with the richest Jewels of his grace,
and made them a Joynture of his Kingdome, beware of *Jezabels Panders*, who goe
about to entice you to spirituall fornication; If they be your (e) brethren, the sonnes of

N n

your

(a) *Cypr. de lapsis, quid hoc loco faciam delectissimis*

fratres fluctu- am vario men- tis estis, quid aut quomodo d. cam? lacry- mus magis quem verbis opus est, ad ex- primendum do- lorem, quo cor- poris nostri, plaga disenda est.

(b) *Rul. in A- puc. Que que- so clementia est crudelissimis lupis blandiri ut oves innocen- tes, Christi san- guine redemp- tas impune di- lantent? que hec patientia finire viniam Domini ab im- maniſſimis monſtris devi- ſari.*

(c) *Juvén.*

ſat. 2. (d) C. c. orat. 1. in Catil. Ha- beamus ſenatus conſultum ve- lut gladium in vagina recon- ditum.

(e) *Deut. 13. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.*

your mother, or your owne sonnes or daughters, or the wife that lyeth in your bosome, or your friends that are as your owne soules, that sollicite you in this kind, ye are to renounce them, and by the law of God, to see justice executed upon them. &c. p. 796. Beware therefore deare brethren, beware of the Panders of Antichrist, who goe about to intice you not to corporall, but which is farre worse, to spirituall whoredome; If they be (f) your brethren, the sonnes of your owne mother, or your owne sonnes or daughters, or your wives that lye in your bosome, or your friends that are as your owne soule, that intice you to goe to Masse, and partake with the Romanists in their manifold idolatries, you are bound by the Law of God to be so far from consenting to them, or hearing them, that you are to account of them as your capitall enemies, and proceed against them as you would against those who have platted your utter ruine and overthrow.

(4) Deut. 13.
6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

NOTE.

Good God! that such patheticall clauses as these against seducing popish Priests and Jesuits, nay the very words of sacred Scripture it selfe, should be thus obliterated in our Protestant Church, by the Arch-bishop's owne direction, who professeth himselfe such an enemy to Priests and Jesuits! Doubtlesse his vapouring protestations against them were all meere delusory complements to beguile the over-credulous, since all these purgations proclaime both him and his agents, to be their most endeared friends (as they openly vaunted them to be at Rome) and to hold most strict intelligence with them.

From these purgations against Popery, Popes, Papists, Priests, Jesuits, Monks, and other Romish vermine in the generall, we shall next proceed to sundry expunctions against doctrinall poynts of Popery in particular, which we shall prosecute in an Alphabeticall manner; the first whereof is this.

4. That the Absolution of Priests is but declarative; and that they cannot bind and loose men at their pleasures against Gods word, as the Papists hold their Priests can doe.

IN Doctor Clerkes Sermons, Sermon 3. of the Nativity, page 23. the Licenser hath expunged these words: Nay, nor bind nor loose sinne neither, but declarative: the Priest does, but pronounce the absolution, &c. So that in this purgation Christ is but the Physick, the Priest is the Physician or Apothecary at least; but he wants *Heleborus* to purge his braine.

In Master Richard Ward his Comentary upon Matthew, the Licenser hath quite obliterated this passage as erronious, Matth. 18. 18. *Whatsoever ye bind, &c.* the Papists hold this grosse opinion, that men are bound and loosed in Heaven, according to the will and pleasure of every Priest, exercising the Keyes upon earth; and this Tenet they ground upon the generality of these words; *Whatsoever finnes ye remit, they are remitted; and whatsoever you bind on earth should be bound in heaven,* in this verse, and in John 20. 23. Remist. Annot. John 20. 23.

These places are not so to be understood, as though God were bound to ratifie every decree of men upon earth. For,

First, this power is given to all lawfull Pastors, who maintaine and hold the Apostolike faith, and not to idolatrous, ignorant and blasphemous Priests, such as most, if not all the popish Priests are.

Secondly, they must decree in the earth, according to Gods will, and therefore John 20. 22. our Saviour doth first breath his Spirit upon his Apostles, and then giveth them their Commission; signifying thereby, that they must execute this power, as they shall be directed by Gods Spirit; yea, hence Matth. 18. 20. it followeth, that they must be assembled in the name of Christ, that is, according to Christs rule, and the direction of his Word; they must bind and loose, and not at their owne discretion.

There are divers other purgations of this nature, which brevity enforceth us to omit.

5. *Clauses against adoring the Eucharist, and consecrated Bread in the Sacrament, expunged.*

MAfter Ward in his Comenatary on Matthew, had this memorable clause against Papists adoring the Eucharist, purged out by the Licenser. Object. *The Eucharist is to be adored because Christ is very God.* Antiw. *He should have assumed, the Eucharist is very God, which is blasphemy to say; and therefore not to be uttered by any but by Babels brood, unto whose Prince and head is given the name of. Blasphemy; Revel. 12. 1. yea, a month speaketh blasphemies, verse 5. even against the most high God, verse 6. and therefore we leave this opinion to the Papists, to whom properly it belongs.*

The Licenser it seems would have Protestants embrace this opinion as well as Papists, and therefore purged out this clause as heterodox.

Doctor Jones in his Comenatary on the Hebrewes, had the like purgation; page 20. *Then how sharply are the Papists to be reprov'd, that worship a peece of bread in the Sacrament:* Strange that such a passage should be deleted, but that our bowing to, and toward the Altar, (g) because there 'tis, *hoc est corpus meum*, tended to introduce the selfe same adoration of the Eucharisticall Bread among us by degrees.

(g) Arch-bishops Speech in Star-chamber, p. 47.

6. *Passages expunged, averring, That the Pope is Antichrist: of which see Section 2. before.*

YOU have already heard of sundry purgations of this nature in the premises, we shall present you with others not formerly remembred.

Doctor Clerke in his sixth Sermon of the Nativity, page 53. line ult. had this clause: *But the Pope is the Antichrist; which the Licenser thus transformes: but one is Antichrist; easing the Pope of this title.*

Master Ward in his Comenatary upon Matthew, page 303. had this whole discourse concerning Antichrist expunged by the Licenser.

How many wayes is this name Antichrist taken in the Scriptures, that our Saviour saith, many shall come in his name, affirming that they are Christs?

Quest.

First, it is taken sometimes commonly; and thus his name Antichrist belongeth to all who are enemies to Christ: and these are either 1. open & professed enemies, as the Jews, Turks and Infidels, in which sense the word is not used in Scripture; or 2. covert and close enemies, who profess themselves christians, and under the name and profession of Christ, oppose Christ and his truth; and thus it is taken either 1. more largely, to signifie the whole body of hereticks, as 1 John 2. 18. 22. or 2. more strictly, and so it signifies the society of them, who having made an Apostacy from Christ, have received the marke of the Beast; and these we hold to be the Apostaticall Church of Rome. Secondly, this name Antichrist is sometimes taken properly, or rather peculiarly, and so it belongeth to the man of sinne, and the sonne of perdition (2 Thes. 2. 3.) who after a more generall manner is the head of all hereticks, and more specially of that society, which hath the mark, number, and the name of the Beast, Revel. 12. 17. and this we hold to be the Pope of Rome (as is abundantly proved by Davani, Bishop Downham and Master Squire) and that not onely because he is the head of the Antichristian body, but also because he being in profession the Vicar of Christ, is indeede *Æmulus Christi*, i. e. an enemy opposed to Christ in emulation of like honour, as if we should say, a counter-Christ, as the word Antichrist doth also signifie.

Answe.

How doth it appeare that there are many Antichrists? for although Christ saith here that many shall come in his name, yet many deny this, affirming, that the Antichrist shall be but one particular person, and consequently, that there shall not be many Antichrists, but one onely.

Quest.

That Antichrist is not one singular man, but a whole state and succession of men, and consequently, that there shall be many Antichrists peculiarly, or κατ' ἐξοχήν, so called.

Answe.

led, will appeare by these Arguments: First, if Antichrist were in the Apostles time and was to remaine untill the second comming of Christ, then Antichrist is not one singular man, but a succession of men; but Antichrist was in the Apostles time, and is to continue untill the second comming of Christ, as both Saint Paul (2 Thes. 2.) and John 1 cap. 2. 18. & 4. 3. & 2 John 7.) testifie. Therefore Antichrist is not one singular man, but a succession of men. Secondly, that in the 7. and 11. of Daniel, and in 13. and 17. of the Revelations, is described under the name and figure of a Beast, is not one singular thing or person, but a whole state or succession: But Antichrist in these places is described under the name and figure of a Beast: Therefore Antichrist is not one singular person, but a whole state or succession. Thirdly, the seven heads of that Beast, which signifieth the Roman state, are not so many persons but so many heads or states of Government, whereby the Common-wealth of the Romans hath been at divers times governed; the sixth head was the state of Emperours, the seventh Antichrist, as the Papists confesse, the eighth (which is also one of the seventh) the state of Emperours revived: whereby it evidently appeareth, not onely that Antichrist is not one man, but also that the Pope (who is the seventh head) is Antichrist; if the Reader would see the two former Arguments enlarged, and another added, not here mentioned, then let him read Bishop Downname de Antichristo, lib. 2. cap. 20. to 32. Page 16. this clause is deleted: Ob. Antichrists name shall not be knowne untill he come, &c. Answ. 2. Secondly, Antichrist is already come, yea, the Pope of Rome is this Antichrist, as is abundantly proved by many of our Divines; and therefore his rise, seat and name are knowne well enough: page 14. Ob. 5. Whosoever shall put away his wife (the Pope is called the adversary, or he who opposeth himselfe against Christ, 2 Thes. 2. 11. and is justly so called, because he and his Divines doe maintaine assertions directly contrary to the word of Christ; one example we have in this verse, Bel-lerme saith, &c. page 57. Ob. 3. Christ saith, unto me is given all power, therefore (Antichrists imp) Pererius saith, the Pope hath power over Infidels; And a little after Answ. 2. all power is given to Christ, therefore to the Pope, is a blasphemous and Antichristian consequence, displaying the Pope to his colours, to be the Whore in making himselfe, or suffering himselfe to be made equall with Christ, is obliterated.

Would not any Protestant admire such passages as these should be expunged, to gratifie the Pope.

The Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Arch-bishops and Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of Ireland, in Convocation holden at Dublin, in the yeere of our Lord 1615. for the avoyding of diversities of opinions, and the establishing of consent touching true Religion: reprinted at London, 1629. Artic. 78. 80. determined thus against the Pope.

THE power which the Bishop of Rome now challengeth, to be the supreme head of the Universall Church of Christ, and to be above all Emperours, Kings and Princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the Scriptures and Word of God, and contrary to the example of the Primitive Church; and therefore is for just causes taken away and abolished within the Kings Majesties Realmes and Dominions.

The Bishop of Rome is so farre from being the Supreme Head of the Universall Church of Christ, that his works and doctrine doe plainly discover him to be that Man of sin, foretold in the holy Scriptures, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and abolish with the brightnesse of his comming.

These Articles were so displeasing to the Arch-bishop (together with some others against Arminians) that in the yeere 1634. this whole book of Articles was revoked, suppressed by Parliament in Ireland, through his procurement; then which strange act, there could not be a more apparent undermining of the Protestant Religion.

In the year 1634. there were, at the speciall request of the Queen of Bohemia, Letters Patents granted to Master Rulic, a Palatine Minister, for a collection through-
out

out England, for reliefe of the poore Ministers of the Palatinate; in which Patent there was this notable clause inserted, relating to their Religion and sufferings.

Whose cases are the more to be deplored, for that this extremity is fallen upon them for their sincerity and constancy in the true Religion, which we, together with them, doe professe, and which we are all bound in conscience to maintaine to the utmost of our powers; whereas these religious and godly persons being involved, amongst many others their countrymen, in that common calamity, might have enjoyed their estates and fortunes, if with other back-sliders in the times of tryall, they would have submitted themselves to the ANTICHRISTIAN YOKE, and have renounced or dissembled the profession of the true Religion.

The very same formall words were used in former Patents of collections for them in King James his Reign. and in the Patent dated the 29. of Jan. in the third yeere of King Charles his Reign, by which this Patent was drawn: The Arch-bishop perusing this Patent brought to him by Master Rulie, after it had passed the Seale, grew extremely cholericke at it, rated Master Rulie, (who pleaded ignorance of the customes of England, and that the Patent was drawne by the Kings Atturney, according to former precedents, without any directions from himselfe, who was a meer stranger) chid him very sharply, threatened to suppress the whole collection, detained the Patent under seale, and carrying it the next day to the Court, complained of it to the King, checked the Lord Keeper and Secretary Cooke, for letting such a clause passe in the Patent, who justified themselves by former precedents, by which they were guided; and by his violence wholly cancelled the Patent after it was sealed; then caused a new Patent to be drawne, wherein this former clause was omitted, the King telling the Lord Keeper that the Arch-bishop would have it altered, and therefore it must be done; which thereupon was done accordingly. Now the cause of all this Rirre and anger of his Grace (ship against this clause, was onely because it stiled those of the Palatinate, professors of the true Religion, &c. and tacitely censured the Pope as Antichrist in this latter clause; Whereas these religious and godly persons might have enjoyed their estates and fortunes, if with other back-sliders in the times of tryall, they would have submitted themselves to the Antichristian Yoke, and renounced or dissembled the profession of the true Religion: As was punctually attested upon oath by Master Wakerly and Master Harlib. Of which more fully hereafter.

Now that all the forementioned purgations of passages against the Pope, and his being Antichrist, proceeded originally from the Archbi. himselfe, without any other motive but his own inherent affection to his Holinesse and the Roman party, we shall most apparently evidence to all the world by a Letter of his to Dr. Hall the Bishop of Exeter, signed with his owne hand, and Bishop Hall's answer thereunto, the Originals of which Letters, Master Prynn seized in his Study at Lambeth, and attested at the Lords Barre, where they were both acknowledged and read in these ensuing tearmes.

My very good Lord:

I Have received your Lordships Letters of Decemb. 6. 22. and with them the copy of your Book and in them a paper of short propositions, which you think (and so doe I) is fitter for the attestation of divers hands then the book it selfe: These propositions shall be well weighed against the time of Convocation, which I conceive will be a fit time to take o her Bishops attestation, without further noyse or trouble.

For your book, I first thanke you very heartily for your paines; and next, more then heartily (were it possible) for your noble and free submission of it, not onely to many eyes and judgements, but also in the maine to be ordered, and after that prest or suppressed as it shall be thought fit here. Which care or conscience would men use which set out books, we should not have so much froth and vanity in the world, as now tis full of.

But whereas you writ: First, that the Booke grew into greater length under your pen then you expected; I cannot be sorry for that, since that which you have added concerning Parker, Anti-Tilenus and Vodelinus, seems to me very necessary: Second-

NOTE.

ly, that you are pleased to subject the work to me, and to interpret it, that you meant not personally to me, because I could not have time for other great occasions to revise it, but by way of disputation: These are to let you know, that were my occasions greater then they are, I would not suffer a book of that Argument, and in these times, to passe without my owne particular View: And therefore, my Lord these may tell you, that both my Chaplaines have read over your book, and that since then, I have read it over my selfe very carefully, every line of it; and I have now put it into the hands of my Lord the Bishop of Ely: and this thrice reading over hath been the cause why I did not give you a more speedy account of it.

And now, my Lord, according to the freedome which you have given me, I must tell you, that I have here and there in my reading of it over, made bold to alter or leave out a phrase or two, but have as yet varied nothing that is materiall; and indeed I should think it very uncivill and unjust too, to vary any thing that is substantiall, without first acquainting you with it, that so it may be done either by your owne pen, or at the least, not without your owne consent.

NOTE.

The particulars which I chiefly insist upon are these: First, you doe extremely well to distinguish the Scottish businesse from the state of the forraigne Churches; but yet to those Churches and their Authors you are a little more favourable then our case will now beare: But this I conceive will be easily helpt, and that without pressing too much upon them. The second is, the first touch which you have concerning the Sabatarians, where you let their strict superstition passe without any touch at all, I think one little one will doe no harme. The third, which you seeme to passe by, as not much materiall in the Question, is in our judgement here, the very Main of the cause, and it is, whether Episcopacy be an Order or Degree: an Order certainly, if it be of Divine and Apostolicall institution. For that which is but different by degree and circumstantially, cannot be other then Juris positivi; and the ancient word in the Fathers is, *Ordinatio Episcopii*; and our ordinary phrase is of any of our Brethren the Bishops, *he is one of our Order*: and why does the Church of England ordaine or consecrate every one that is made a Bishop, if it be but a Degree of the same Order? For when a Bishop is translated or made an Arch-bishop, theres then no consecration, because they are Juris positivi, and onely degrees: Your Lordship is very neere a whole lease upon this transition; I beseech you weigh it well, and then let me have it altered by your owne pen, and the sooner sent the better.

NOTE.

The last (with which I durst not but acquaint the King) is about Antichrist; which title in three or four places of your booke, you bestow upon the Pope positively and determinately, whereas King James of blessed memory, having brought strong prooffe, in a Worke of his, as you well know, to prove the Pope to be Antichrist; yet being afterwards challenged about it, he made this answer; when the King that now is went into Spaine, and acquainted him with it, that he writ that not concludingly, but by way of Argument onely, that the Pope and his Adherent might see, there were as good and better Arguments to prove him Antichrist, then for the Pope to challenge temporall jurisdiction over Kings: This whole passage being knowne to me, I could not but speak with the King about it, who commanded me to write unto you, that you might quallifie your expression in these particulars, and so not differ from the knowne judgement of his pious and learned Father: This is easily done by your owne pen; and the rather because all Protestants joyne not in this opinion of Antichrist. I have no more to trouble your Lordship with, but to pray you to have your answer to these with as much speed as much speed as may be; so to Gods blessed protection I leave you, and rest

Lambeith Jan.
14. 1639.

Your Lordships very loving friend and brother,

W. CANT.

I had not leizure to toke a copy of these Letters, therefore I pray let me have them back againe when you give me your answer.

This

This Letter was thus indorsed, *To the right reverend Father in God, my very good Lord and Brother, the Lord Bishop of Exeter, these.* And after the receipt againe, thus indorsed by the Arch-bishop himselfe; *My Letters of Jan. 14. 1639. to L. B. Exon. about his book for Episcopacy.*

To which Letter Bishop Hall returned this Answer, found together with it in the Arch-bishops study.

MOst Reverend, and my ever most Honourable Lord, I doe first humbly thanke your Grace for those houres and paines you have been pleased to bestow, both upon my papers and me, and yet more for that noble freedom your Grace hath been pleased according to my earnest request, to use, in making knowne your Graces Judgment, in those few *Animadversions* which I have now received, and the gracious respect shewed to me, that after so full power, put into your Graces hands to dispose of those papers, at your owne pleasure; yet your Grace hath been pleased to take my unworthinesse along with you, in the altering of my passages therein, wherein I hope I have satisfied your Graces expectation accordingly. As for my favourableness to foraigne Authors and Churches, I foretold your Grace, that I held it best not to be sparing of good words, though in the reality of the Tenet, I have gone further then the most others. Those Authors whom I mention, with so faire respect, are in those things (for which I cite them) your friends; but if your Grace find any phrase too high or unseasonable, it is but a dash of your Chaplaines pen, to whom I beseech your Grace to give an absolute freedom in this behalfe. For that of the *Sabatarians*, I have put a drop or two of vinegar more into my inke in two severall places. For that passage concerning *Antichrist*, I have turned it upon themselves, without a declaration of my owne judgement; however I find our learned patterne, Bishop Andrewes, more then once punctuall this way. For that poynt of the Degree or Order of Episcopacy, although I well knew the weight of it, yet I did purposely intend to wave it here, because both it fetcheth a great and learned part of the Schoole upon us, and because I found it to be out of my way, since these factions with whom we deale, deny both a severall Order, and a severall Degree, allowing onely a priority of Order in the same degree; but our Tenet is doubtlesse most defensible: and I have accordingly so stated it in this review, which together with all my best services, I doe humbly recommend to your Graces acceptation, vowing my hearty prayers for your Graces happy proceedings, as duly merited from

NOTE.

Your Graces most humble, and faithfully

Exon. Pal.

Jan. 18.

devoted in all observance

JOS. EXON.

I have sent back your Graces Letter according to your Graces pleasure, and withall have been bold upon the humble suit of one of my worthy Clergy, Master Bury, to recommend a pious Petition of his to your Grace, the least touch of answer in your Graces Letter, will abundantly satisfie him.

Two Renegadoes have in two severall parts of my Diocesse been received into the Church, under that solemne forme of Penance which your Grace was pleased to appoint.

This Letter was thus superscribed; *To the most Reverend and most Honourable, my singular good Lord, the Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury his Grace, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, Chancelour of Oxford, and one of the Lords of his Majesties most honourable Privy Counsell, present these.*

And after the receipt thereof, thus indorsed with the Arch-bishops owne hand: *Rec. Jan. 22. 1639. L. B. Exon. concerning some amendments in his book for Episcopacy.*

In this Letter of the Arch-bishops, and the answer to it, besides the great designe of asserting

asserting Episcopacy of divine Right and Institution, we may observe these considerable particulars.

(h) His Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, and Answer to Cardinall Perron.

First, that he blames Bishop Hall for being a little too favourable to the forraigne Protestant Churches, and their authors. Secondly, for passing by the *Sabatarians* (or strict observers of the Lords day) without any touch at all, which he desires him to rectifie and help, by some touches of sharpnesse against them: this is his charity to the Protestants and *Sabatarians* (or Puritans if you please) they were too candidly handled, and therefore must be more harshly dealt withall: but now on the other hand, mark his extraordinary affection to, and care of the Popes honour and reputation. He doth in the third place, tax the Bishop for bestowing the title of *ANTICHRIST* on him three or four times in his Book, positively & determinately. This was such a transcendent crime, that he must needs acquaint the King himselfe with it. of his owne native disposition, without any other Monitor, and procures a speciall royall command to him from his Majesty, to expunge those scandalous and dishonourable clauses against his Holinesse out of his Treatise. Fourthly, in the reason which he renders for acquainting his Majesty herewith, and desiring him to make this change. there are these considerable things to be taken notice of: First, that King James himselfe did in his printed (h) Works, at large prove and declare the Pope to be Antichrist, by very strong proofes. Secondly, that when the Spanish match was in agitation, and the Popes Dispensation required for the facilitating of it (being one of the first Articles in the Marriage Treaty) he was challenged by the Pope and his agents for it, but not before. Thirdly, that King James hereupon to satisfie the Pope, and gaine his favour was put to a hard shift, and enforced to coyne a new distinction which he never thought of till then, to excuse the matter: That he writ thus, not concludingly, but by way of Argument onely; &c. Fourthly, that he made this answer and distinction when King Charles went into Spaine, and acquainted him with it by word of mouth, that he thereby might satisfie the Pope and his party. Fifthly, that this whole passage was knowne to him, and he privy to this secret, not knowne formerly to others; therefore he was certainly one of the Cabinet-counsell, who was privy to the Kings going into Spaine, and to the private instructions given him by King James before his departure hence; yea, very likely one who suggested this distinction to King James, to please the Pope and promote the Match; and therefore HE COULD NOT BUT SPEAKE WITH THE KING ABOUT IT: who hereupon commanded this Bishop, to qualify his expressions in these particulars, and so not differ from the knowne judgement of his pious and learned Father, from whose orthodox judgement notwithstanding the Arminians might freely dissent both with his Majesties and this Arch-prelats approbation: Whereupon we find that these passages were qualified according to his desire, although Bishop Andrewes positive opinion in sundry passages was, that the Pope was Antichrist.

All which considered, we may infallibly conclude from his owne pen, that all the forementioned purgations of passages against the Papacy, Pope, and his being Antichrist, were made by this Arch-bishops owne speciall direction, without any other suggestion but his owne Romish Genius and good affection to the Pope, to induce a more easie reconciliation with him: and this in direct opposition.

First, to the severall Statutes of 16 R.2.c.5. 25 H.8. c.19.20.21. 28 H.8.c.10.37 H.8.c.17. which tacitely define the Pope to be the Antichrist, who did obfuscate and wrest Gods word & Testament a long season, from the spirituall and true meaning thereof, to his worldly and carnall affections, as pompe, glory, avarice, ambition and tyranny; covering and shadowing the same with his humane and politick devices, traditions and inventions, set forth to promote and stablish his onely dominion, both upon the soules and also the bodies and goods of all Christian people, excluding Christ out of his Kingdome and rule of mans soule as much as he may, and all other temporall Kings and Princes out of their Dominions, which they ought to have by Gods law, upon the bodies and goods of their subjects; whereby he did not onely rob the Kings Majesty, being onely the supreme head of this his Realme of England, immediately under God, of his honour, right and pre-emi-

nence due unto him by the law of God, but spoiled this his Realme yearly of innumerable treasure, and with the losse of the same, deceived the Kings loving and obedient Subjects, perswading to them by his lawes, buls, and other his deceivable meanes, such dreames, vanities and fantasies, as by the same, many of them were seduced and conveyed into superstitions and erroneous opinions.

Secondly, to the book of *Homilies*, in the second part of the Sermon for Whit-Sunday, page 216. and the 6. Sermon against wilfull Rebellion, page 316. which determines the Pope to be Antichrist in these termes: *Wheresoever you find the spirit of envy, hatred, contention, robbery, murder, extortion, witchcraft, necromancy, &c. assure your selves that there is the spirit of the devil and not of God; albeit they pretend outwardly to the world never so much holinesse, &c. such were all the Popes and Prelates of Rome for the most part, as doth well appeare by the story of their lives; and therefore they are worthily accounted among the number of the false Prophets, and false Christs, which deluded the world a long while: The Lord of heaven and earth defend us from their tyranny and pride, that they never enter into his Vine-yard againe, &c. and he of his great mercy so work in all mens hearts by the mighty power of the holy Ghost, that the comfortable Gospel of his Sonne Christ may be truly preached, truly received, and truly followed in all places, to the beating downe of sinne, death, the Pope, the devil, and ALL THE KINGDOME OF ANTICHRIST, &c. The Bishop of Rome understanding the brut blindnesse, ignorance of Gods Word, and superstition of English men; and how much they were inclined to worship the BABYLONISH BEAST OF ROME.*

Thirdly, to the 80. Article of the Church of Ireland, defining the Bishop of Rome, to be THE MAN OF SINNE, foretold in the holy Scripture.

Fourthly, to the Book of Common-prayer, appointed for the fifth of Novemb. Riling the Pope, Papists and Jesuits, *A Babylonish and Antichristian sect*; and to the Kings Letters Patents, forementioned; defining Popery to be an *Antichristian Teake*.

Fifthly, to the Hymne, printed in the end of all our Psalmes and Common-prayer books. *From Turke and Pope defend us Lord, which both would thrust out of his throne our Lord Jesus Christ thy deare Sonne*: and the prayer for private families, bound up with our Bibles and Common-prayer-books; *confound Satan and Antichrist, &c.*

Sixthly, to the whole torrent of our Protestant Martyrs, Writers, who define the Pope to be Antichrist, *yea the great Antichrist, prophesied of in Scripture*. This was the direct position of our godly, learned Martyr *Walter Brute*, who maintained it in a large discourse, recorded by *Master Fox*, in his *Acts and Monuments*, edit. 1641. vol. 1. p. 622. to 632. of our English Apostle *John Wickliffe*, *Fox* *ibid.* p. 594. (justified by *John Hus*) and *Joan Wicklif*. *Dialog.* l. 4. c. 15. *Rich. Wimbledon*, in his Sermon preached at *Pauls Crosse*, anno 1389. *Fox*, vol. 1. p. 718. *Sir Geofrey Chaucer*, in his *Plough-mans Tale*: *Lucifers* letters to the Prelats of England, supposed to be written by *William Swindlerly*, Martyr (*Fox* *Acts and Monuments*, edit. 1610. p. 482. 483.) *Sir John Oldcastle* that famous Knight and Martyr; *Fox* *ibid.* p. 417. 418. *Pierce Ploughman*, his complaint of the abuses of the World, *Fox* *ibid.* 1. edit. 1641. p. 520. to 532. *Mr. Wil. Tyndall*, a godly, learned Martyr, in his *Obedience of a Christian man*, p. 214. 215. &c. in his *Revelation of Antichrist*, and *Practise of Popish Prelats*: *The Author of the image of a very christian Bishop, and of a counterfeite Bishop*, printed about the yeere 1538. *Rodericke Mors* his complaint to the Parliament of England, about 37 of King *Henry 8.* c. 23. 24. *William Wraughton* his *Hunting and reseuing of the Romish Fox*, dedicated to King *Henry the eighth*: *Henry Stalbridge* his *Exhortatory Epistle to his dearly beloved Country of England*, in King *Henry the eighth* his Reigne: *John Bale* Bishop of *Osfrye*, in his *Image of both Churches*, and *Scriptorum Illustrium Britannia*, p. 33. 116. 117. 161. 286. 287. 471. 481. 623. to 640. 647. 702. & de *Vitis Pontificum Romanorum*: *Father Latymer*, *Master Bilney*, *Master Rogers*, *Shetterdon*, and other of our Martyrs: *William Alley* Bishop of *Exeter* in his *Poore mans Library*, part 1. fol. 56. Bishop *Jewell* in his *Defence of the Apology of the Church of England*, p. 593. 449. 480. to 497. 508. and *Reply to Harding*, p. 220. to 230. *Master Thomas Becon* his *Acts of Christ and Antichrist*, his *Supplication unto Christ*, his *Reports of Certaine men*, & *Reliques of Rome*:

Master *John Fox* in his Meditations upon the Apocalips: Bishop *Bilson* in his book of Christian Subjection and unchristian Rebellion: Doctor *Whitaker*, Doctor *Robert Abbot*, Bishop of *Sarum*; Doctor *George Downham*, Bishop of *Derry*; Doctor *Beard*, Master *Powel*, Doctor *Willet*, Doctor *Fulke*, Doctor *Sutcliffe*, Doctor *Sharp*, Master *Squire*, in their severall Treatises and discourses concerning Antichrist: Doctor *John White* in his way to the true Church, Sect. 61. Num. 4. Master *Brightman* upon the Revelation; Doctor *Crakenthorpe*, his defence of *Constantine*, and of the Popes temporall Monarchy; and generally all other our eminentest English Writers of any note, till this Arch-bishops reigne, have positively defined the Pope and Papacy to be the great Antichrist, and proved the same at large: We shall close up this with two of the Arch-bishops predecessors resolutions in this point. The first is Arch-bishop *Cranmer*, who as he refused to move or stirre his cap to the Popes Commissioners, when he was converted before them for his Religion, so he likewise professedly averred the Pope to be the Antichrist in these very termes, recorded by Master *Fox* in his Acts and Monuments, Vol. 3. Edit. 1641. p. 653. 660. 661. The Bishop of Rome, unless he be Antichrist, I cannot tell what to make of him; wherefore if I should obey him, I cannot obey Christ: he is like the Devill in his doings, for the Devill said to Christ, *If thou wilt fall downe and worship me, I will give thee all the Kingdomes of the world*: thus he tooke upon him to give that which was not his owne, even so the Bishop of Rome giveth Princes their Crownes, being none of his owne; for where Princes either by election, either by succession, either by inheritance, obtaine their Crowne, he saith that they should have it from him: Christ saith, that Antichrist shall be, and who shall he be? forsooth he that advanceth himselfe above all other creatures: Now if there be none already that hath advanced himselfe after such sort besides the Pope; then in the mean time let him be Antichrist, &c. After which, he desired all them present to beare him witnesse, that he tooke the traditions and Religion of that usurping Prelat to be most erroneous, false, and against the doctrine of the whole Scripture, which he had often times wel proved by writing and the author of the same to be very Antichrist, so often preached of by the Apostles & Prophets, in whom did most evidently concur all signes and tokens, whereby he was painted out to the world to be known; for it was most evident, that he had advanced himselfe above all Emperours and Kings of the world, whom he affirmed to hold their estates and Empires of him, as of their chiefe, &c. He hath brought in gods of his owne framing, and invented a new Religion full of gaine and lucre quite contrary to the holy Scriptures, onely for the maintaining of his Kingdome, displacing Christ from his glory, and holding his people in a miserable servitude of blindness, to the losse of a great number of soules, which God at the latter day shall exact at his hand, boasting many times in his canons and decrees, that he can dispence, *contra Petrum, contra Paulum, contra vetus & novum testamentum*, and that he, *plenitudine potestatis, tantum preest, quantum Deus*; that is against Peter, against Paul, against the old and new Testament, and of the fulnesse of power, may doe as much as God. O Lord, who ever heard such blasphemy! if there be any man that can advance himselfe above him, let him be judged Antichrist: This enemy of God and our Redemption is so evidently painted out of the Scriptures by such manifest signes and tokens, which all so cleerly appeare in him, that except a man will shut up his eyes and heart against the light, he cannot but know him; and therefore for my part I will never give my consent to the receiving of him into this Church of England: thus *Cranmer* resigned at his death. This Arch-prelat therefore hath shut his eyes and heart against this shining truth, in his godly Predecessors judgement, who not onely doubts, but denies the Pope to be the Antichrist.

The second is Arch-bishop *Whigurst*, who when he commenced Doctor, and answered the Divinity act at Cambridge, anno 1569. publickly maintained this assertion in the Schooles, *Papa est ille Antichristus*, as Sir *George Paul* records in his life, p. 5. which this Arch-bishops immediate Predecessor, *Abbot* (to omit Arch-bishop *Parker* and *Gryndall*) likewise positively asserted; and Doctor *Usher* Arch-bishop of *Armagh* in a Letter of his to this Arch-prelat expressly he writes, that he did undoubtedly be-

leave the Pope to be Antichrist; which title Bishop Andrewes and Bishop Hall, Bishop Morton and Bishop Downham, doe likewise positively bestow upon the Pope, in some of their authorized impressions.

Therefore it cannot be but a grand offence for this Arch-prelat and his agents, contrary to the streame of all our Martyrs, Writers, Prelats, to purge all passages out of these new-printed books, against the Popes being Antichrist; in which all Protestant Churches, confessions, Writers, unanimously concur, together with our owne.

7. Passages purged out against Altars, that the Crosse is no Altar, that a Sacrifice may be without an Altar.

MAfter Ward in his Comentary on Matthew, f. 248. lib. 2. p. 43. 44. *Ans. 2.* But the Crosse is not an Altar, properly so called; for if it were, then it must either, First, be such in its owne nature, which cannot be, the Crosse and the Altar differing, &c. Or else, Secondly, the Crosse is an Altar by a humane use, or humane Ordination; now this is not sufficient, because so any thing may be made an Altar. *Ans. 3.* Thirdly, we answer, &c. unto these words; that there may be a Sacrifice without an Altar; this appeares evidently thus: First, the offering up of Isaac, Gen. 22. was a true Sacrifice; for Isaac was a type of Christ, both in his immolation or offering, and in his death, and in his life; Christ dyed for us, and so Isaac did as it were in a certaine figure, according to that of the Apostle, Heb. 11. 19. *Abraham received Isaac from the dead in a figure and similitude*; Isaac lived againe from this death; so Christ rose againe from the dead. But yet in this sacrifice of Isaac there is no mention at all made of an Altar, Gen. 22. Isaac verse 7. saith, *Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the Lamb for the burnt Offering?* where we see, that he requires a Lambe, but he requires not an Altar; as if the one were necessary unto a Sacrifice, not the other. Secondly, what is more necessary for a feast or banquet then a Table, and yet a banquet may be without a Table; whence the Martyrs when they were in prison celebrated the Lords Supper without a Table: Now the Eucharist is a banquet, yea moreover a memoriall of this one sacrifice of Christ in his death; and is often called a Sacrifice by the Fathers, and yet hath been celebrated often by many of the Fathers in prison without a Table; as it is said of Lucian, that he consecrated the bread of the Lord, and celebrated the Supper of the Lord when he had scarce his hands at liberty, using his owne breast instead of a Table: and therefore it is evident, that there may be a sacrifice without an Altar. Thirdly, what is more necessary for a Preacher when he is to preach then a Pulpit? that is, it is very requisite and decent, and profitable for the people, that the Minister should speak unto them out of the Pulpit, as Ezra did, Ezra 9. But yet it is not simply necessary unto the essence of a Sermon. for a man may preach upon the plaine ground without a pulpit, as it is said of Chrysostome, who preached unto divers persons (in his persecution) standing not in a Pulpit, but at the side of the Lords Table; and therefore an Altar doth not appertaine unto the essence of a Sacrifice. *Ans. 4.* Fourthly, we answer, &c. unto these words, Christ himselfe being both the Knife, Oblation, Altar and Priest (it is said, Heb. 9. 14. that Christ by his eternall spirit offered up himselfe unto God;) whence it appeares, that his eternall spirit was a Priest to himselfe, and therefore might also be an Altar.

8. Sentences expunged against the totall and finall Apostacy, or falling away of the Saints from grace, and their Perseverance in Grace.

IN Doctor Featly his *Clavis Mystica* page 15. 16. 17. No drop of this oyntment of the spirit is ever spilt, no seed of true faith ever corrupteth, no spark of divine grace ever dyeth; once throughly regenerated and ever a new creature; once graciously adopted, and ever a sonne of God; once effectually called, and ever a true Beleever: I grant that it is a very easie thing for them to slip that walk upon a Sea of glasse; but being upheld on the one side by the promise of God (a) *I will not turne away from them* a Jer. 32. 40.

to doe them good, but I will put my feare in their hearts that they shall not depart from me: On the other side by Christs promise; (b) Satan hath desired to have you that he may sift you as wheat, but I have prayed for thee that thy faith faile not: It is impossible that any child of God should fall irrecoverably or so dangerously, that he dye of his fall.

b Luk. 22.31,
32.

The mortall enemy of our immortall spirits knowing well what streffe this conclusion beareth, how many articles of Religion it supporteth, hath in all ages set some hereticks on work to undermine it: The first workman of note imployed herein, was *Basilides*, who left the whole work to *Pelagius*, and he the halfe to the *Semipelagians*, and they to the School-men, Jesuits, and other late Sectaries, who labour with might and maine to overthrow it; which if they could doe, the whole frame (in a manner) of our Christian Faith would soon totter; for take away perseverance in grace, and certainty of salvation hath no ground: take away certainty of salvation, affiance in God by speciall faith hath no foundation; take away this speciall faith in Christs merits for salvation, the doctrine of Justification cannot stand; take away the doctrine of Justification, what will become of the Gospell: The assurance of our salvation in particular is the staffe of our comfort, the life of our hope, and the anchor of our soules, which is fastned to a three-fold Cable, as Saint Bernard teacheth it, which can never be broken (*viz.*)

1. *Charitas adoptionis.*
2. *Veritas promissionis.*
3. *Potestas redditionis.*

God his love in adopting, his truth in promising, or the truth of his promises, and his power in performance: This three-fold Cable, the Sectaries above named seek to cut asunder.

The first twist, which is the speciall love of adoption, by making that grace common to all.

The second, which is the truth of Gods promises, by suspending them upon uncertaine conditions.

The third, which is God his power of performance, by subjecting the efficacy of grace to the uncertaine turne of mans will.

Now the Cables of our Beliefe being thus cut, the Anchor of our hope must needs be lost; neither doe they onely, as much as in them lyeth, cut asunder Saint Bernards three-fold Cable, but also loosen every link of Saint Pauls golden Chaine; (c) whom he did predestinate them also he called; and whom he called, them also he justified; and whom he justified, them also he glorified.

c Rom. 8.30.

The first link, whom he had predestinated, &c. they loosen, by making the decree of predestination conditionall and uncertaine. The second link, whom he called, &c. they loosen, by making the grace of vocation both universall and resistable. The third link, whom he hath justified, &c. they loosen, by making the act of justification repealable, and the habit of Faith amissible: But St. (d) *Austin* clincheth them all fast; whom he hath predestinated, them he hath called, to wit, with a calling according to purpose; not others therefore, but whom he hath so called he hath justified; neither others, but such whom he hath predestinated, called and justified, them he hath also glorified: How can a man that is effectually called and justified, finally fall away and depart from the living God, who is locked in the middle of this chaine, and fastened to Christ with the Adamantine links, on the one side of predestination, on the other side of glorification? neither the antiquity of *Basilides*, nor the wit of *Pelagius*, nor the subtilty of the School-men, nor industry of the Jesuits, nor the vehemency of the Lutherans, nor the sophistry of the Remonstrants, shall ever cast such a grosse mist before the eyes, I say not of faith, but of reason, as to perswade us, that he can fall finally, whom God hath predestinated to stand, that he may be condemned whom God hath justified, that he shall ever be a vessell of dishonour whom God hath glorified: *illo utique sine quo non habet finem*, as Saint *Austin* speaketh; that he may be cast into hell, whose name is written

d Aug. de præd. sanct. c. 17.
Quos prædestinavit, illos & vocavit, scilicet, vocatione secundum propositum non ergo alios, sed quos prædestinavit, illos & vocavit, nec alios sed quos ita vocavit, ipsos iustificavit, nec alios sed quos prædestinavit, vocavit, iustificavit, ipsos & glorificavit

in heaven; that he can be in danger of the second death, on whom it hath no power at all: but every regenerate Christian and true Beleever is effectually called, and therefore predestinated; is justified by faith, and therefore saved from wrath; hath part in the first Resurrection, and therefore the second death hath no power over him; is received into the Church of the first borne, and therefore his name is inrolled in heaven: Are not all that are born again of water and the spirit the sonnes of God? if sonnes, then also heirs: it is the Apostles consequence; Are not all true beleevers lively members of Christs mysticall body, which is the true Church? if they are so, they must continue so, that Christs body be not maimed, &c. Saint Austin and Gregory make good the inference; (e) Saint Austin expressly denying that to be Christs body in truth, and consequently those members to be members of his body in truth, which shall not continue so for ever: St. (f) Gregory thus Commenting upon the words of Solomon; King Solomon made himselfe a bed or Chariot of the wood of Lebanon: the wood of Lebanon is said never to corrupt or rot, Solomon therefore made his bed or Chariot (he meaning the spirituall Solomon, Christ) of the wood of Lebanon, because according to the grace of his prescience, he hath built a holy Church of Saints, that shall continue so for ever.

P. 18. Indeed if this affection were grounded upon any thing in us, or depending upon the liberty of our will, our changeableness might make us suspect the constancy therof: but sith all the graces and vertues that shine in the faithfull, are but the reflections and glissonings of the beams of his grace, which beginneth and consummatesth all good in us, working in us both the wil and the deed, how should this heavenly fire of Gods love ever go out, &c. Mark the rayes of the visible sun, how constant they are, being not moved at all, by the motion of the Object, but immoveably flowing from the body of the sunne, though blustering winds tyrannize in the ayre, and remove it a thousand times out of his place in an hour, yet the sun beams keep to their object which they enlighten, and stir not at all; in like manner our affections are transported with every gale of prosperity and storm of adversity, and our wils somewhat yeeld to every wind of temptation; yet Gods affections like the beams of the sun, remain immovable where they are once fixed; for they depend not upon any qualities in us, but upon his owne immutable essence, who is more constant then we are inconstant, more strong then we are weak, more sufficient then we are insufficient, we praise and dispraise with a breath, frowne and smile with a look, love and hate with a conceit; but Gods affections are not like ours, nor are his thoughts our thoughts, neither are his wayes our ways, for whom he loveth he loveth to the end, & though we be unmercifull, yet he still abideth faithful, he cannot deny himself.

Page 19. But I subsume, all true beleevers are the elect of God; how then can they perish; if the election of all the faithfull be not as evident as the salvation of the elect in Scripture, why doth Saint Paul stile faith, the faith of Gods elect? why doth St. Luke assigne election as the proper cause of faith? as many as were ordained to eternall life beleaved: as for the reprobates, if we belevee the ancient Fathers, they are as farre from faith as from salvation; all reprobates, saith Saint (f) Gregory, are without the bounds of the Church, although they seem to be within the pale of faith, and as farre from true repentance as from faith: God bringeth none of these, saith Saint (g) Austin to healthfull and spirituall repentance, whereby a man is reconciled to God, and as farre from Charity as from both, for this gift of the holy Ghost, saith the same Father, is peculiar and proper to them who shall reigne with Christ.

The faith of hypoerits is resembled by our Saviour to seed sowne upon stony ground, which because it had no root soone withered; but true faith to seede sowne in good ground, which took deep root downward in humility, and grew upword in hope, and spread by charity, and brought forth fruits of good works abroad in great abundance: it is the plant which our heavenly Father planteth in our hearts, and shall never be rooted out: it is the true (h) Amaranthus that never fadeth; but after all the flowers are blown away, or fall with the leafe, being watred at the root, reviveth and serveth for winter garlands; even so a grounded belief, after the flowers of open profession of Christ are blown away by the violent blasts of persecution or temptation, being moistened with the water of penitent teares, reviveth againe, and maketh winter garlands for Christs spouse.

Rom. 8. 30.
Rom. 5. 1.
Apoc. 20. 6.
Heb. 12. 13.
Rom. 8. 17.

e Aug. de Doct.
Christ. l. 3. c. 32
Non est revera
corpus Christi
quod non erit
in eternum.

f Greg. in Cant.

39. Ligna Le-

ban, imputri-

bita esse asse-

rentur, serva-

lum, ergo sibi

fecit Rex So-

lomon deliquis

Lebanon, quia

secundum prae-

scientiae suae

gratiam san-

ctam Ecclesiam

de in eternum

permanens

sanctis con-

struxit.

Heb. 12. 2.

Phil. 2. 13.

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Page 769. 1. Of the supposition when the righteous turneth away from his righteousness: is not this supposition impossible? can the righteous turn away from his righteousness and commit iniquity, and doe according to all the abominations that the wicked doth? I answer:

First, whether he can doe so or no, the Prophet here determineth not, but in case he doe so, he pronounceth his doome.

Secondly, whatsoever interpretation we make of this Scripture, it favoureth not the Popish or Semipelagian tenet, concerning the possibility of the Apostacy of Saints: for it is confessed (i) on all hands, that these words are spoken in generall to all, elect as well as reprobate, and they are of singular use to stirre them up to watchfulness over their wayes, and diligence and constancy in the use of all such means, as by Gods grace may keep them from backsliding and dangerous relapses; yet the elect as they themselves freely grant, who are predestinated to eternall life, are in no danger of losing it: this Commination therefore maketh nothing against the perseverance of Saints.

Thirdly, yet because he is cleansed but in part, and hath but a temporary faith, and some flashes of heavenly light, it is possible for him with Demas, to forsake the Gospel and embrace this present world; with Hymeneus and Philetus, to make shipwrack of faith and a good conscience: with Julian to become an Apostate and a persecuter of the truth: in a word, he may depart from the seeming righteousness which he hath in the eyes of men, but not in the sight of God, as Saint Gregory speaketh; or from the true righteousness which he had in part, and that measure of sanctification which before he received.

Fourthly, no man ever made question, but that a truly regenerate man may depart from his actuall righteousness, and commit iniquity, and doe according to all the abominations that the wicked doth, and that if he should dye without repentance, that his former righteousness should stand him in no stead, but that he should suffer the pains of eternall death, which is all that the letter of this Text enforceth our assent unto.

Page 770. although it be most true, that an elect child of God can never fall quite out of Gods favour, yet doth not the light of his countenance at all times shine equally upon him; sometimes he substracteth his grace from him for the abuse thereof: and hence it cometh to passe, that he falleth often, and sometimes dangerously; the wise man saith, the righteous falleth seven times a day, and therefore more then seventy times seven times in all his life; whereupon Saint (k) Jerome maketh a witty quere; If he fall, how is he righteous? if righteous, how doth he fall? and gives us the solution of it in a word; he loseth not the appellation of a righteous man, who riseth alwayes by repentance: his meaning is, that though the righteous fall dangerously and greivously hurteth himselfe, yet he never dyeth of his fall, but his limbs are recovered by grace, and he riseth againe by repentance, and ever after walketh more circumspectly in the paths of Gods Commandements.

Prov. 24. 16.
k Ep. 44. si cadit quomodo iustus? si iustus quomodo cadit? sed iusti vocabulum non amittit qui semper per penitentiam resurgit.

Phil. 3. 9.

Fifthly, the Pronoun (his) giveth some light to cleare the meaning; for the Prophet saith not simply, when the righteous turneth away from righteousness, but from his righteousness, that is, the righteousness of his owne works, or his inherent righteousness not the imputed righteousness of Christ, for that is not his owne: That I may be found in him, not having mine owne righteousness which is of the law, but the righteousness which is of God by faith: Admit Christs righteousness, by which every true beleever is justified, cannot be lost, yet he may lose his owne righteousness, that is, it is very possible, and daily experience verifieth it, that he may give over his strict observance of the duties of the first and second Table, he may let loose the reins to sensuall desires, and he may follow the gainfull, or ambitious, or voluptuous courses of the world; for the way to Heaven is up-hill, but the way to hell is down-hill, and thither the weight of our sinfull flesh forcibly tendeth: All these purgations we have in Doctor Featlyes Sermons.

There are these ensuing purgations made in Master Ward his Commentary on Matthew, fol. 300. (part 1. page 33.) There are two sorts of evill, to wit, First, some are onely

onely precedent, which being once taken away returne no more; now these hinder the foundation, but not the edifice, and are taken away by God in the elect; as for example: First, the death of the soule in good things: Secondly, the captivity and slavery they are in under sinne: Thirdly, the generall and totall pollution which is in them by reason of sinne and the like.

Secondly, some are succedent, which hinder the encrease, as thorns in the wheat hinder the corne from growing; now these are daily to be taken away, and must be taken away after the plantation of grace; as sinne daily springs up, so it is daily to be rooted out.

What hurt there is in this clause, I cannot discern.

Page 67. Ob. *Belarmine* here objects; the love of many shall wax cold, and therefore all righteous men shall not persevere in faith, and consequently all shall not be saved.

An. The Cardinal here proves nothing against us, except he will prove, that those who fall from the Lord, or whose charity waxeth cold, were such as were righteous before God by a true faith, or who had the love and faith of the elect of God, whereof mention is made *Titus* 1. 1. now that these were not such, is cleare from verse 24: of this Chapr. they would seduce, if it were possible, the very elect: and from Saint *Augustine*, *Charitas quae deserit potest nunquam vera fuit*; that love which falleth away, was never any true love, or charity which may be forsaken, was never true Charity.

In the printed book, fol. 334. (but in the Abridgement of purgations, page 83.) it is questioned between us and the Papists, whether Election or Predestination to life eternall, be from Gods free grace, or a fore-sight of mans good workes and faith?

First, it is agreed upon betwixt us and them, that there are some elected and predestinated, and this is cleare from *Matth.* 20. 16. & 22. 14. & 24. 31. *Rom.* 8. 30. *Eph.* 1. 4. and

Secondly, it is agreed betwixt us also, that those who are elected and predestinated, are elected unto an eternall Kingdome, as is plaine from *Luke* 12. 32. And,

Thirdly, it is likewise agreed upon betwixt us, that those who are elected unto life eternall, shall infallibly and certainly be saved: and this is proved from *Mat.* 24. 22. 24. *John.* 6. 29. & 10. 28. 29. & 11. 29.

This was assented unto by the best esteemed Divines in the Councell of *Trent.* and thought to be Catholike, because it was consonant to the opinions both of *Thomas*, *Scotus*, and the most School-writers, and also to the doctrine of Saint *Paul* and *Catharinus* himselfe could not deny it: Read the *History of the Councell of Trent*, lib. 2. p. 211. 212. Yea, *Belarmine* himselfe doth affirme as much plainly, *De grat. & Lib. Arbit.* lib. 2. cap. 10. which is worth observing, because elsewhere he contradicts himselfe; teaching, That the elect may fall from faith and salvation, and utterly and eternally lose both.

Fourthly, the Papists affirme, that faith and works foreseen, were the impulsive and moving cause of the decree of election unto life everlasting.

Fifthly, we say that the impulsive and moving cause of the decree of election is only that *ex dono*, and good will and free grace of God; and this we confirme from these places, *Luke* 12. 32. *John* 15. 16. *Rom.* 11. 5. *Eph.* 1. 6.

Idem. on *Matthew* page 134. printed, & 253. written copy: Some in opposition to *Zanchies* position of the perseverance of the Saints, object this place to prove; that those who are truly faithfull may fall wholly from faith, and consequently may perish eternally.

Answ. 1. First, this is but a parable, and insufficient to evert such a comfortable and well grounded Doctrine as this is, concerning the perseverance of the faithfull.

Answ. 2. Secondly, This Parable was given onely to the Jewes, and belongs principally unto them (although it may be applied to such as they were) as it appears by our Saviours conclusion, *so shall it be with this wicked generation.*

Answ. 3. Thirdly, by this Parable our Saviour would shew that destruction did hang over the heads of the Jewes; and why? not because they were once justified, and en-

duced

dued with true faith, and afterwards altogether lost it, and fell from the grace of God; but because they had received the law of God, &c. unto these words: and this is the plaine and the direct meaning of our Saviour in this place, and makes nothing against the perseverance of the faithfull, or as though those who were once endued with true faith, and truly freed from Satan, might lose their faith wholly, and fall into the hands and power of satan and perish eternally, because nothing lesse then this can be deduced from this place.

Answ. 4. Fourthly, *Melanchton*, &c. unto the end, which sinne he calleth a sinne against conscience, and therefore it cannot be meant of those who are onely tempted by a humane temptation, and sinne not out of contempt, but of ignorance and infirmity, as all the faithfull sinne.

In Doctor *Jones* his Comentary on the Hebrewes, the Licenser expunged these ensuing passages touching *Perseverance*, and against falling from grace.

Page 61. & 146. *Whom he graceth, he graceth to the end; whom he loveth, he loveth unto the end: pag. 445.* What? is it possible for men to fall from the grace of God? out of the love and favour of God for ever? for whom he loveth, he loveth to the end; *John 13. 1* Hypocrits may fall away, *Luke 8. 13. 1 Cor. 10. 12.* and even the elect themselves must be circumspect, they must not set all at six and sevens, but must watch over themselves that they fall not away.

Page 166. 167. there is a great affinity betwixt the elect and the reprobate, *simia quam similis*: the elect and reprobate have all one and the same gifts in substance, but they differ in quantity, measure and manner of receiving.

The elect have the Fountaine, together with the streames, and the root with the branches, they with their knowledge, zeale, &c. have Jesus Christ and a lively faith; whereas the reprobate have the streame without the Fountaine, the branches without the root, the grasse on the house top, and corne in the wall, that sodainly withers and dyes; so they fall from the knowledge they had, and from the faith, despise the holy Ghost, make a mock of the word, and despise the joyes of Heaven.

These gifts sink deeply into the hearts of the elect, whereas they rest onely in the senses and braine of the reprobate; they goe a little way into the heart of the reprobate, and affect them for a time, but as a corrupt stomacke casts up the meat againe, though never so good, so those defiled consciences spew up that againe which they tasted of; the godly keep them, and are nourished by them; the reprobate have the knowledge of Christ swimming in their braine, and their hearts are little affected; they have *speculativam cognitionem*, but not *applicativam*, *John 17. 3.* they have a taste of true faith, but not a true faith indeed; they have *fidem historicam, hypocriticam, temporariam, meticulosam, sed non justificantem*; they have *spiritum illuminantem, sed non sanctificantem*; they taste the word, but eat not the word to be nourished by it, they have a sight of Heaven, as *Balaam* had, so *Moses* had of the Land of *Canaan*, but they enter not into Heaven; they have gifts like them, as counters are like gold, but not the very gifts.

Page 252. God never takes his spirit from a man, by whom we are sealed to the day of Redemption.

Page 319. the children of God may sinne grievously, as *Noah, David, Peter*, and others have done, but they cannot sinne against the holy Ghost; in themselves they may, in regard of the corruption of their owne nature, but in regard of Gods grace, promise and covenant, they cannot; for whom Christ loveth, he loveth to the end, and none can take his sheep out of his hands; yet let us not be high minded, but feare, and work out our salvation with feare and trembling all the dayes of our life.

9. Passages expunged against *Arminians, Semi-pelagians and Arminianisme.*

Doctor *Fearly* his *Clavis Mystica*, page 90. What are the little Foxes, but the *Semi-pelagian cubs*, which will spoile our fairest clusters; the Colledges of both Universities

verities, if in time they be not looked unto, as they have done already in our neighbour Vine in the Low-countries.

Ibidem page 898. I told you before; that this was a wet step, and many here have slipt; for some odiously object, that unlesse we will grant universall grace, and a power in the will of man to resist and frustrate the worke of the spirit in our conversion, and that unlesse these Jewes had sufficient grace offered them to repent them of their sins, and therby prevent this their finall overthrow, the prediction of our Saviour was to no end and purpose; nay, that his teares over *Jerusalem*, might seem like to those which *Julius Caesar* shed for *Pompeys* death, who yet himselfe procured it, or might have hindered it if he would; did not Christ (say they) foresee and decree the destruction of *Jerusalem*? how then doth he bemoane it with teares?

10. Passages deleted, *That men may be Assured of their salvation, and that Assurance of it is attainable in this life.*

IN Doctor Clerkes Sermons, page 93, instead of these words, *was sure of his salvation*, the Licenser hath put in these words, *obtained salvation*.

We find these clauses deleted by the Licenser in Doctor Jones his Comentary on the Hebrewes, Written copy, page 310. The Church of Rome introduceth a doubting faith; we must never be assured of the forgiveness of our sinnes, the favour of God, and kindness of his Sonne, that is presumption; yet the Scripture would have us come to God with assurance of faith; *why doubtest thou, O thou of little faith?* he that doubteth is like the wave of the sea.

Ibid. page 335. In this description of faith, and the whole commendation of it, throughout this chapter say the Jesuits, the Apostle knew not the speciall forged faith of the Protestants, whereby these new Sectaries and their followers assure themselves of the remission of their sinnes, that they themselves shall be saved, yea verely even this speciall faith is to be found in this chapter as before.

Secondly, all these heleevers did steadfastly believe they should be saved, they all looked for eternall happiness, therefore they were assured of the forgiveness of their sinnes; for without remission of sinne there is no salvation.

Thirdly, the spirit cryeth in the hearts of all the faithfull, *Abba Father*; now they cannot call God father, if they be not perswaded of their reconciliation by Jesus Christ, and that their sinnes are washed away in his blood; this speciall faith of the Protestants hath sure footing in the Word of God, and the doubting faith of the Papists is excluded out of Scripture.

In Master Wards Comentary on *Matthew*, these passages are wholly obliterated; *Math. 19. 29. shall inherit everlasting life.*

Whether may we in this life be assured of life everlasting or not?

First, in this life, not onely we may, but we ought also to be assured and certaine of everlasting life, *Mr sin. de vita atern. qu. 7.*

Secondly, we may be certaine of it three manner of wayes (*viz.*) first, by faith, or by a full perswasion of the good will of God towards us; and secondly, by the beginning of true repentance, or by a full purpose and intent within us, to live according to Gods Commandements; and thirdly, by peace of conscience, by a desire of God, and by our joy and gladnesse in him.

Thirdly, this certainty and assurance is grounded on sure and strong reasons, *viz.* first the author of everlasting life is unchangeable, even God himselfe; secondly, Gods election is unchangeable; thirdly, Christ is heard in all things which he desireth of his father; but he prayed that his father would save all those whom he had given him; fourthly, Christ hath said, *That no man shall pluck his sheep out of his hands, but he will give unto them everlasting life*, John 10. 28. and Saint Paul faith, *the foundation of God remaineth sure*, 2 Tim. 2. 19.

Ibidem fol. 176. *Thou must come to a certainty of faith and grace; f. 324. to be made partakers of an infallible assurance of salvation*, are deleted.

P p

Ibidem

Quest.

Answ. 1.

Answ. 2.

Answ. 4.

Ibidem fol. 240. in the written copy, before Quest. 3. We should labour for faith and the encrease thereof: Fourthly, faith is our scale and spirituall Unction whereby we are assured of pardon, reconciliation, adoption, justification, and after death, of glorification, 1 Cor. 1. 21. Now a weak faith cannot assure us of these, wherefore if we desire to be certaine of them, we must labour to grow up and encrease in faith. Quest. 3. Who are blame-worthy in this particular. *Ans.* two sorts of people, namely, 1. those who neglect faith; and secondly, the Papists, &c.

Quest. 1. Wherein are Papists to blame concerning the augmentation of faith? *Ans.* They are faulty in two things; *negant fiduciam, & certitudinem fidei*; they grant faith, but deny both confidence and certainty of faith; But of these conjointly and not apart, and that by divers degrees and steps: Now the question here is concerning the passive, not active faith; Thirdly, the Papists being asked what this passive faith is which we give when we beleeve, doe in a manner make it no other then an historicall faith, placing it wholly and altogether in the understanding, *credimus vera esse revelata, & promissa; atque a Deo justificari impium per gratiam*. Concil. Trident. wee beleeve that all the promises, and whatsoever else is affirmed in the revealed will, or written Word of God, are true, and that the wicked are justified of God by grace: But confidence (they say) is no part of faith; for *fides est animi certitudo de absentibus, supra opinionem, & infra scientiam*, Thom. 22. & 4. 1. But we say, that confidence and trust is the chiefest thing in faith, yea, and that a particular trust and confidence.

Object. 1. Against this the Papists object; it is no where written in Scripture that Peter or Stephen shall be saved, and therefore faith is onely generall and not particular.

Ans. 1. First, all the godly regenerated and elected shall be saved; this is true, but very obscure. *Ans.* 2. Secondly, that Solomon, James or John shall be saved. we acknowledge it to be no where found in Scripture, neither doe we contend about it. *Ans.* 3. Thirdly, *whosoever beleeves shall be saved*. John 3. 16. and therefore if Solomon, James and John doe beleeve they shall be saved; Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace, to the end the promise might be sure to all the faithfull, Rom. 4. 16. Yea, Abraham being fully perswaded, that what he had promised, he was also able to performe, verse 21. it was imputed unto him for righteousness, verse 22. Now it was not imputed to him onely, but shall also be imputed unto us, if (with him) we beleeve on him who raised up Iesus our Lord from the dead, ver. 23. 24. Where we see, that all the spirituall seed of Abrahams faith shall be saved, that is, whosoever layes hold upon the promises of the Gospel, made unto the faithfull in Christ, and by a true and lively faith between them to be good and true in generall, and good and gracious unto him in particular, shall be saved; yea, we have a plaine place for the proove of a particular faith in the Psalmes, where it is said, *he shall not be afraid of evill tydings, his heart is fixed trusting in the Lord*. Psal. 112. 7. but of this I have elsewhere more largely to treat.

Quest. 9. Because I said that every one who by a lively faith layes particular hold upon the promises of the Gospel, applying them unto himselfe by the merits of Christ, shall be saved, it may therefore be questioned, how or in what order our salvation is wrought? *Ans.* 1. First, God opened by a new way both the gates of heaven and hell, Heb. 10. 20. *Ans.* 2. Secondly, this new way he published and made known in his word, condemning all other wayes, read Rom. 1. 2. and 3. chapters, this is to be beleeved. *Ans.* 3. Thirdly, in the Scripture the Lord exhorts us to adhere and trust onely unto Christ, this new way, and to seek salvation in him, and to hope for salvation by him, Heb. 3. 9. therefore this also is to be beleeved. *Ans.* 4. Fourthly, God promisseth salvation unto all those who beleeve in Christ, and he is faithfull in all his promises, yea he that beleeveeth not God, will make him a lyar, 1 Joh. 5. 10. as though there could be any salvation by any other meanes then onely by faith in Christ; and therefore Saint John writes his Epistle, that those to whom he writes may beleeve, 1 John 5. 13. *there being no other way to come unto heaven*, Acts 4. 12. We affirmed before, that the Papists deny, that there is any particular trust or confidence in faith, or any certainty of faith. both which we condemne as errors in them; and therefore for the making good of this tax, censure or charge

charge, I will propound two Questions, namely, *Quest. 1.* How doth it appeare that there is any trust or confidence in faith? *Ans.* It appeares by these particulars, viz. First, Saint Paul gives unto faith, strength, certainty and a full persuasion, Rom. 4. 20. 21. Heb. 3. 6. 14. yea trust and confidence, Ephes. 3. 12. and Secondly, the phrase to beleieve in Christum in Christ, doth denote a confidence and trust, Thom. Aq. 1. 1. 21. And thirdly, if the miraculous faith have confidence in its object (as it hath, 1 Cor. 13. 2.) then much more the saving faith in its. *Ans.* 4. If the faith of prayer hath trust and confidence (as it hath, James 1. 6. & 5. 15. & 1 John 5. 14. 15.) then faith hath particular trust and confidence. And fifthly, the Papists in a manner or almost confesse thus much, for first, they say, that *fiducia oritur a fide*, trust and confidence springs from faith; and secondly, that therefore the safest course is to depend upon the mercy of Christ, Bellarm. Qu. 2. How doth it appeare that there is any certainty of faith? *An.* It appears evidently by these grounds, to wit, first, by the attributes given to faith, it is called *certitudo*, the substance, ground or confidence of things hoped for, Heb. 11. 1. and *πεποιθεσις*, a confidence, and *παρρησια*, a bold assurance, Heb. 3. 6. 6. 14. and *ολοπεποιθεσις*, Heb. 10. 22. a full assurance of faith, quasi plenis velis ad Christum, because it carries us with full sailes unto Christ, Illiricus. And secondly, because we are said to know, 1 John 2. 14. & 4. 13. 16. Bellarmine answers hereunto, that to know, includes not certainty; but David shewes the contrary, Psal. 16. 8. & 27. 5. & 125. 1. And thirdly, because the holy Ghost testifies it, Rom. 8. 16. Gal. 4. 6. Rom 8. 38. & 2 Tim. 4. 8. and hence Saint John saith, that he who beleieves, hath the witnesse in himselfe, 1 John 5. 10. and therefore they are Butchers of mens consciences. who deny and take away this assurance. And fourthly, because this certainty of faith is plainly and cleerly taught in the word of God 2 Pet. 1. 10. & 1 Pet. 1. 13.

In the same written copy, fol. 225. this whole pious, orthodox discourse is purged out.

How may we know whether we are brought to Christ or not?

We may know it by these signes, by which we must seriously try and examine our selves; namely, examine first, if we perpetually meditate of Christ, if we think upon him day and night, if we be conjoynded to him in our hearts; then it is a signe that we are are brought unto him: Secondly, if we alwayes speak of Christ, and that from the abundance of the heart, then it is a signe that we enjoy Christ, for a Vessell sendeth forth such liquor as it hath within: Thirdly, if we alwayes depend upon Christ, flying still to him as unto our only refuge, making him our *Cornu copiae* and esteeming him to be our Physician, our Fountaine, our Righteousnesse, our Life, our Light, our Vertue, our Way, our Food, yea all in all; then it is a signe that we enjoy him. Fourthly, if Christ being awakened, answer and help us (as he did his Disciples, Matth. 8.) if being called upon he heare us, then it is a signe that he is in us, and remaines with us; if we can confidently and truly say with David, I will call upon the Lord, and then I shall be safe, Psal. 18. 3. it is an argument of Christs presence. Fifthly, if we be filled with joy and comfort in our soules, it is a signe that we are brought unto Christ, i. e. if we rejoyce in the Lord, and againe rejoyce, Phil. 4. 4. delighting our selves in him, and in comparison of him, thinking all other things as drosse, Mat. 13. 44. &c. Phil. 3. 8. *Adel in ore melos in aure, jubilium in corde*, Bern. S. 1. Pet. 18. if he be honey in our mouth, and musick in our eares, and a rejoycing to our hearts, then it is a good argument that he lives with us, and lodgeth within us, 1 Pet. 1. 8. Sixthly, if we have peace within, that is, first the spirit of God witnessing unto our spirits that we are the sonnes of God, Rom. 8. 15, 16. & 1 John 5. 10. and secondly, the providence and protection of the Lord, securing us from all want and danger, Psal. 30. 7. Rom. 8. 28. & 1 Cor. 10. 13. and thirdly, we from this assurance casting our selves boldly and confidently upon the Lord, as David did Psal. 11. 1. & 27. 1. 3. & 56. 4. 11. & 18. 6. 7. then we may be sure that we are brought home truly unto Christ. Seventhly, if Christ rule and reigne and beare sway in our hearts, 2 Cor. 10. 4. Col. 3. 15, and that first, *obediendo*, by enabling us to obey him, John 14. 15. & 1 John 2. 3. & c. and that with such delight, that we think his yoke easie and his burden light, ver. 29. and also secondly, *compefcendo*, by subduing our affections, and re-

Quest.
Ans.

pressing and suppressing our lusts, enabling us to see and to be sensible of those sinnes that hang so fast on, and cleave so fast too, *Heb. 12.1.* yea making us with the sense of them, to cry out with Saint Paul, *me miserum, O wretched man that I am who shall deliver me, Rom. 7.24.* Yea, with the knowledge of the soare, giving us a knowledge of the salve, with the sense of the malady, the sight of the remedy; and as those who being stung with the fiery serpents, looked upon the brazen Serpent, so Christ with the sight of our sinnes, gives us a sight of himself, our Saviour; and when we look upon our transgressions with horror, then he turnes our eyes towards him for comfort *1 Cor. 2.2.* *Iræ impetum cohibet, superbia tumorem sedat, livoris vulnus sanat, luxuria fluxum restringit, libidinis flammam extinguit, fletum avaritiæ temperat, totius dedecoris pruriginem fugat, Bern. S. Cantic.* And thirdly, *imprimendo*, by engraving good affections in our hearts, and by infusing the wine of grace into our soules, and comforting us by his spirit; *Sensus reparat, virtutes roborat, honestos mores vegetat, castas affectiones fovet, Bern. S. Cantic.* Christ reviewes our faculties, corroborates our graces and vertues nourisherh in us good affections, begets in our hearts good habits, and in our lives good actions, and so rectifies our conversations, that they become honest and unblameable before men: certainly, he that is thus governed by Christ, and enabled by him to subdue and suppress all evill affections, and is filled with good and holy desires within, and obeyeth the Lord in his life and conversation, doth enjoy Christ, and is truly brought unto him, and therefore let us seriously examine our selves by these particulars.

What harme or errour was couched in these passages that they must be quire obliterated, and not suffered to passe the Presse, transcends our capacities to apprehend, but onely that they somewhat thwart the Papists.

II. Passages deleted against Auricular Confession of our Sinnes to Popish Priests.

Auricular
Confession.

IN Doctor Clerks Sermons, page 443. this passage is expunged Saint James is flat for that; Auricular confession, Apostolicall too; was it not to the Priests that *Iudas* said, *peccavi*, confest he had sinned in betraying innocent blood?

In Master Wards Comentary on Matthew, written copy, f. 10. this is deleted.

First the Papists answer hereunto, that the parts of repentance are three *to wit* first, contrition, or as some of them say, Attrition; secondly, Auricular confession; Thirdly, Satisfaction of Merit.

Idem fol. 125. Secondly, confesse and make knowne thy temptations to some pious and faithfull friend. Here we blame Auricular popish confession; first, because it doth discover lascivious and wanton women; secondly, because it is ordinarily enjoyned; and thirdly, held to be a work deserving pardon, *opere, operato*; But first, if men not women, would confesse themselves: and secondly, not alwayes, but in a case of conscience, when his corruptions are likely to prevaile against him; yea, thirdly, not the sinnes committed already, but onely the temptations and provocations and assaults unto sinne; and fourthly, not to confesse to every one, but to some pious, prudent, discrete and grave friend or Minister, &c. we blame it not.

Idem fol. 227. *Ans. 4.* A wounded conscience is of all burthens the heaviest to a circumcised heart; thy sinnes be forgiven thee, we see Christ here *neither requires confession*, nor demands or reserves satisfaction of this sick man, but wholly takes away his sinnes, to teach us that Christ pardons our sinnes truly, *Heb. 8.12. Jer. 31.31. &c. Isa. 43.25. Heb. 10.17.*

Ans. 2. Popish auricular confession, we tax for three things, namely, first, *ob conditionem*, &c. secondly, *ob enumerationem*; thirdly, *ob finem falsum*, because the end propounded therein by the Papists is false; for they teach men to confesse their sinnes that by the peoples confession and the Priests absolution, their sinnes may be taken away and pardoned by God; *opere operato*, even by the bare work wrought.

The Papists command Confession for these two ends, *viz.* First, that their confession may

may take away finnes with God, and this they labour and dispute strongly for, and relate many fables to prove it; if the studious Reader desire a view of their Fables, he may find some in *Antidot. Anim.* pag. 145. Col. 3. & 149. Col. 3. & 2. they have worse ends of their confession then these, and that is, to reveale whores, whoredomes and the like, read *Antidot. Anim.* p. 145. Col. 3. 4.

Ibidem part 1. pag. 115. *Quest.* 5. seeing that it is lawfull, and in some cases requisite, that some persons should sometimes confesse some finnes unto their Pastors, and that the Pastor should admonish and advise them hereunto (as was shewed, Mat. 3. 6.) when their consciences are troubled with any sinne, then whether ought Ministers to take an oath of secrecie, the rather to induce men to confesse freely? *An.* There are two things here to be considered of for the resolution of this question, *viz.* First, whether it be lawfull? And 2. whether it be expedient?

First, we must consider whether it be lawfull to take such an Oath of secrecie or not?

First, I thinke no man denies (except the *Anabaptists*) that in generall it is lawfull by Gods law to take an oath, either first, assertory; secondly, promissory (upon weighty cause) though it be not before a Magistrate.

Secondly, although the positive law threaten a *Premunire* to him who imposeth an oath without authority, yet I know no danger to him who assumes it willingly and voluntarily.

But thirdly, whether this particular Oath be against our lawes, I want skill to determine; for on the one side concealment (in some cases) makes a man necessary, though after the fact; and what may not be performed must not be promised, especially by oath: On the other side, the ancient Canons of the Church forbid (upon great penalty) to reveale confessions; and our Law 1. *Eliz.* confirme all the Canons that are not opposite to the Word of God, as I suppose this not to be.

Secondly, we must consider whether it be expedient or not; to take such an Oath?

This is the greater Question, and must be resolved by the grounds moving it: for whatsoever is lawfull in this, must be judged fit or unfit, *Hypothesi*, according to the fit or unfit circumstances which cloth it; first therefore, if first, the confitent (being burdened in conscience, and desirous to unfold his sore) be hindred by feare or shame of publike discovery; and secondly, if there be no other end in the pastor but to free him from this feare, I see no reason why he may not by such a reverend protestation, assure him of that whereto his own office and conscience bind him; for as the Canons commands concealment, so *Zozomen* (speaking of the times within three hundred years of Christ) saith, such men as are burthened in conscience, and desire to unfold their griefes, must choose for their Confessor, a man upright of life, prudent, and *secretorum tenacem*, a faithfull concealer of secrets. But

Secondly, if the Minister use such an oath as an alluring bait, to draw unwilling men to confesse, for the satisfying of his own curiosity or private ends, *non laudo*, it can neither be defended, commended, nor excused. But

Thirdly, I must adde, that seeing temptations lurk secretly in the heart, it is safer to leave them to the hearts great searecher, then to condemne them upon ungrounded suspicion, unlesse made evident by some disclosing circumstances, wherein it is both more commendable and charitable to suspect a great deale too little, then a little too much; *hoc est consilium fidele & verax, &c.*

12. Passages deleted against the Arbitrary, Tyrannicall power of Kings; disobedience to their unjust, popish and wicked commands, resisting their tyranny; and the mortality of Kings.

IN Master Wards Comentary upon Matthew, f. 324. in the written copy, the Licenser obliterated this ensuing discourse on Mat. 22. 21. Give unto Caesar the things which are Caesars: *Quest.* Whether is it altogether unlawfull to resist evill power, when it is wicked

ked and unjustly oppresseth the Church and Common-wealth, and compelleth Subjects to commit adultery, and persecutes true Religion with fire and faggot? *Ans.* 1. First, it is lawfull for Ministers to reprehend and rebuke the sinnes of all who are under their charge, and consequently Kings, Princes, Peers and Magistrates, when they offend; as is evident both by the examples of the Apostles and Prophets, and also from these places, 1 *Tim.* 5. 20. & 2 *Tim.* 4. 2. *Heb.* 13. 17. In which place it is said, that Pastors shall give account for those Magistrates which perish under their charge. Secondly, it is lawfull for the inferiour and subordinate Magistrates to defend the Church and Common-wealth, when the supreme Magistrate degenerates, and falleth into tyranny or idolatry: for first, Kings are subject to their Common-wealths, at least unto the law of God, *Deut.* 17. 18, 19, 20. *Iosh.* 1. 8. and secondly, it is the office of the inferiour Magistrate as well as the superiour, to maintaine and defend the lives and safety of the subjects; and therefore although the superiour Magistrate should neglect his duty, yet the inferiour must not neglect theirs. Thirdly, it is not lawfull for any private person either to take up arms for the defence of the inferiour Magistrates before a danger come, or for their owne defence in danger, or for the avenging of themselves after danger, if they can be defended by an ordinary power; and this we gather from *David*, 1 *Sam.* 24. 26. Fourthly, it is lawfull even for a private person to resist with weapons, if a tyrant like a theefe, shall offer violence unto him, either by himselfe or by another, when he can neither obtain the relief and help of publike authority and power nor escape by any other meanes or way, for against whom it is lawfull for a man to defend himself by the Magistrate, against the same it is lawfull to defend himself by himself in a case of necessity: as for example: If a King in his anger should command one of his followers to kill such a one, or should run upon him himselfe with his sword drawne, intending to kill him, if that man could neither be delivered by the law or government of the Land, nor by flight could escape away, he might then lawfully with his sword in his hand defend himselfe even against the King himselfe, but he must not offend the King nor lay his hand upon the Lords anointed, for the very law of nature teacheth men to defend themselves, and to maintaine their lives against all the unjust assaults and practises of any whatsoever. Fifthly, to take away defence of himselfe from a private person against a tyrant, is to establish tyranny, for the law of God doth principally require the society of humane conversation, and therefore those things that are *Casars* are to be given to *Cesar*; neither is he to be resisted, so long as he doth not oppose himselfe against God, commanding some wicked Religion, or some wicked and unjust thing; for as Christ commands us to give unto *Cesar* those things, so he commands us to give unto God those things that be Gods; and God forbids us to give unto *Cesar* those things which are not *Casars*, and therefore if *Cesar* commands that which is repugnant to the command and will of God, we must not obey him, *Acts* 4. 19. & 5. 29.

In Doctor *Jones* his Comentary on the *Hebrewes*, these sentences are purged out, page 387. in the written, & 493. in the printed copy: It is comparatively spoken, all the Statutes, Edicts and Commandements that proceed from Kings, are not to be feared; *Saul* commanded the Serjeants to lay violent hands on the Priests, but they moved not a hand to doe it, 1 *Sam.* 22. 17. *Nebuchadnezzar* made a proclamation, that all Nations and kinreds should fall downe and worship his golden Image, yet the three children would not doe it, they chose rather to be cast into the fiery furnace; *Darius* made a Decree, none should pray to any God, and yet *Daniel* he feared not the commandement, still he prayed to the God of Israel; so *Pharaoh* gave commandement that the Egyptians children should be throwne into the River, yet *Moses* Parents feared God, and chose rather to obey God then man: If the Kings commandement be according to Gods commandement, then obey it, if it be repugnant, then it is an excellent demand *Acts* 4. 19. whether it be right in the sight of God, to obey you rather then God, judge ye? children, saith *Paul*, obey your parents in the Lord; so Subjects obey you: Kings in the Lord; what reason is there we should obey man above God? honour Kings as Gods Vice-gerents, be thankfull to God for Kings, yea though they be wicked ones, for a tyranny is better then anarchy; pray for Kings, reverence Kings

Kings, but feare not the earthly King before the heavenly; their breath is in their nostrils, they are alive to day and dead to morrow; they have strong hands and long horns to crush us with; yet God can dry up their hands, as he did *Ieroboams*, he can weaken their horns, that they should not gore us with them; I will tell you, saith Christ, whom you shall feare; not him that can kill the body, and goe no further, but he that can cast soul and body into hell fire; let us feare the King of Kings above earthly Kings; God be thanked, we have a King, whose commandements are not contrary to Gods Commandements; but if God in his wrath should send us a King as our sinnes have deserved, that should command us to goe to Masse, to worship Images, to kill the Saints of God; let us not feare such Commandements; either our God will deliver us out of their hands, even miraculously above our expectation, or else take us to himselfe, and give us a crowne of eternall glory. And page 396. in the written copy, *The fiercenesse of Kings is not to be feared. when the King of Kings sends us in his businesse, &c.* When the blood is heated, the mind incensed, this is the rage of the King; the King was enraged for anger against *Moses*, as *Lamech* said, *I would kill a man in my wrath*; to where is this *Moses*? bring him that I may slay him; and no doubt, he beset the Land, and sent out pursuivants after him unto all places; yet *Moses* feared it not; *the wrath of a King is as the roaring of a Lyon*. yet if it be in Gods cause, let us not feare it: The devill is, *ἀδὸν ὁρῶμενος*, so Christ is *ἀδὸν ὁρῶμενος, rapiens, eripiens* to deliver us out of his hands; *Nebuchadnezzar* was wroth with the three children because they would not fall downe and worship his golden image, *they feared it not*: Kings are mighty but God is more mighty; they have long armes that can reach far but God at his pleasure can dry up their armes, as he dried up *Ieroboams* hand, when he stretched it out to strike the Prophet; they have sharp hornes, but God can blunt their hornes: Of Lyons, he can make them Lambs, as he did *Esau* and *Laban*; if they will be Lyons still blustering and roaring against his children, he can send out his Angels on the sodaine to smite them as he did *Herod*, and can cause the very wormes to devour them: Let us honour Kings, yea though they be enemies to Gods Church, let us reverence their power and authority, but in matters appertaining to the King of Kings, let us not feare the fiercest of them. Esay 51.13

In the same Author we find these clauses likewise expunged Written copy. f. 71. Book f. 396. *A King and Queen are but flesh and blood*: Written copy f. 52. Book f. 91. *Art thou a King? yet thy breath is in Gods hand*: and written copy, f. 231. Book f. 272. *The King that is the breath of our nostrils must once dye*.

It seems Kings in this age must be so flattered and their power so elevated that they must be reputed Gods, and not put in mind of their mortality, no nor other men; else what means the crossing out of this sentence in the same Author, pag. 80. *Ye live banished here in Egypt, ye were ready to starve for hunger, where ye came first; ye are now seated in Goshen, entreated curteously; yet remember ye must depart, and it will be a heavy departing unto you; we are wedded to the world, as to a spirituall Egypt, we have need to be put in mind of our departure from it. Thus the Lord Jesus shewed to Peter that the time was at hand he should lay downe his tabernacle, Luke 9. 31. so Philip had his usher, who daily said to him, Memento Philippe te esse mortalem.* 2 Pet. 1. 14

Did these popish Inquisitors (judge you) ever thinke of death or their departure hence, who obliterated such clauses as these?

13. Passages deleted against Popish Blind Obedience.

THe Licenser expunged this clause out of Doctor *Jones* his Comentary on the Hebrewes; in the written copy, pag. 392. Some bold *Papists* take occasion from hence to extort, *cecum obedientiam*, blind obedience; *Abraham* followed God, not knowing whether he went; so you must follow your teachers, though you know not whether they call you: There is no consequence in that, we must follow God though we know not whether must we therefore follow men? God is wise, men are foolish; God is truth men are deceitfull; therefore saith the holy Ghost, try the spirits, whether they be of God,

God; the Bereans would examine Pauls doctrine by the Scriptures before they would follow him; so must we doe; the chicken followes the hen, must it therefore follow the Kite too? if God call us, let us goe. though we know not whether; he is our Shepheard he will not lead us into ditches, or deliver us into the hands of the Wolfe; he is our Father, he will not carry his children where they shall be hurt, he is the Eagle; we are his birds, let him carry us whether it pleaseth him.

14. *Passages expunged against the Papists; that Baptisme onely binds us to observe Gods will and Commandements; and that it absolves not men from all finnes.*

IN Master Wards Comentary upon Matthew, chapter 23. verse 20. this clause is obliterated.

Whether doth Baptisme onely bind us to the observance of the will and Commandements of God?

First, Bellarm. lib. 1. de Baptis. cap. 16. answers hereunto, That although Christians are bound by solemn Vow in Baptisme to walk in obedience before God and to keep his Commandements, yet are they not therefore freed and exempted from the observance of the Lawes and Ordinances of men, which they are bound in conscience to keep, and that under paine of damnation.

Secondly we answer; that Baptisme onely bindeth us to keep the Commandements of God, and so farre forth onely to obey men, as they command things lawfull; but we must not be brought in bondage to mens traditions and observations seeing we are the Lords free men, and by baptisme are consecrated to his service; and this we confirme from this place, Goe and teach, baptizing them, &c. and teaching them to observe all that I command you; therefore baptisme bindeth us only to the observation of Gods precepts, 1 Cor. 7. 23. ye are bought with a price, be not the servants of men: Baptisme is a signe of the death of Christ, the price of our redemption therefore we are freed from all meere humane service in the receiving of Baptisme; and for this cause it is called the baptisme of Christ: Augustin (Contr. Petil. lib. 3. 55.) saith, *Legimus Paulum dixisse, Evangelium meum, Baptismum autem meum nunquam dixit, &c. i. e.* We read Paul to have said my Gospell, but my Baptisme never; for never any of the Apostles durst call the Baptisme of Christ their baptisme; therefore seeing it is the Baptisme of Christ, and that we are onely baptized in his name, not in our owne names, or the names of men, we must onely hope to be saved by faith in him, and become his servants wholly: If the Audious Reader would see how this answer of ours is both maintained and opposed, I referre him to Doctor Willets Synopsi, fol. 582 and Amesius Rel. larm. Enervat. tom. 1 page 251, 252.

And in the same Author, page 18. this sentence is expunged.

Quest. 3. Wherein doth Baptisme excell circumcision, that those who were circumcised run thus unto John to be baptized?

Ans. 1. Peverius the Jesuit saith, there is a three-fold pre-eminence of Baptisme above Circumcision, viz. first, in the facility and easinesse of it, it not being so painful; secondly, in the universality of it, it being free for both sexes and all Nations professing Christ; and thirdly, in the efficacy thereof, because Baptisme absolveth a man from all sinne, and the punishment thereof.

Secondly, we willingly acknowledge the two first poynts of preheminnence, but reject justly the third, because neither Circumcision then, nor Baptisme now hath any such efficacy, actually to give remission of finnes; for if it were so, then it would follow, that every one who is baptized is surely saved, his finnes being remitted; or else, that his finnes being remitted, returne againe: But God useth not, where he hath once forgiven finnes, to remember them any more, Ezek. 18. 22.

Thirdly, Baptisme we confesse in signification and representation, is more rich then circumcision was, washing being a more lively resemblance of our cleansing in the blood of Christ; and besides, it is a commemoration of a benefit performed, whereas Circumcision

Circumcision was a type of the same to be exhibited: But for the efficacy there is no difference, seeing they both are seales and confirmations of faith for the remission of sinnes, and not actuall conferrers and bestowers of grace, although they are (by the institution of Christ) meanes and instruments of conveying grace upon the elect.

15. Passages deleted against Becket, Gardener, with other Popish Saints, Prelats, Writers, and in defence of Calvin and Luther.

IN Doctor Jones his Comentary upon the Hebrewes, written copy, page 323. this clause is totally obliterated.

I pray God there be no such (that knowing the Scriptures and Fathers, sinne against their owne knowledge, and that of malice to the truth) among them (Papists) What did Gardener Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancelour of England, in Queen Maries dayes, that burnt Cranmer and Hooper; who when Doctor Day Bishop of Chichester came unto him, lying on his death-bed in desperation, and comforted him with the sweet mercies of God in Christ, he brake forth into this speech; My Lord, you may say so to a man in my case, but open this window once to the people, and farewell all. Did he not despise the spirit of grace, and sinne against the holy Ghost? Yet I define nothing, I leave him to the supreme Judge.

In Doctor Clerks Sermons, page 237. after the word *wickednesse*, these words are blotted out, *Becket did; 'tis in his name* ~~NOON~~ *for sinne, I fetch his name from Hebrew, because I have read his father was a Jew; he sinned against his Country and his King, betrayed both to the Pope, and dyed, though not directly, yet deservedly.*

In Master Wards Comentary upon Matthew, fol. 178. the last line but two, this is gelded out: *Where a Papist prayes to any Saint in Heaven: for sometimes they pray to those who in all probability are in hell, as Thomas Becket, Hildebrand, and divers cheating Imposters.*

Doctor Featlies *Clavis Mystica*, page 604. *Postremum genus eorum est, qui oves Christi pascunt, sed cibo insalubri, quo magis inficiuntur quam reficiantur Christi oves agnique: eorum dico, qui floribus & fructibus Paradisi aut noxias herbas admiscunt, aut flores Adonidis adspargunt; cujusmodi sunt ista dogmata: Vires liberi arbitrij ab Adami lapsu, ad bonum spirituale fractas & debilitatas, non penitus profligatas & amissas; labem originis nemini unquam fraudi fuisse, unumquemque enim suum scelus laere: Gratiam novo foedere promissam omnibus expositam esse, nec cuiquam unquam defuisse, nisi qui ei defuerit: imputatam Christi justiciam absque inhirente non plus prodesse quam inducium candidum: Ethiopi superinductum: fiduciam salutis propria a presumptione parum aut nihil differre: Genevates & Presbyterianos infestiores Ecclesie hostes quam Pontificios: Calvinum in commentariis foede Hallucinari, non unquam ut ipsorum verbis utar, Judaizare, & in multis Arrianizare, quid hoc sibi vult calumnia? an quid Calvinus ejusque discipuli, qui in Arrianos non stilam modo, sed & gladium strinxere nuper evaserunt Arriani? quam preposterum, a Bellarmino, Pontificiorum Corypheus hanc notam a quibusdam imperitis ipsisque adeo Papistis Calvino inustam eluit, & qui religionis re-* a Lib. 3. de Christo, c. 19

Doctor Jones his Comentary on the Hebrewes, in the written copy, page 150. As for the calling of Luther, Calvin, Beza, and of the Ministers of the Gospell, it is warrantable by the Word, we can shew our letters of Orders from Jesus Christ the great Bishop of our soules.

16. Passages deleted concerning Bishops.

IN Doctor Clarke's Sermons, page 173. the Licenser hath put out these words; *Why may I not adde a Bishop too? let another take his Bishopricke, sayes Saint Peter, in the Acts, and meanes it of Judas.*

Idem page 398. after *Amasiah*, these words, *Arch-bishop of that Province*, are blotted out.

Doctor Jones his Comentary on the Hebrewes, in the written Copy, page 138. It may be Bishops and Arch-bishops have little feeling of the burden poore Ministers in the Country are faine to sustaine.

17. *Passages expunged against the Blindnesse, Superstition, Idolatrous, pompous worship and Adoration of Papiſts, prophane persons, Popish Saints, Reliques.*

Quest.
Answ.

IN Maſter Wards Comentary on Matthew, page 35. 36. written copy, this paſſage is expunged.

What blindnesse are we ſubject unto without Chriſt?

There is a double blindnesse, which men are ſubject and incident unto; to wit, Firſt, the blindnesse of Superſtition, which is apparently ſeen in the Papiſts, who firſt teach us to worſhip Dæmoniacks, or damned ſoules in hell, or traitors, as *Thomas Recket*, and impious *Gregory* the ſeventh, called *Heldisbrand*. And ſecondly, teacheth us to worſhip Chimeræes, fictions, and things that never were in *rerum natura*: Thus they teach us to worſhip Saint *Chriſtopher*, Saint *George*, Saint *Katherine*, and many hundreds more which cannot be proved to have been, or at leaſt, not Saints, but ſome of them grand impoſtors. Thirdly, they teach us to worſhip vile and baſe things, as peeces of rotten wood, making men beleevè they were peeces of Chriſts Croſſe, and old thred-bare garments, for ſome ſacred Veſtments, although the Priests themſelves knew them to be otherwiſe; yea the Eucharifticall wafer-cakes, although they have been conſecrated flightly, the Priest thinking of ſome other thing elſe, and not intending the conſecration thereof, which (according to their owne doctrine) is not then tranſubſtantiated, and therefore is palpable idolatry to ſal down to a bare piece of bread. Fourthly they teach us to place Religion in outward things, as in the obſervation of dayes, meates, apparrell, and the like, Col. 2. 17. 18. None of all which things we are taught to doe in the Word of God, and therefore we had need beware of this blindnesse of ſuperſtition.

Secondly, there is a blindnesse of prophaneneſſe, which is twofold; to wit, either *Pura negationis*, or *Prava diſpoſitionis*, i. e. either naturall, or affected ignorance: Firſt there is in us a naturall ignorance, we by nature not knowing thoſe things which concerne the glory of God, or our owne ſalvation; and this blindnesse is in all, even in the elect, untill they be enlightned by the Spirit of God. Secondly, there is an affected ignorance, when men reſuſe the meanes of knowledge, like thoſe deafe Adders that ſtop their eares againſt the voyce of the charmer, charme he never ſo wiſely: Now this blindnesse of heart is alſo in every man by nature, for as naturally we know not our duty towards God, ſo naturally we deſire not the knowledge thereof, but are backward and negligent in the uſe of thoſe meanes, which God hath appointed for the curing of this blindnesse.

And this, Ibidem page 265. Becauſe our Saviour doth acknowledge the powring of this precious oyntment upon him *to be a good work*, it may therefore be demanded if the Papiſts doe not well, who worſhip the Lord in great coſt and pomp? Firſt, Chriſt prayſed the precious oyntment, not as an ordinary worſhip, which ſhould alwayes afterwards be imitated, but onely as a ſingular miniſtery of his funerall, ver. 12. *ſhee did it for my buriall*: But Chriſt now is aſcended into Heaven, and is no more to be buried, and therefore this fact of *Maries* will be no ground for the Popiſh pompous worſhip: Secondly, the Popiſh pompous worſhip is full of ſuperſtition and idolatry, but in this anointing there was none, and therefore it will not ſupport their pomp: Thirdly, when Chriſt departed from the world to Heaven, he left behind him in his ſtead the poore, commanding us to honour him by our bounty toward them; and therefore if we would beſtow our liberality aright, we ſhould enrich or reſreſh with our ſubſtance the poore members of Chriſt, for he doth accept of that which is done unto them, as done unto himſelfe, Heb. 13. 16.

18. *Paſſages*

18. Passages deleted against Superstition, Popish Ceremonies, and the abolition of them.

IN Master Wards Comentry upon Matthew, page 212. this clause is obliterated: Adde nothing unto the Word of God; neither first, the chaffe of Superstition, with the Papists, &c; neither secondly, *Machiavilliansme* and unwarrantable policy, with some statists; neither thirdly, new opinions.

Secondly, indeed if any ceremony which our Church useth, should be abused unto Superstition, or superstitiously used, and so become offensive unto the best and dearest members of the church, it were then much better to relinquish then to retaine them, to abolish then to uphold them, as *Hezekiah* did with the *braxen Serpent*, when it was abused unto idolatry; I say, it were better in this case to destroy then to enforce them, if authority were so pleased, &c.

Ibidem page 210. this clause is deleted; A man may censure his brother for doing that which is indifferent, for an evill intent: as for example; if a Minister should wear the Surplice, not for decency, or for obedience to authority, but onely to vex or offend some who are weake or scrupulous thereof, he deserves to be censured and blamed, because as much as in us lyes, we must offend none.

Ibidem page 267. this passage is crossed out; *Quest. 2.* What superstitious rites are to be abolished in Baptisme?

Ans. Those rites which are used at this day by the Papists, contrary to the institution of Christ, and practice of the Apostles: Now these rites are either before the administration of the Sacrament, or in the time of the celebration of the Sacrament, or after the celebration thereof.

First, before the celebration of the Sacrament, they have these ceremonies: first, the Priest breathes in the child's face, that he may receive the holy Ghost; secondly, they have their exorcismes, adjurations, or conjurations, whereby the devill is conjured, adjured, and commanded to depart from the soule of the Infant to be baptized, and to give way unto the holy Ghost, who now is at hand: thirdly, then the Priest reads certaine prayers belonging to this adjuration; and then fourthly, he solemnly consecrates the Font, wherein the water of Baptisme is.

Secondly, the rites used by the Papists in the administration of the Sacrament, are many: First, the Priest takes the child by the shoulders, and turning his head towards the east, dips his face once in the water, with these words; *I baptize thee in the name of the Father*; Then he turnes the Infants head towards the north, dipping him againe with these words; *And in the name of the Sonne*; lastly, he bends his head unto the south, dipping him the third time, with these words; *And the name of the Holy ghost*: And thus by this threefold turning of the child, is formed or made the crosse of Christ (into whose death the Infant is baptized) after the manner in the margin. Secondly, besides the Symbol of water in baptisme, the Papists use salt, which is put into the mouth of the child baptized, which signifies wisdom and prudence of speech, according to the advice of the Apostle, Let all your words be seasoned with salt, i. e. of divine wisdom. Thirdly, they then use spittle, wherewith first, the eares are touched, which signifies, that he that is baptized, ought to have his eares open to heare the word of God, and the principles of Religion: And secondly, therewith also the mouth is touched together with the word *Ephata*, signifying, that he should be alwayes prompt and ready to speak of Religion and the word of God. Fourthly, then they make the signe of the crosse, whereof they have a manifold use, viz. first, they make a crosse upon the child's brest, signifying thereby, that he ought to have and receive the faith of Christ crucified in his heart, according to that of the Apostle, With the heart man beleeveth unto righteousness: Secondly, they make a crosse upon the child's forehead, which signifies, that he must not be ashamed to confesse Christ, because blushing appears in the forehead, according to that of the Apostle, With the mouth confession is made unto salvation; now this crosse is made with the Priests thumb: Thirdly, they

South.
North.

make a crosse upon the eares of the Infant, and this crosse is made with spittle, signifying that the eares of his heart should be alwayes shut against the suggestions and temptations of Satan: Fourthly, they make a crosse upon the Infants mouth, and this is made with spittle also, signifying, that the child should have his mouth alwayes shut, least he should speak evill words: Fifthly, they make a crosse with spittle upon his nose also, signifying thereby, first, that he should send forth a good smell and savour of Christ in his life and conversation; and secondly, that he should frequently offer unto God the fumes and incense of devout and holy prayers, by which the devil may be smoked out of doors, as *Tobie* did the evill spirit, chap. 6. ver. 16, 17: Sixthly, they make a crosse upon the childs brest and shoulder blades, with their conjuring oyle, signifying thereby, that the party baptized should be strong and couragious in the resisting of Satan, and resolute in bringing forth the fruits of repentance.

Thirdly, after the Sacrament of baptisme is administred, the Priest doth these things unto the party baptized (*viz.*) first, he anoynts him with chryme, or consecrated oyle, which signifies the vertue or grace of the spirit of God, which they have received by, and in baptisme: Secondly, he then gives unto him a white garment, which signifies a Sacramentall or Baptismall innocency, or that, how he is made pure, innocent and immaculate, both from the guilt and staine of sinne: Thirdly, he puts into his hand a wax taper, lighted, which signifies, first, the light of faith, which is given in Baptisme; and secondly, that now he is translated out of the kingdome of darknesse into the kingdome of light: Fourthly, sometimes they give unto some milke and honey to taste, whereby it signified, a right or title to eternall life, a figure whereof was the Land of *Canaan*, which flowed with milk and honey. All these and divers other superstitious rites the Papists superstitiously observe in the celebration of this Sacrament of Baptisme, contrary to Christs institution and the Apostles practice, and therefore there is great reason that they should be abolished. If any think I falsifie the Papists by what I have said, or desire to be more thoroughly informed concerning their practices, additions and superstitions, ceremonies in this Sacrament of Baptisme, then let him well consider these Authors and testimonies which follow, and he shall find all and a great deal more then I have set down, *Manipulus curatorum de Baptismo*, cap. 8. fol. 14. 15. *Pupilla Oculi de Baptismo*, cap. 7. fol. 8. 9. *Tertul.* fol. 329. D. 335. D. G. 336. A. B. C. D. 337. A. 341. D. 342. C. E.

19. Passages purged out, That the Church is not alwayes visible.

IN Master *Words* Comentary upon Matthew, page 173. in the printed copy, this clause is blotted out:

A City that is set on a hill cannot be hid.

Obj.

The Papists affirme, the Church of Christ to be alwayes visible, and would confirme it from this verse thus: That which Christ ordained to be the light of the world is alwayes visible; but Christ ordained the church to be the light of the world in this verse: Therefore the Church is alwayes visible.

Ans^r. I.

First, the major proposition is false, that every light is alwayes visible, and therefore although we should grant the Church to be the light of the world, which it is, yet it would not follow from thence that it is alwayes visible, for these two causes (*viz.*) first because the Sunne and Moon were ordained to be great lights (*Gen.* 1. 16. & *Pf.* 136. 8.) for the governing of day and night, and yet we see them often darkned, and suffer strong eclipses; so the Church, though it be ordained to enlighten the world, by ministring the doctrine of the Scriptures, yet sometimes it may faile out of mens sights, as hath been shewed elsewhere, *viz.* upon *Matth.* 5. 14. Secondly, though the Church be a light, yet such as walk in darknesse, loving that better then the light, doe not alwayes see it, but want either will or eyes thereto: thus the King of *Arams* souldiers neither saw the Horses nor Chariots of fire that wereround about *Elisha*, nor knew that they were in the midst of *Samar*ia untill their eyes were opened.

Secondly, the minor proposition is false also; for although the light of the Church be granted, yet it is not true, that Christ our Saviour ordained it is to be alwayes the light

light of the world, according to this verse, *ye are the light of the world*, for these words were spoken by Christ to his Disciples, and his purpose therein was not to teach what the state of the Church should alwayes be, but to provoke them to constancy and holinesse, because they should be in every mans eyes, and therefore if they, chanced to doe otherwise then well, it could be concealed no more then the light of the Sunne; now this is nothing to the Churches visibility: If the Reader desire to see this argument more fully answered and enlarged, let him read our cleer and lilly *White*, in his Way to the true Church, fol. 90. 91. 92.

Ibid page 140. this is deleted, *Matth. 13. 47.* The Kingdome of Heaven is like unto a Net, &c.

The Papists hold, that the true Catholike Church is alwayes visible, and *Becanus* undertakes to prove it from the Parable thus; Christ here compares his Church to a net cast into the sea, which gathers of all sorts of fish some; now this cannot be understood but of the visible Church, because the Protestants, who hold two Churches, the one invisible, the other visible, doe thus distinguish them; that in the invisible are onely those who are predestinated unto salvation, but in the other, namely, the visible, are good and bad mixed together; but in the Church which our Saviour speaks here of, are good and bad commixed; and therefore he speaks of the visible Church, yea and also of the true Church; and therefore the true Church is visible.

First, it is false, that the Protestants hold two distinct true Churches.

Secondly, *Becanus* fights with his owne shadow, concluding nothing against us; neither is this the Question betwixt us and them. Whether the true Church of Christ be visible? but whether the Catholike church be visible or not? for we distinguish that *ratione praecepti*, but this *ratione subiecti*; for this true Church is partly visible, partly invisible, and the Catholike church is visible *Quantum ad materiale*, but invisible *Quantum ad formale*, that is, *Quatenus est Catholica*.

Thirdly, that Church in which are good and bad mixed together, is not the Catholike church, but a particular, because the Catholike church is an assembly of men, called by an internall vocation, that is, a society or company which consists onely of those, who are both elected and called.

Ibidem page 275. this sentence is purged out, *Matth. 16. 18, 19.* Upon this rock, &c.

The Papists produce these words, *super hanc Petram*, upon this rock, &c. to prove, that the true church of Christ is alwayes conspicuous and visible; arguing thus; whether by this rock upon which Christ promises to build his church, we understand Christ or Peter, or Peter's confession; yet alwayes the foundation is some sensible thing, and therefore the church is sensible; because although now we neither see Peter nor Christ, his Lord, yet then (when Christ spake this) both of them were obvious to sight; and now they are seene in their Vicar the Pope, *Bellarmine de Eccles. Milit. lib. 3. ca. 11.*

First, the Cardinall changeth his termes, for it is one thing to be sensible, another to be visible: many things being sensible which are not visible, as sounds, the wind and the like.

Secondly, the foundation of the church is Christ, and not Peter, and therefore he begs the Question.

Thirdly, we deny the antecedent, and his probation proves it not, because Christ as he was the foundation of the Church, was not visible; he not being her foundation, as he was man, but as he was God and man; yea he is a Mediator for those who beleeve on him, and not those who see him.

Fourthly, the Jesuit plays the Sophister, committing a fallacy *Ab homonyma Ecclesia*, the word church being ambiguous, signifying either a visible society (and so it signifieth not in this place) or else the universall and mysticall body of Christ, and so it is taken by our Saviour here.

Ibidem in the written copy, page 87. this sentence is deleted: Touching the visibility of the Church, I lay downe these propositions. First, the inward church of Christ

Obj.

Ans. 1.

Obj.

Ans. 1.

is not to be called visible, because although their persons be visible, yet so is not their conjunction with Christ their head, that being the internal work of faith, which is not to be seen: Secondly, the compleat and most universall church (from *Abel* unto the worlds end) may respectively be called visible, namely *secundum partes*, because although the whole never had being *in uno instanti*, in one and the same moment of time, and therefore could never be scene, *uno intuitu*, by any one aspect or sight, yet the parts of it (the church currant in every age) have been seen in their severall times. And in these two the Papists I hope will not dissent: Thirdly, there shall be alwayes a true church, &c. not external and corporall: That the invisible church of Christ is beautifull, appears by Saint Paul, who calls it pure, without spot or wrinkle, *Ephes. 5. 27.* and by the psalmist, The Kings daughter is all glorious: and that this beauty is spirituall and internal, appears by the same infallible authority, who calls her black and faire, *cant. 1. 4.* that is, outwardly deformed, but amiable within; and againe most plainly, shee is glorious, but within, *psal. 45. 13.*

20. Passages deleted, *That wicked men are no true members of the true Church and mysticall Body of Christ.*

IN Master *Wards* Comentary upon Matthew, printed copy, fol. 20. this discourse was purged out.

Obj.

Fifthly, they object this place to prove that wicked men are true members of the church of Christ; arguing thus; the church is compared to a barn-floore, wherethere is both chaffe and corne, therefore wicked men are members of Christ's church.

Answ.

I have upon *Matth. 3. 11.* answered to the place objected, and also to the scope and drift of the objection, by distinguishing between the internal and invisible, external, and visible church; I now adde a word or two thereunto by a three-fold distinction (*viz.*) first, we distinguish between the catholike church, and a particular church: In the catholike church are onely good men, but in a particular nationall church are both good and bad: Secondly, we distinguish between the systeme or whole body of the external and visible church, and some few particular members thereof, because that doth not alwayes agree to the whole church, which is usually ascribed to some particular external members thereof, *i. e.* the professors of the common faith of the church: Thirdly, we distinguish between the judgement of charity, and faith; for charity (which is not suspitious, but beleeves all things, and hopes all things) *1 cor. 13. 45.* doth often judge many hypocrites and external professors to be the true members of Christ, and the sheep of his flock; but faith informed by the Word of God, knows most certainly, that no hypocrite or unbeliever, or wicked person (so long as they continue and remaine such) doth belong unto the Essence or mysticall body of Christ.

And in the written copy, fol. 317. on *Matth. 22. 1.* this clause was deleted by the Licencer.

Obj.

Bellarmino (lib. 3. de *Eccles.* cap. 7.) objects this place to prove, that wicked men belong unto the Catholike church, because the church here is compared to a marriage feast, wherein not all the guests are elected, or invested with the marriage robe of Christs righteousness, but some of them clothed in their rotten ragges, and polluted garments.

Answ.

This and the like similitudes which are urged by *Bellarmino* in the place above quoted, doe not shew the nature and essence, or essentiall properties of the catholike church (which the adversary presupposeth) but onely some certaine externall accidents thereof; and therefore they are referred to the external company of all those, who by the preaching of the Gospell are in some sort called unto Christ, and in some manner profess the faith of Christ; now nothing hinders, but that in such a company there may be reprobates, who belong not at all unto the essence of the true and internal church of Christ; and this and the other Parables which *Bellarmino* produceth makes nothing against us, for he should have proved, that there are as well reprobates as elect vessels in

in the catholike church and for the prooffe thereof allegeth those places which speak not of the catholike and invifible church, but of a particular and vifible church, where- in we confesse there are both good and bad, yea for the moft part, more bad then good, but thefe bad ones belong not unto the catholike church, *Alsted. de natura Ecclef. cap. 6. fol. 130.*

21. Passages deleted *against building Churches East and west, and the superstitious adorning of them with Images and suchlike popish Furniture.*

MAfter *Ward*, on *Mat.* page 342. It is controverted between us and the Papists concerning the formes of churches; and *Bellarmino* affirms, that they should be built east and west, that so when we pray therein, our faces might be turned towards the east; and for the prooffe hereof he produceth this place; *Ab oriente venturus creditur ad judicium*; Ergo: It is beleev'd that Christ will come unto judgement from the east, therefore we ought to pray towards the east.

First, *creditur*, it is beleev'd (saith he) namely, by those who can beleve what they list, though never so absurd.

Secondly, suppose the antecedent were true, yet the consequence halts; for although Christ should come from the east to judgement, yet it would not follow thence, that therefore we should pray towards the east; we must pray unto Christ, who is every where in regard of his Deitie, and (according to the Papists) in regard of his humanity also, and therefore which way soever we pray, we look towards him; yea I imagine that *Bellarmino* would blush to affirme, and be backward to undertake to prove, that Christ's seat and throne of glory in Heaven is seated in the east end thereof, and that the humanity never stirs or moves out of that seat and part of Heaven; both which he must prove before his argument be of any worth or weight.

Thirdly, the comparison (in these words) betwixt the coming of Christ and the lightning, doth not respect the place, but the cleare and sodaine apparition of both, &c. All this is expunged.

In Doctor *Featly's* Sermons, this passage is deleted, page 225. What meane our adversaries then to spend so much in embellishing their churches, and so little in beautifying their soules? to lay out so much cost upon the materiall, and so little upon the spirituall Temple of God? Their rood-lofts they paint, their pillars they engrave, their timber they carve, their Images they clothe, their pictures they cover, their stone Altars they guild, their crosses they set about with jewels and precious stones; they have golden Miters, golden Vessels, golden shrines, golden bells, golden snuffers, all golden, save the ordinary Priests: who, if *Bonifacq* of *Mentz* his observation be true, for the most part are wooden or leaden.

Dicite Pontifices in sacro quid facit Aurum.

Saint *Ambrose* taxing too much superfluity in this kind, saith expressly, That those things please not God in, or with gold, which can be bought with no gold; if we speak of the true adorning of the Church, it is not with the beauty of pictures, but with holinesse, not with the lustre of pearles and precious stones, but the shining of good works; not with candles and tapers, but with the light of the Word; not with sweet perfumes, but with the savour of life unto life; neither will all the glorious furniture of *Solomons* Temple make any shew for their excessse in this kind of their outward deckings; for that furniture was typical, then the service of God was restrained to that Temple, and God himselfe gave them the modell thereof: Is it not preposterous for Christians to goe about to enrich the Gospell with the beggarly rudiments of the law? what folly is it after they put out the light of the Word, or hide it, as it were, under a bushell in an unknowne tongue, to stick up wax lights at the noon day? to clothe pictures, and to suffer the living members of Christ to goe naked? to adorne the Images of Saints, and to deface Gods Image in themselves? to perfume their Churches, and breath out a noysome savour of impure brothels in their lives? &c.

22. Passages

22. Passages expunged against evangelicall Counsels, tending unto Perfection, Merit, Superogation, and against popish Vowes.

IN Master Wards Comentary upon Matthew, written copy, page 105. this discourse is purged out as heterodox.

He shall be called least in the Kingdome of Heaven.

Obj.

The Papists generally urge this place for the establishing of their Evangelicall counsels unto perfection.

Answ.

But there are no such counsels as these, which the Papists would establish from this place, to wit, first, Free, which may be done or not done, as we please, and that without sinne: secondly, counsels unto perfection: and thirdly, unto merit; the truth of this answer appears thus (*viz.*)

First, because this word Counsell, is taken for the feare of God, *consilium preservative* te, counsell shall preserve thee; read Proverbs 2. 11. & 8. 12, 13, 14. & 12. 15. & 19. 20. Heare counsell and receive instruction: and secondly, because no good thing in it selfe is free, the Commandements of God being the rule of good, and therefore whatsoever is simply good, is positively commanded; and what is not included in the morrall law, is not in it selfe good, but will worship: and thirdly, because every perfection of good is prescribed and enjoined, *be ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect*, Matth. 5. 48. saith Christ: Now although we can never attaine unto this perfection, yet we must endeavour thereunto: and fourthly, because we deserve nothing at Gods hands, but onely by the obedience of the Commandements, *i. e.* if there be any merit, it is in the obedience of the law; if Adam had merited, it had been by obeying that which was commanded, not that which was not required; for when by such things we desire to please God, he will say, who hath required these things at your hands? *Isa.* 1. 12. and therefore little hope can the Papists have to merit Heaven by their monasticall vowes, whether generall or particular.

First, they have generall vowes, namely, first, the vow of poverty, and yet scarce any faire Mannours richer then their Monasteries; Secondly chastity, which is like a painted Sepulcher, their Abbies and Nunneries being *Dens of Sodomites*: thirdly, obedience to humane traditions, rather then the commandements of God, whence the rules of Saint Francis or Saint Dominick, or lame Loyola, are more strictly observed then the rules of Christ or word of God.

Secondly, they have particular vowes, as first, not to touch silver with their hands, but yet they may receive it in their hoods; secondly, not to touch flesh; thirdly, to weare haire shirts, and the like. If the learned Reader desire further prooffe and information in this particular, I referre him to *Hospinian de Origine Monachorum*: certainly these are no Evangelicall counsels, although they may truly be called *Minima*, things of the least moment or importance, which perish in the using, affording neither comfort nor true profit unto the user or observer of them, &c.

In the same Comentary on *Matth.* 28. 20. written copy, page 405. the Licencer hath gelded out this discourse:

From these words (*Teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you*) I lay downe this proposition, *That there are no Evangelicall counsels of perfection unto superogation*: for the understanding of this, I thus explaine the particulars thereof (*viz.*)

First, *consilium*, or counsell, is either first, *directionis*, of direction: and of this these speak not; or secondly, *prescriptionis*, of prescription, for the preparing and informing of the soule, *Revel.* 3. 18. now this the position understands, and it is twofold; namely, either first, this counsell of prescription is given *injunctorie*, by way of injunction; and thus we grant that there are Evangelicall counsels: or secondly, these counsels are given *arbitrarie*, arbitrarily, *i. e.* if we will doe them, we may, if we will not, we may choose, and that without sinne: now these the position speaks, denying that there are any such.

Secondly,

Secondly, *Evangelium*, Gospell, is taken two manner of wayes, namely, either first for holy History; and thus Gospell is not here meant: or secondly, for the doctrine of Christ; and thus it is taken in our *Thefts*: thirdly perfection, perfection is twofold; namely, either first, infinite in God; or secondly, finite; and this is either first, *Patrie* of glory, and of our country; which perfection the Angels and Saints have in Heaven; or secondly, *via*, of grace, or of the way; and this is the perfection the Saints have on earth, and it is a perfection either first, *partium*, of parts and kinds; or secondly, *graduum*, of degrees; and this is either first, accidentall, which consists in removing of obstacles and lets, and this we grant: or secondly, essentiall; and this perfection is either first, necessary unto salvation, which is a full observation of the morall law, either by our selves or by another; or secondly profitable, which is not simply necessary unto salvation, but onely necessary for the obtaining of a more excellent degree of glory: now this perfection the Papists understand in their Evangelicall counsels unto perfection, and this perfection in our position we utterly deny.

Fourthly *supererogation*, supererogation is twofold, *to wit*, either first, *gradualis*, when we performe the precepts of the law in a higher measure and degree then the law requires, and thus our Rhemists understand the word, 1 cor. 9. 16. or secondly, *qualificans*, when we doe other good works besides those which are commanded in the law; and thus *Bellarmino* understands the word, who further also saith, first, that these works of supererogation, doe merit a greater degree of glory; and also secondly, that they are communicable even unto others, *i. e.* that both, first, they satisfie for the sinnes of others; and also secondly, help to supply the defects and wants of others, Remist. Test. 2 cor. 8. 14.

Quest. Wherein doe we and the Papists agree, and wherein doe we differ in this poynt of counsels of perfection unto supererogation?

Answ. first, we agree in this, that good things are either first, absolutely good, and these are commnded; or secondly, respectively good, in regard of some circumstances, and thus Saint Paul gives counsell concerning marriage in the times and places of persecution, 1 cor. 7.

Secondly, we differ in three things: first *Re*, in the thing it selfe; for first, Papists say that counsels are better then commands, and that a man shall obtaine a higher state and a greater measure of glory in Heaven by the obedience of counsels, then by the obedience of precepts: secondly, we say that counsels are inferiour to commands, and differ from them, not in obligation, but in the object; because first, commandments are concerning things absolutely good; but secondly, counsels are of things respectively good; which when they are good cannot be omitted without fault.

Secondly, we and the Papists differ *forma*, in the forme of these Evangelicall counsels; for they say they are arbitrary, but we say they are enjoyned: and thirdly, we and they differ *fine*, in the very end of them; for first, the Papists hold, that first, the works of counsels merit a singular glory and a greater degree thereof; and secondly, that they satisfie for the temporall punishment of sinne: secondly we hold neither of these, but onely that they are enjoyned as the works of our office and duty, whensoever the circumstances doe concur, &c.

Ibidem written copy, page 139. this is deleted, *swear not at all*: *Obj. Sextus Senensis*; and some other Papists say, that Christ here sets downe a counsell of perfection; not forbidding all swearing, but rather wishing that men could so live in faith, love and truth, that there might be no use of an oath. *Answ.* first, this is false, because Christs words are not perswasory, but prohibitory, expressely forbidding swearing.

23. Passages expunged against Popish evil Counsellours, and the vices of Princes Courts.

IN Master Wards Comentary upon Matthew, page 78. written copy, these clauses are deleted.

A foole (saith Solomon) breedeth jarres among friends, but a Man of wisdom appeareth strife: The first we see verified in Rehoboams young Councillours, who made a breach and irreconcilable rent between the King and his people, 1 King. 12. and the second in good *Abigail*, 1 Sam. 25. 18. and in the woman of *Tekohah*, 2 Sam. 14. Sowers of discord are found in the Church or in the Kingdome; in Kingdomes, viz. First, those that long for nothing but warre, blaming a peaceable government and quiet State, and are never well but whiles they are fishing in troubled waters: Secondly, those that instigate others to warre, as the Cardinals and Jesuits upon every occasion doe whisper in the eares of Princes to make warre upon their neighbours, when they perceive any advantage may be had thereby: Thirdly, those that make themselves mercenary for the nourishing of slaughters.

Ibidem on *Mat. 11. 7. 8. 9.* this whole discourse is expunged. *What went you out to see?* &c. as these words, *what went you out to see, a reed shaken with the wind?* may be referred (by way of reproofe) unto the people; so also these, they that weare soft clothing are in Kings houses; doth our Saviour then simply tax the pomp and glory of Princes Courts?

First, certainly there is pompe and cost, and bravery in Princes Courts, which is not unlawfull: and that both because it serves to the beauty, glory, and ornament of the place, and also because the vulgar sort are kept thereby the better in obedience and feare: Secondly, yet our Saviour seems ex consequenti, to reprove and condemn the life of Courtiers, or the court-life; went you out to see a man clothed in soft rayment? behold they that weare soft cloathing are in Kings houses: as if he would say, a religious life and a court-life are not alike, for although the pomp, bravery and delights of Kings Courts be not immediately evill in themselves, yet they lesse suit and agree with Religion: Whence we may note,

That a soft, dainty, delicate and court-like life, hinders many from true Religion, or from being truly religious; it being the nature of pleasure, to draw the mind along with it.

What things are ordinary in a court-life?

In Kings Courts these vices are most frequent and familiar; namely, first pride; it is ordinary with Courtiers to look high, to despise others, to over-prize themselves, and with *Simon Magus* to think themselves some great ones, *Acts 8. 2.* Now Religion teacheth men to be humble and lowly, and to give place one unto another, and to strive one to come after another; and not as many Courtiers frequently doe, who strive, quarrell, juggle and fight about the wals and precedency, *Rom. 12. 10. 46.* Secondly avarice, for they which have many things, want many; and they who spend much, want much; and according to the Proverb, rob *Peter* to pay *Paul*, i. e. extort from others to expend upon themselves: Now Religion teacheth men to give almes, and to be liberall; but Kings Courts (although they teach not, yet at least) practice rapine, oppression and gripping of those under them: Thirdly, pleasure and delight; as we see in *Dives*, *Luke 16.* and hence men become more effeminate, unconstant and unable to suffer any afflictions, injuries, wrongs, or the like; whereas Religion teacheth men to suffer, and to want, and to be content in all estates, *Phil. 1. 27. 29. & 4. 10.* *James 4. 7. &c.* yea, the court-life being full of pomp and pleasure, makes men more unable to resist or withstand the temptations of Satan, the allurements of the world, or the suggestions of their owne corrupt nature, and more prone and ready to yeeld unto them: Christ the second Adam was tempted in the Wildernesse, but could not be conquered; but the first being assaulted in Paradise (a place of pleasure) was easily overcome: Fourthly idleness; Courtiers (for the most part) are given to eating, drinking, sleeping and gaming, yea like the Israelites, spend the most part of their lives in these, *Exod. 32. 6.* but Religion teaches us to labour and take paines, yea to earne our bread with the sweat of our browes, *Gen. 3.* and how can he labour in Religion who will not labour nor take paines in some worldly employment: Fifthly flattery; *Aio, Aio*, Courtiers can fawne and sooth, yea *jurare in verba Magistrum*, swears what their Lords say: Now Religion teacheth men to be couragious and bold, yea not to flatter, but rather to reprove offenders

ders to their face; as Christ saith, goe and tell *Herod* that *Fox*, and *John* boldly re-
proved him; for *Herodias* his brothers wife, and the King being angry with him for
this, and casting him into prison, yea afterwards beheading him, the Courtiers willing-
ly permitting it.

Who are here to be blamed?

Those who are deceived with the delights of a court-life, for it is not what it seems
to be, but rather is like to a painted reed, or a beautifull raine-bow, as appears thus;
First, court-favour and felicity last not long, for it is as slippery as an Ice, as fading as a
flower, as brittle as glasse, and like grasse upon the house top, which quickly withers.
Secondly, court-felicity and delights are evill, corrupting the manners; for first, some
observe, that there are but few truly good in Kings Courts: and secondly, if they be
good at first, yet at last they are corrupted, as we see in *Tyberius*, *Caligula*, *Commodus*:
Aula vel malos invenit, vel facit, the Court finds some bad, and so leaves them; the
Court finds some good, but makes them bad; and therefore who would praise that
barne or field that changeth the wheat into tares? or that cask that changeth the Wine
into vinegar? or that vessell which changeth the Oyle into Lees? Secondly, they are
to blame who delight in proud apparell and fantasticall fashions; for first, it was never a
thing of any good report in *Solomon*, gorgeous attire is not reprov'd, but yet we see
that his bravery, prosperity and court-delights did so enervate and weaken his mind
and cause him so farre to decline, that many have questioned, whether ever he were
renewed by repentance or not: Secondly, proud and gorgeous attire is alwayes taxed
and blamed in Scripture, read *Isa. 3.* & *1 Tim. 2. 9.* & *1 Pet. 3. 3.* Yea thirdly, the
bravery and fashions of the Court are noxious and hurtfull unto the Country, who is
too ready to imitate it herein: And fourthly, it is a foolish thing for a man to seeke
praise by his apparrell, he being in his richest robes, no better then the Crowe, who
braved it in borrowed plumes; yea, it is a wicked thing for a man to glory or be proud
of his shame, as all those doe who are proud of their apparrell, it being but a covering of
their shame, which vaile they had never used nor needed if they had not sinned. Third-
ly, they are here faulty who accustome themselves to worldly pleasures, pastimes, and
delights, as *Dives* did, *Luke 16.* for this is a strong cord of vanity, *Isa. 5. 18.* and many
have been ensnared with lawfull things, whom the devill could never captivate or draw
unto grosse and enormous sinnes, &c.

In Doctor *Clarks* Sermons, page 403. this clause is deleted: Their Councell will
not inform Kings for Kings have their Confessors they will say, that office fitteth them;
the Courtiers dare not, it may prejudice their preferment: Nay Courtiers are rather
corrupters of Kings, they make the King a Saint, an Angell, a God; these flatterers
Constantine calls *forices Palatii*, the vermine of the Court: and what is *adulatio* but
adulatio, saith the *Etymologist*, to be a flatterer, that is, to be a Courtier, &c.

24. Passages deleted, *That all things are decreed, and nothing uncertaine
to God.*

IN *M. Wards* Comentary on *Matth. p. 10.* writ. cop. this is deleted: *Obj.* Gods decrees
are sure, therefore all means are vain. *Ans. 1.* If we must never use the means but in
those things where there is no decree, then we must never use the means at all, for all
things are decreed, and there is nothing uncertaine unto God.

25. Passages deleted concerning Election, that it is not of foreseen workes
or faith, but onely from Gods free grace: That there is no Universal
Election, &c.

IN Doctor *Clarks* seventh Sermon, page 63. after these words, *But of Gods vouch-
safeing*, the Licenser hath expunged these words following: *Not ex previsione, but
ex dilectione; not by foreseeing ought in us, but by foreknowing us in Christ; peace here
againe proud Papist, and thrust not upon God thy works to obtaine this peace; it is sent to
men of good will, not of good works, this peace, &c.*

A whole Sermon of his touching election of free grace, not of works or foreseen
faith

faith, on *Rom. 9.* was rejected by the Licenser, and not suffered to be printed with his other Sermons.

In Master *Wards* Comentary on Matthew, 25. 14. 15. printed book, fol. 326. this passage is deleted by the Licenser.

Obj.

Bellarmino objects this place to prove, that Election or Predestination unto life eternall is from a foresight of good works, because the Text saith, That the Lord gave *uniquique secundum propriam virtutem sive facultatem*, to every one according to his owne ability.

Ans.

First, this place proves not the poynt, for these talents which are given to every one *utraque idem dicitur*, according to his owne ability, doe not signifie life eternall: and the reasons hereof are plaine, namely; first, because these talents were distributed and communicated to all the servants, both to good and bad, profitable and unprofitable, which cannot be affirmed of life eternall: Secondly, because these servants were to give an account of these talents disbursed unto them, which cannot (without great absurdity) be affirmed of life eternall: Thirdly, because a reward was given to these servants who had well imployed their talents after their rendring an account of the imployment thereof; but no reward is to be hoped for or expected after life eternall: and therefore this place proves nothing for salvation from a foresight of works, &c.

Secondly, *Maldonate* thinks these words (according to every mans ability) to be added onely for the making up and perfecting of the Parable, not having any signification in the Parable, nor any thing intended thereby; now if *Maldonates* exposition of this place be true, then *Bellarmines* argument is falsly founded hereupon.

Thirdly, by Talents. temporall graces may be meant, which God communicates both to good and bad, wicked and righteous; and thus not onely Saint *Paul* had an eternall vocation unto the faith, but also *Simon Magnus*; not onely *Peter* was called to the Apostleship, but also *Judas Iscariot*; and hence *Fricius* expounds this place, *Hec Parabola de Talentis docet, dona mortalibus a Deo concessa, &c. i. e.* This Parable teacheth us, that the gifts which are given by God unto men, if they be carefully imployed and exercised, then they will encrease and be confirmed in them, but if they be neglected, they will be lost and utterly extirpated: whence Saint *Paul* exhorts *Timothy*, to stirre up and exercise the gifts of God in him; and therefore from hence, salvation from a foresight of works cannot be proved.

Fourthly, *Jansenius* by these Talents understands those gifts, which are called *gratia gratis data*, and not those which are called *gratia gratum facientes*: and therefore (if he say true) *Bellarmines* argument is grounded upon a false foundation.

Fifthly, *Ferns* expounds these words thus, *Uniquique secundum propriam virtutem, neque enim omnia omnibus conveniunt, &c.* to every one according to his proper faculty, because all things are not fit for all men; the body hath many members, and every member his severall office; now if all were an eye, then where should the hand or the foot be? thus he; and his meaning is, that God distributes not his Talents, *i. e.* spiritual gifts to all in the same measure, but in a divers and different, according to their faculty and ability, which is divers, and not in all the same; neither is this faculty or ability from those in whom it is, but from him who distributes the Talents unto them, and therefore nothing can be concluded from hence for a foresight of works: If any Reader would see a more full exposition of this verse, then let him read Doctor *Mayer* who is large upon it, page 291. 292. 293. if he would see a more full answer to the Objection, then I referre him to Doctor *Sharp*, *Curs. Theolog. de Prædest.* page 28. obj. 15.

Obj.

Ibidem written copy, fol. 354. on Matth. 25. 34. this clause is expunged: *Bellarmino* objects this place to prove, that both election and reprobation is from a foresight of works; arguing thus; God at the day of judgement will no otherwise determine of those things which then shall be, then as he had decreed from all eternity, because his decree is immutable, *James 1. 17. Isa. 43. 13. & 46. 10.* But at the last judgement, in the execution of Gods decree, he will say, *come ye faithfull*: Therefore

fore from eternity God hath decreed; *i. e.* elected and reprobated for these things.

First, the proposition is true concerning the matter and subject of Gods decree, because the decree is immutable, but not concerning the forme, because there was one forme of the decree, and there shall be another of the execution thereof.

Ans^r.

Secondly, if the meaning of the proposition be, that God will change nothing in the decree, but as he hath decreed all and every thing, so according to that decree shall the execution of every thing be; then the proposition is true, but so understood the argument concludes nothing (*viz.* against us) this onely thence following; therefore as he hath decreed from all eternity to save for faith, and to damne for unbelieve, so shall the execution of the decree be; which is true, but concernes not the Question in controversie.

Thirdly, it followes not, Christ will say, come ye faithfull, &c. come for faiths sake as for the meritorious or impulsive cause: for faith is the onely instrumentall cause and he intimates the impulsive cause, when he saith *Benedictos patris*, ye blessed of my Father; where is shewne, that their salvation did proceed from the free favour of God, because God the Father of his free grace hath loved them in Christ.

Fourthly, if the Kingdome of God be an inheritance, then it comes or falls unto us, because we are the sonnes of God by a free adoption: But it is called an inheritance, for he saith here, *Hereditatis jure possidete*, possesse this Kingdome by right of inheritance: Therefore it falls not unto us for our works sake, but because we are the adopted children of God in Christ.

Ibid page 358. on Matth. 25. 39. this sentence is purged out: It is questioned between us and the Papists, whether election or predestination to life eternall be from Gods free grace, or a foresight of mans good works and faith?

Quest.

First, it is agreed upon betwixt us and them, that there are some elected and predestinated, and this is cleere from *Mat. 20. 16. & 22. 14. & 24. 31. Rom. 8. 30. Ephes. 1. 4.*

Ans^r.

And Secondly, it is agreed betwixt us also, that those who are elected and predestinated, are elected to an eternall Kingdome, as is plaine from *Luke 12. 32.* And

Thirdly, it is agreed upon betwixt us, that those who are elected unto life eternall shall infallibly and certainly be saved, and this is proved from *Mat. 24. 22. 24. John 6. 29. & 10. 21. Rom. 8. 24. & 11. 29.* This was assented unto by the best esteemed Divines in the *Councell of Trent*, and thought to be eatholike, because it was consonant to the opinion both of *Thomas, Scotus*, and the most School-writers, and also to the doctrine of Saint Paul, and *Catharinus* himselfe could not deny it; reade the *History of the Councell of Trent*, lib. 2. page 211. 212. Yea, *Bellarmino* himselfe doth affirme as much plainly, *De grat. & lib. arbit.* lib. 2. cap. 10. which is worth observing, because elsewhere he contradicts himselfe, teaching, that the elect may fall from faith and salvation, and utterly and eternally lose both.

Fourthly, the Papists affirme, that faith and works foreseen were the impulsive and moving cause of the decree of election unto life everlasting.

Fifthly, we say, that the impulsive and moving cause of the decree of election is only the *eudæmonia* and good will, and free grace of God, and this we confirme from these places. *Luke 12. 32. John 15. 16. Rom. 11. 5. Ephes. 1. 6, &c.*

Ibid. page 305. on Matth. 20. 8. Every man received a penny, &c.

The Rhemists (upon *Rom. 9. 2.*) alleage these words to prove, That Predestination and Election is from a foresight of works; they argue thus; the Master saith, call the labourers and give them their reward; therefore God from all eternity hath ordained, to give the kingdome of Heaven to those whom he foresaw should bring forth good fruits and works.

Objⁿ.

First, our Rhemists doe not prove the position controverted between us and them; for the Question is not, Whether God have ordained to give Heaven to those whom he foresaw should bring forth good works? for this we doubt not of, because the Scripture plainly declareth it, *Rom. 2. 6. 10. & 1 Cor. 2. 9, 10.* but the Question is this, Whether this foresight of good workes were the cause of predestination and election? for this we deny, and this if they would doe any thing they should prove.

Ans^r.

Second.

Secondly, this place speaks not of predestination, but of the execution of predestination: Now it followes not, works goe before the execution of predestination, therefore before predestination it selfe: Now that our Saviour speaks here of the execution of predestination, is plaine from the very words: for first, it is said, that some of the Labourers were hired in the morning, and some at other houres; and then afterwards, when it was night, the Lord of the Vineyard said to his Steward, Call the Workmen: Now this can no way be understood of predestination, which was long before the first houre of the day.

Thirdly, this place sheweth, that good workes are the way to Heaven, wherein we must walk; but not that the decree of life hath respect to good workes, for good workes goe before the possession of Heaven, but not before the decree and ordination.

Fourthly, Saint *Ambrose* out of this place frameth a strong contrary argument, proving thereby, that election is altogether of grace, without any respect to workes, see before 2 Answ. to Obj. 1. fol. 258. 4. the last line, &c.

Ibidem page 302. this is deleted: Fourthly, the Papists are faulty here, who affirme that the decree of salvation came from the foresight of workes, and so they make them *primus Motor*.

Ibidem in the written copy, fol. 245. Although we know not the reason why the Lord doth it: but more particularly, first, we must acknowledge the Lord to be just in the election of the godly; now the order of election is laid downe, *Rom.* 8. 29, 30. & *Ephes.* 1. 11. from whence and some other places, the order may be expressed thus, *to wit*, First, God decreed to make Christ the head of his Church, *Ephes.* 1. 22. then secondly, he ordained and decreed that there should be a Church; and here, first, he decreed to create man; secondly, to permit him to fall; and thirdly, to repaire and recover some from their fall; and fourthly, to endow them with grace and saving faith. Secondly, we must acknowledge the Lord to be just in the reprobation of the wicked. Because the dissention of Divines is great in this point, I will speak sparingly thereof, and only lay downe the order of it, as I conceive it to be, and so leave it. First, God decreed to create man; and secondly, God foresaw that although man were created pure and immaculate, yet if he were left unto himselfe, he would fall; and thirdly, God leaves man unto himselfe, and permits him to fall; and fourthly, determines to offer the meanes of rising againe, namely, Christ, and mercy in him, which he foresaw would be slighted, and by many not received; then fifthly, for this contempt he justly reprobates them.

Ibidem fol. 319. 320. on *Matth.* 22. 14. It is affirmed by some, that there is a universall election, against which we urge this plaine place; *Many are called, but few chosen*; which place sheweth, that although the externall meanes of salvation be offered to many, yet not all of them, but some onely are elected and chosen unto life.

Huberus hereunto answers, that there is, first, a generall election, which is of all who are called to the Kingdome of God, and outwardly professe obedience; and secondly, there is a speciall election, which is of those who obey their calling, and indeed persevere and continue in the faith unto the end; his meaning is, that few are elected, not in respect of any election and separation made in the counsell and decree of God, but because some amongst many persevere to the end.

First, there can be no such generall election, for what choice is there when all indifferently are received? An election therefore implyeth a receiving of some, and a refusing of others: all therefore cannot be elected: Secondly, this were to confound vocation and election, and to contradict Christ, many are called but not many are chosen: to say therefore that all or many are chosen, when Christ saith, that but some, yea few onely are chosen, were to contradict his words: Thirdly, if the speciall election depend upon mans perseverance and continuance, and not this, rather upon that (that if some are said to be elected, because they persevere, and not rather to persevere because they are elected) then are men the cause of their own election, and they chuse God first: but this is contrary to the Scriptures, *Mat.* 20. 15. & *1 Cor.* 4. 7. & *1 John* 4. 20. the election therefore, of none dependeth upon their owne will, but upon the good will and pleasure of God, &c.

And

And printed book, fol. 129. written copy, fol. 49. 50. this is rased out :

Quest. 2. Whose finnes doth Christ cure ?

Ans. The finnes of all men who are elected: for if any of them sinne, Christ will mediate for them; 1 *Iohn* 2. 1, 2. because he dyed for their finnes and sakes, 2 *Cor.* 5. 17. (here note that in the two following Questions which are let stand, the word *Elect* is foure times obliterated.) Ans. It appeares that Christ purgeth the elect from all sin, because he doth nothing imperfectly; fruits of holinesse are to be added, but *non Agent*, they are not Agents; Christ onely working both the will and the deed, *Phil.* 2. 12. &c.

26. Passages against Equivocation and Popish Writers, expunged.

IN Doctor Clarkes tenth Sermon, page 396. the Licenser hath deleted these lines, the Authors copelusion of his Sermon: *Man strives to give God gifts, many a man, especially the man of sinne: not the Pope onely, but of the Popes many; many an one labours too be liberall, builds Abbies, Churches, Hospitals, sicut delictum, ita donum, gives bountifully, profusely to satisfie for sinne; Quis ista? Who hath required these things at their hands? give God what God asks: He askes not thy goods, not thy lands, but thy heart; he cares not for sacrifice; the Psalmist sayes, not thousands of Rammes, not ten thousand Rivers of Oyle; 'tis the sacrifice of prayer; the spirituall sacrifice of prayer that pleaseth him; Hosea bids offer him the Calves of our lips, that is, prayer and thanksgiving, and yet he cares not for them neither, unlesse the fire that must make them a burnt-offering be kindled from the heart.*

To end this, 'tis a marvaile if the false equivocating Papist takes no hold of this Text, to patronize his perjury; for what is the meaning of his mentall reservation, but *da mihi cor*, onely to reserve his heart unto God; be it never so false, he sweares 'tis but *juravi lingua*, he hath sinned but with his tongue; but *lapsus lingua*, his heart assented not unto the lye; God craves the heart here, not the tongue; God has his heart, 'tis well: but I feare he equivocates here too, meanes his Lord God the Pope; else cozening the Magistrate who executes Gods judgement, and sits upon Gods Throne, and gives him Gods Oath, he but cozens God too; Saint Peter tels him that his Lord Gods predecessors, *Acts* 5. 4. *non hominibus sed Deo*, he hath not lyed unto men, but unto God, and so consequently hath given his heart not unto God, but unto the Devil, &c.

27. Passages expunged against labouring to encrease Faith.

IN Master Wards Comentary on Matthew, written copy, page 475. this clause is deleted.

Quest. 3. We should labour for faith and encrease thereof; faith is our scale and spirituall unction, whereby we are assured of pardon, reconciliation, adoption, justification (and after death) of glorification, 1 *cor.* 1. 21. Now a weak faith cannot assure us of these; wherefore if we desire to be certaine of them, we must labour to grow up and encrease in faith. The next words after Quest. 3. who are blame-worthy in this particular? Ans. two sorts of people; namely, first, those who neglect faith, and secondly, the Papists, with other large sentences to this effect are obliterated.

28. Passages deleted against popish Fasting.

IN Master Wards Comentary on Matthew, written copy, page 289. this clause was obliterated.

Let us avoyd all popish errors: Thirdly, they promise also, who bind themselves by a vow, not to eat flesh upon some certaine dayes, and upon such dayes have no other care then to abstain from flesh onely.

29. Passages

29. Passages purged out against carnall and unchristian Feares and Popish Contrition.

IN Master *Wards* Comentary on Matthew, page 203. in the written copy, the Licen-
ser hath expunged this discourse: What must we not feare? The things in generall
which the child of God should not feare are many; but the principle are these three;
viz. First, he must not feare great dangers, yea the losse of his life: Secondly, he must
not feare the losse of his riches, wealth or profit: Thirdly, he must not feare the favour
of men, or the losse of the favour of men, *Isa.* 5. 7. *Ier.* 8. 17. How may we be se-
cure in dangers and evill if we must not feare them? First, if we desire to be secure
from evils, then negatively we must not rashly runne into any; either first, by an in-
sensibility of danger, as *Ephes.* 5. 14. when men sleep in sinne, and are altogether in-
sensible of the danger they are in by reason of their sinnes; or secondly, by presumpti-
on, when a man makes a covenant with death, and is at an agreement with hell, *Isa.*
28. 14. *Rom.* 11. 20. or thirdly, by carnall security, when men think that though they
sinne, yet they shall be safe and saved, as *Rom.* 6. 1. 15. *Prov.* 20. 14. Secondly, the par-
ticular and affirmative meanes to be freed from all evils are these; namely, first, faith
and an internall and spirituall covenant with God; for unto such as beleve in God,
and have made a covenant with him, many gracious promises are made in the Word,
of help and succour; and secondly, piety and a holy life, *Isa.* 44. 2. & 51. 7. and third-
ly, Hope fixed and built upon the promises of the Word, *Iosh.* 1. 5. & *Heb.* 13. 5. and
fourthly, a remembrance of the Lords assistance and succour, either towards our selves
in former times, or towards some other, as *Deut.* 7. 18. and fifthly, prayer unto God
for help and ayd, as *Jacob* did; *Gen.* 32. 9. &c. & *Dan.* 6. 10. and the Apostles *Acts* 4.
14. &c. Wherefore if we desire to be preserved from all danger and evill, we must en-
ter into a new covenant with the Lord our God, and beleve in him: we must labour
that our lives may be holy, pure and immaculate, and then hope confidently upon the
promises which God hath made to such; we must remember the many examples we
have of Gods gracious assistance towards many in his Word: And lastly, we must pray
that if we be free from corporall evils, the Lord would be pleased still to preserve us,
and if any evill lye upon us, that he would deliver us.

So on Matthew 25. 25. page 331. this clause is purged out: The Papists say that there
is a contrition which ariseth simply and onely from the feare of punishment, which is
good; and we say, that the feare of punishment at first is profitable, but after the love
of God is entred into the soule, all feare of hell and damnation, which breedeth terrors
and affrights of conscience is expelled by love; this we confirme from this place thus,
The slothfull servant saith to his Master, I knew that thou wast an hard man, &c. and
therefore I was afraid: Now this servant was not commended for this feare, but bla-
med and reprov'd, and cast into utter darknesse; for his Master saith, thou evill and
slothfull servant: and *Origen* hereof writeth well, *non est bonus huiusmodi timor, &c.*
Neither is the feare good, neither doth it deliver from outward darknesse, *Origen tract.*
33. in *Matth.* *Bellarmino* replieth hereunto that to feare God cannot be evill; but they
who have this servile feare, doe notwithstanding feare God: Ergo. *Bellar. de pœnit. lib.*
2. cap. 28. First, the devill feares God and trembles, *James* 2. 12. and yet the Jesuit
would blash to say, that there is any good feare in Devils; Secondly, it is false that
such as those feare God for they feare not him but hell; and if there were no hell they
would not feare him at all.

30. Passages deleted against Free-will, Resisting grace, &c.

IN Doctor *Featlyes* *Clavis Mystica*. page 604. Doctor *Bray* deleted these clauses:
Postremum genus eorum est, qui oves Christi pascunt, sed cibo insalubri, quo magis
inficiuntur quam rescuntur Christi oves agnique; eorum dico, qui floribus & fructi-
bus Paradisi aut noxias herbas admiscunt, aut flores Adonidis aspergunt; cujusmodi
sunt ista dogmata, Vires liberi arbitrij ab Adami lapsu ad bonum spirituale fractas &
debi-

debilitatas, non penitus prostigatas & amissas, &c. And page 894. I told you before, that this was a wet step, and many have here slept; for some odiously object, that unlesse we will grant universall grace, and a power in the will of man to resist and frustrate the work of the Spirit in our conversion, and that unlesse these Jewes had sufficient grace offered them to repent them of their finnes and thereby prevent this their finall overthrow, the prediction of our Saviour was to no end and purpose; nay, that his teares over *Ierusalem* might seem like to those which *Julius Caesar* shed for *Pompey's* death, who yet himselfe procured it, or might have hindred it if he would; did not Christ (say they) foresee and decree the destruction of *Ierusalem*? how then doth he bemoane it with teares? &c.

Master *Ward* part 2. page 4. *Quest.* 2. Why doe so few (if those many who are called unto the profession of Christ) persevere unto the end? *Answ.* Because the gift of perseverance is great, and but given to a few; I say great, because it is greater then the gift of free-will (*August. Corrupt & grat.* 13.) for first, this was given unto *Adam* at the first, but not that *Adam* in his framing being endued with free-will, which he lost by his fall, but not with perseverance, for then he could not have fallen. Here there is indeed pride in Religion, when God must be content either to accept of will-worship, and a free-will offering, or else he shall have nothing, &c.

31. A Clause expunged against Flagellant Fryars.

IN Doctor *Clarks* Sermons, page 148. After these words, *both sacrifice and Priest,* this is expunged, *To this end, I think the Fryars Flagellant never read this Text, why whip they else themselves, but to heale themselves by their owne blood; happily they will not be beholding unto Christ, they will be healed by stripes, but not by his. Thus much for the Phisician, &c.*

32. That God is not the Author of sinne, deleted.

IN Doctor *Clarks* Sermons, page 132. after these words, *Gods owne works,* the Licen-
ser hath expunged these lines following; *Melanchron* sayes, (*Papists*, say he sayes it) and it is sinne, then God must cry *peccavi* too; for that they insurre that we make God author of sinne; stranga they should study school-divinity so much, as not be able to distinguish between the Action, and the privity of the Action, between *Actus* and *defectus*, the Act and deformity: I presume they will not learne of us, we Calvinists are asses, they have all the learning; let *Suarez* teach them, a Jesuit, that God doth *operari Actum peccati*, but not *malitiam*; the Act of *Judas* his delivery of Christ, that was of God; but the wickednesse of his heart in delivering him, that was of Satan and himselfe: God is Author *operis*, but not *sceleris*; *Zuinglius*, distinction, the operation, Gods; the aberration ours.

33. Clauses deleted and altered against Universall grace, Universall Redemption and Election, and resisting Grace.

IN Doctor *Clarks* second Sermon of the Nativity, page 6. after halfe of one world, instead of this parenthesis (for the Elect are few compared with the Reprobate) the Licenser hath put in the parenthesis (nay not halfe, for how small an handfull is man compared with other creatures?) &c.

Ibidem page 17. after *to men onely*, instead of these words, *but not all*, the Licenser hath altered the Authors mind, and made him to say, *to men onely, and to all*; then should follow this excellent passage which the Licenser hath expunged: *Pelagius* the old Heretick, and all that are Minions to *Pelagius*, hold Christ was both *natus & datus* both borne, slaine and suffered for all men, even for the reprobate, a reprobate, heresie; *Paul's* place seems pat for them, 1 Tim. 4. 10. Gods said to be the Saviour of all men, not of beleevers onely: but all orthodox expositors confesse a Saviour there, to meane but a preserver: No, it is Christ there that is called so, but Gods preserving providence

looks indifferently on all: And Saint Ambrose expounds it of Gods gracious goodnesse not of his saving health: God is good to all his creatures: will Grand a petty Papist be so senselesse as to say, Christ is the Saviour of the bruit creatures? yet David saith in the Psalmes, that the Lord saveth both man and beast; first, preserveth them; but the main pillar of this Papist paradox is another place of Pauls, who wil have *Pantus Anthopus* All men to be saved, 1 Tim. 2. That's their Aechibilleum, they say unan swerable; but theres no poynt of popery more curiously and soundly answered then that; yet to mans comfort, and Gods glory: We say too in some sense, that the Nobis here meaxes omnibus, the child was borne for all men: but then we meane all men, as the schoole it selfe distinguisheth, not singulos generum, but genera singulorum, not every severall man, but some of every sort, &c.

Ibidem page 17. in stead of, to some of all Nations, the Licenser sayes, ad minimum to men of all Nations, &c.

Ibidem page 69. l. 1. after these words, but to men of grace, the Licenser hath blotted out as followeth: Nor let the Lutheran hold universall grace, this phrase confounds him too: As fides is not omnium, all men have not faith, so all men have not peace, God sendeth it onely unto men, bonæ voluntatis, such as he specially hath called out in Christ; peace is confirmed to faith; many other graces are conferred on all promiscuously, but peace, Gods pardon is but sent to some; they are beleivers: Gods reconciliation is their appropriation, whom God hath vouchsafed to be men of his good will. This subject I have handled sometime heretofore; to conclude it and my Text. God doth not prostitute his peace to all, as the Harlot doth her body, who (as the Prophet speaks) openeth her foot to every stranger: Peace is a saving grace, and therefore sent onely to them that shall be saved; salvation is proper to the elect alone, and God elected none but whom he loved; Gods love and his good will I cannot sever them, for himselfe complex them, Matth. 3. This is my beloved Sonne in whom I am well pleased, &c.

Ibid. page 91. l. 6. after these words, no man damned, the Licenser hath expunged these following words: Not all, that is, every; it is not singulis, but omnibus, not every severall person, but all sorts of men, the terme so taken in many other Texts; too tedious to cite: grace hath decreed salvation to all men, that is, as Divines doe commonly distinguish, not singulis generum, but generibus singulorum, not to all persons, but to all kinds; the terme is to be taken, not individually, but generally; these words, but to all men, the Licenser added, &c.

In Master Wards Comentary on Matthew, chap. 20. v. 11. They murmured against the good man of the house: this sentence is expunged.

Quest. To whom may these words be fitly applied, or who are like to these murderers?

Ans. It may aptly be applyed to those who accuse the election and reprobation of God, of injustice, because he gives unequall rewards to equall deservers: they argue thus; he who gives *equalibus inæqualia*, unequall rewards to equall deservers, is unjust; but if all men be equall and alike in Adam, and yet of them God chooseth some, and refuseth others, he thereby giveth unequall rewards to equall deservers; and therefore in so doing is unjust: But the Major proposition here is true onely of him who gives unequall rewards to equall deservers of debt, or contrary to his bargain; and therefore it is most false of God, who gives nothing either of debt or against his covenant; we must not say that God is unjust; because he gives freely unto some, riches, honour, power, health, learning, wisdom, and the like, and not unto others, or because he pitieth some and passeth by others, seeing that he is debter to none: yea from this Parable it may evidently be proved, that although the Lord elect some unto life, and not others, yet he is injurious unto none: for first, he is not bound to elect any, and secondly, unto those whom he doth elect, he doth more then he needeth, or, is bound to doe; and thirdly, because he gives election and life eternall to whom he will; and fourthly, because he is the absolute Lord over all creatures, and therefore he may dispose of men as he pleaseth; and fifthly, because those who jarre at the Lords bounty and mercy, shew themselves to be envious, and are indeed injurious both against God and their neighbours, *Parvus f. fol. 797. a. &c.*

Ibidem

Ibidem on Matth. 25. 24. page 331. *To him that hath shall be given*: this clause is purged out; Some object these words to prove, that God will give greater grace unto him, or bestow greater upon him who hath well used the light of nature. *Answ.* By these Talents, are here understood the gifts of God, and especially the knowledge of God by the Gospell; which knowledge he is said to hide, who doth detain the truth in unrighteousnesse, and doth keep in the knowne truth: that Talent therefore cannot be that sufficient grace which they say doth happen to Infidels and unregenerate persons, but that grace which God doth bestow upon his domesticall servants: neither by him that hath, is understood a man in his meere naturals, or some heathen man furnished with sufficient grace, but a man furnished with the knowledge of the Gospell, which is given to one for that end that by edifying his Neighbour he might spread that knowledge so farre abroad, and like mony put out to use, it might be increased with many additions.

And Ibidem on Matth. 23. 37. *O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how gladly would I! &c.*

Bellarmino objects this place to prove, that God gives to every man sufficient grace to be saved if he will; arguing thus; how often (saith our Saviour) would I have gathered thy children together, but ye would not? how would God gather the children of *Jerusalem*? yea so would doe it, that he complaines of them who would not, if those whom he knew could not will it, he did not so help that they could will it, and therefore they wanted not sufficient grace: *A.* Our Saviour in this place speaks of all the Jews who oppose themselves against him and his Prophets, and there were some amongst them who were not free from blasphemy against the holy Ghost, as Christ himselfe witnesseth, *Matth. 12. 31. which shall never be forgotten*: Now none will say that such sinners as those were endued with sufficient grace, except those onely who with *Pelagius* call grace nature; and I will not charge *Bellarmino* with this, because (*Bel. de Grat. primi hom. cap. 6.*) distinguishes thus between grace and nature, *Peccatis gravissimis amittitur donum gratia supernaturalis; sed non corrumpitur donum aliquod naturale: i. e.* By hainous offences and crimes, a man may lose the gift of supernaturall grace, but not any naturall endowment or gift; now if there be any sinne or state of sinne which doth exclude grace, then there were many in *Jerusalem* who had not sufficient grace: But concerning the true meaning of this verse, I shall speak more by and by.

Obj. 2. This place is further objected to prove, that a man may resist his effectuall calling if he will; *Hemingsius* (*de Grat. universali* page 117.) argues to this end thus; Our Saviour saith, *O Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children, &c. and thou wouldst not?* wherefore if they would, they might have been saved; it is therefore in mans power to resist his vocation.

Answ. First, if men might enjoy Heaven if they would, and wittingly and willingly runne unto Hell, they are neither worthy of mercy from God, nor pittie from men: But secondly, it is true, that it is not for any defect or want of grace on Gods behalfe, that many being called beleve not, but the defect is in themselves; there is no defect properly in God, for his calling is sufficient unto all; but that it is effectuall to some and not to others, commeth of their owne corruption and evilnesse of nature, which God taketh away and healeth in whom he pleases, and suffereth the rest to remaine in their hardnesse of heart: Thirdly, there is a sufficient calling for all, when God offereth the externall meanes of salvation, whereby all might come thereunto if they had grace; Now this calling may be resisted by men whom God justly leaveth unto themselves: There is alio an effectuall calling, when as God worketh inwardly by the efficacy of his spirit, drawing his elect, and of unwilling, maketh them willing to obey their calling: and thus onely the elect are called, and this calling cannot be resisted, as appears by these words of our Saviours, *Many are called; namely, sufficiently on Gods behalfe; but few are chosen*; that is, effectually called, as the elect onely are: Now the first of these callings was offered to *Jerusalem*: Fourthly, that Gods effectuall and gracious calling of election cannot be resisted, is cleer from Scripture; *No man* (saith the Apostle) *hath resisted Gods will*: but as the Psalmist saith, *Whatsoever pleased him, that*

did he in heaven and earth: whom it pleased God therefore to save and call by his grace they shall be saved and called, &c.

In Doctor Jones his Comentary on the Hebrewes, this clause is rased out, in the copy, page 283. But whose finnes did Christ remit in his offering? The finnes of many, not of all; Some deliver this peremptory doctrine, that he dyed as well for *Caine* as *Abel*, for *Saul* as *David*, for *Judas* as *Peter*: Indeed the distinction of the School-men is not wholly to be rejected, that Christ dyed, *quoad efficaciam*, only for the elect, *quoad sufficientiam*, for all; yet properly to speak, he dyed properly for the finnes of the elect, for the Scripture is evident, that the benefit of Christs death reacheth to the faithfull alone; *to as many as beleevd in him, he gave this power to be called the finnes of God*; that whosoever beleeveth in him should not perish; *the cup of the new Testament, shed for many; I pray for them, I pray not for the world*; and doe you think that he would shed his blood for the wicked of the world? If we will have any comfort by the passion of Christ let us examine our selves whether we have any fruit of it or not; canst thou say with *Job*, I know that my Redeemer liveth; with *Paul*, I live, yet not I, but Christ in me? then Christ was offered for thy finnes, then all thy finnes were nailed to his crosse, and not one of them shall be laid to thy charge at the day of judgement. This may be a singular comfort to Gods chosen children: in many things we sinne all, *The just man falleth seven times a day*; but here is our comfort, Christ hath taken away our finnes; *Caine cryed out, my sinne is greater then I can beare*; we need not take up that lamentable cry, for Christ hath taken away our finnes: *O death where is thy sting? thanks be to God that giveth us victory through Jesus Christ, &c.*

Ibidem page 269. Many are called by the Word preached, but are not called by the Spirit, &c.

34. Passages deleted concerning hearing Gods word.

In Master Wards Comentary on Matthew, written copy, page 235. this is expurged: The hearing of the Word is necessary unto the knowledge of God: It may here be objected; we can learne this knowledge *nostro Marte*, by our owne reading and study, and comparing one thing with another, and therefore the preaching of the Word is not necessary. *Answ.* First, certainly by those meanes men may learne the principles of Religion, and the propositions of faith and obedience: Secondly, but the knowledge of God and Christ is a greater thing, yea a spirituall thing, which is onely revealed from Heaven, *Matth. 16. 17.* which revelation Christ promises in the ministry of the Word, *2 Cor. 3. 6.* Thirdly, they that know not the Gospell, are ignorant of the power, vertue and wisdom of God: and therefore the greatest Schollers in the Universities, and the wisest in the Court, or Temples, or Innes of Court, should heare willingly (without contempt, derision and scorn) the Sermons of the meanest Schollers or gifted Ministers (that are called by God to the work of the Ministry, as *Aaron* was) because in the preaching of the Word, God hath promised to make knowne his power, &c.

Ibidem written copy, fol. 227. this is likewise crossed out.

Quest. What is required here of us?

Answ. First, we must take heed of all evill hearing, that is, restraine and keep our eares from wicked counsels, perswasions, allurements and provocations unto sinne, *Prov. 1. 10. Dent. 13. 1. &c.* *Xenocrates Amphoridus* did rather choose to perswade children, then men, because the manners of the men are so corrupted, that he had no hope to perswade or prevaile with them (*Plutarch de Inst. liber.*) but the children being free from evill habits, were more easily perswaded and drawne to embrace morall precepts; so the way for the eare to receive and enterraine good words, yea Gods good Word, is to preserve, keep and stop it from hearing all evill words whatsoever, as much as in us lyeth: Secondly, we must accustome our selves to heare that which is good, *Prov. 4. 20.*

Quest. How may we know whether Christ hath opened our eares and cured the deafnesse of our soules or not?

Answ.

Ans. First, some heare amisse; as for example: First, some dislike and distaste Sermons, either because they are so common and ordinary, or because they are sometimes something long: Secondly, some love not preaching, neither desire it, and therefore heare it with a great deale of tediousnesse and wearinesse: Thirdly, some desire it amisse, or affect it for some evill end, or base or by respect: Fourthly, some carp at the word they heare: Fifthly, some deride the word they heare: Sixthly, some heare only for some table-talk: Seventhly, some heare that they may learne by some wrested argument or other to maintaine or defend their finnes: Eighthly, some heare that they may be delighted, that is, they desire rhetoricke, wit, eloquence, strong lines, neat, acute, polished phrases, that thereby their itching eares might be tickled, and delighted, *Ezek. 33. 32.* but *non delectent verba sed profit, Senec.* words should profit rather then please, Secondly, good hearing hath many properties whereby it may be known; as namely, First, an earnest desire to heare, as *Act. 13. 42.* like one who having heere done desires the sense of hearing; Secondly, a renewed understanding when we heare, as *Mary* did, who pondered in her mind that which shee heard: and this understanding of what we heare is so necessary, that *Chrysostome* tels us, that the Deacon prayed for the *Catechumanoi*, that they might understand what they heard: Thirdly, a trembling and fearfull heart, because we have offended our God, and so long neglected to serve him, and thereby have caused him to separate himselfe from us: Fourthly, joy and delight in the Word, *Act. 8. 38, 39. & 13. 48.* Fifthly, when the Word penetrates deep into the heart, making therein deep furrowes: Sixthly, when we lay up what we hear as a treasure, hoarding it up against the time of need, *Math. 13. 52.* never departing from the Word without some profit thereby: and Seventhly, meditating continually upon the Word of God, *Psal. 119. 2. 3.* Certainly if these things be in us in truth, we may then assure our selves, that Christ hath begun to cure the deafnesse of our soules.

35. Passages purged out against Gods *Hardning and Obduration of men.*

These clauses are expunged in Master *Ward's* Comentary on Matthew 11. ver. 25. 26. *Quest. 2.* Whom doth the Lord thus blind or harden? *Ans.* First, he blinded or hardened *Pharaoh*, *Exod. 7.* and why? first, because he persecuted and oppressed the godly, *Exod. 5.* and Secondly, because he condemned and despised the Lord and his Message, *Exod. 5. 2.* and Thirdly, because he drove away and banisht *Moses* the Messenger of the Lord from him, *Exod. 10. 28.* And secondly, he hardened and blinded those who sought salvation by the Law, and not by faith in Christ, *Rom. 9. 32.* And thirdly, those who defile themselves by wallowing in the filthy puddle of iniquity, *Isa. 59. 7. 9. Rom. 1. 24. 25.* And fourthly, those who are drowned in sleep and overwhelmed in security, *Rom. 11. 8.* And fifthly, those vvho still retaine the vaille over their hearts, and abide in vvillfull and affected ignorance, *2 cor. 3. 14.* And therefore if vve desire that the Lord should discover the hidden mysteries of the Gospell unto us, and not hide them from us, then we must take heed of these things; to wit, First, vve must take heed of persecuting or oppressing of the children of God: and Secondly, of contemning or despising either God or his Word: and Thirdly, of banishing or putting away from us his Ministers and Messengers: and Fourthly, of seeking salvation by vvorks: and Fifthly, of sinne, security, presumption and ignorance, &c.

Ibidem vvritten copy page 214. The Lord is active in reprobates two manner of vvayes; namely first, *Prædestinando*, by derermining. and appointing of them unto a just death; but this is remote from our present purpose: Secondly, *Obdurando* &c. And a little after before *Quest. 6.* This last is most proper to our present purpose and institution, for if it be demanded, How doth the Lord blind the mind, or harden the heart? I answer, by not giving a blessing unto his Word, or not co-operating therewith, or not enabling men to apprehend and conceive or understand the Gospell and the truths therein contained.

36. Passages blotted out against *Holy-dayes dedicated to Saints.*

IN Master *Wards* Comentary on Matthew, written copy page 358. this sentence is expunged: The Papists hold, that Holy-dayes may be dedicated unto Saints, for their honour and worship; as Christ promised this charitable work of *Mary Magdalen* wrought upon him should be recorded and remembred, whereby (say they) we learne; that the good works of Saints may be recorded to the Honour of Saints in the Church, whereof arise their commemorations and Holy-dayes, Rhemist. annot. Matth. 25. sect. 1.

First, the good works of Saints may be remembred to the honour of God, without their Holy-dayes and commemorations; Christ instituted no holy-day of *Mary Magdalen*, neither commanded any image of her fact to be made, but onely a memory of her in the preaching of the Gospell: Secondly, we grant that christian solemnities may be kept as things indifferent, which the Church may retaine or abrogate, as it shall seem best for edification, if they be not observed of necessity as a part of Gods worship, neither consecrated to the honour of Saints, seeing all divine worship is wholly to be reserved to God, and not to be given to any other. For times and seasons, the Scripture saith, the Lord hath put them only in his owne power, therefore he only is to have the honour of them. Thirdly, what honour is due unto Saints, Saint *Augustine* sheweth; *Colimus Martyres eo cultu dilectionis, & societatis, quo in hac vita coluntur sancti homines Dei*, we doe honour Martyrs with the service of love, and fellowship as the holy men are honoured in this life; but it is not lawfull to consecrate dayes and times to holy men living; therefore neither to Saints departed, for one and the same honour is due to them both. &c.

37. Clauses obliterated, That we are Justified onely by Faith in Christ, not by workes: That Justification may be lost, and that workes merit not.

IN Doctor *Clarks* Sermons, page 282. l. 41. after that in Christ, should be onely, that in Christ onely, (we are justified) but onely is blotted out, &c.

Ibid. page 419. l. 29. after verse 8. should follow this excellent passage, which was expunged by the Licenser: Surely faith justifieth; faith ONLY; workes have no doing in the workes, in justification: Rome cannot prove it, non si se ruperit, if shee disputes till Dooms-day: but, that sola fides is not solitaria; faith never is alone. true saving faith, love is fast linkt unto her, but in that act of justification shee intermeddles not, lets faith work it alone: Love is concomitant, not co-operant; faine would Rome wreck, (at least) but this from us, that workes doe save; if not justifie, yet save; needs will shee have them necessary to salvation, we yeeld them not that neither; some Lutherans doe, but with that distinction, as we may yeeld it too, necessitate presentiae, not efficiencie, workes are where salvation is, but they are not cause of salvation; they are in salvando, but have not vim salvandi, all that are saved must have them, but not any are saved by them, &c.

Ibid. page 419. l. 3. after our conversation, should follow these words, as we doe out of the act of our Justification, &c. (viz. exclude workes.)

Ibid. page 443. l. 10. after these words, a farre off, this clause is deleted: Justification by workes; Saint James is flat for that; ex operibus justificatur homo: As for the distinction of declarative, it was but some Calvinist that invented it, &c.

Ibidem page 570. l. 15. these lines are expunged: The other part of the spirit's exposition of the blessednesse of the dead, is the reward of their faith, for that is meant by these words, and their workes follow them: Workes (as often elsewhere) put by figure for reward, the reward of our faith is the salvation of our soules; not that faith merits reward, for faith too is a work, and workes merit not; Christ sayes, the Kingdome of Heaven

Heaven is a gift, Luke 12. 31. and we have it not *ex facto*, but *ex pacto*, not of doing bought, but of the Covenant; God hath promised it on his gracious promise, faith only is enabled to lay hold; and because it is the nature of faith to be operative to bring forth fruits, which are good works, it pleased the holy Ghost in his place, and many other to use the phrase here; It is, &c.

In Doctor Featlies *Clavis Mystica*, these clauses and distinctions were deleted: page 444. In this argument this grave and learned Divine expatiated through his whole discourse: of which I may say as Saint Peter doth of Saint Paule's Epistles; our beloved brother, according to the wisdom given unto him, thus spake of these things (in divers passages of his Sermon) in which some things are heard to be understood, which that the unlearned and unstable might not wrest, as they doe the sayings of the most orthodox Divines: I hold it requisite partly out of the writings of this most learned speaker, partly out of his owne words in his private conference with me, thus to illustrate his meaning and to cleer the truth; good works may be considered.

First, in regard of the person, who is either, first, in state of grace; secondly, or out of it.

Secondly, in regard of the cause: First, principall, the Spirit of God.

Secondly, instrumentall, the faculties of the soule and organs of the body.

Thirdly, in regard of their adjunct: First, either as they are considered alone by themselves.

Secondly, or together with the merits and intercession of Christ.

Secondly when we speak of the appeasing of Gods wrath, God may be considered either, first, as a Judge; secondly as a Father.

Thirdly, wrath may be appeased two manner of wayes: First negatively, by subtracting the fuel thereof.

Secondly positively, by extinguishing, as it were, the flame thereof, with something else cast upon it.

According to these distinctions, the truth in this point may be delivered in these succeeding insertions.

First, no work done by any person out of the state of grace, produceth any of the effects above mentioned.

Secondly, works done by men in state of grace, as they proceed from themselves, are not without some staine, nor are they simply approved of God, but in some respect onely.

Thirdly, the good works wrought through the help of grace, if they be considered by themselves, without relation to Christs merits and intercession which covereth their imperfection, and giveth them efficacy and a prevailing power with God, produce none of the above named effects.

Fourthly, works done by men in grace, as they proceed from Gods Spirit, and are improved by the merits and intercession of Christ, are the meanes and secondary causes of procuring unto us temporall and spirituall blessings.

Fifthly, Gods wrath, as he is an angry Judge, can be appeased by nothing but by the blood of Christ and his infinite sacrifice, which alone satisfieth his justice.

Sixthly, the anger of God, as he is a Father, and sometimes severely chasteneth his children for their unthankfulness and other sinnes, may be so farre appeased by them, that he will take his scourge from them, and bestow new favours upon them; this anger may be appeased both privately, by breaking off their sinnes, and thereby taking away the cause of his displeasure; and also positively, by fasting, prayer and Almes-deeds; to conclude, as the flye in *Martial*, upon which there fell a drop of Amber and inclosed it, grew to be precious, and was sold at a high rate, not for the flyes sake, but for the Ambers; so the good works of Gods children, which of themselves (especially so farre as they proceed from them) are of little worth, yet considered, *quatineta sanguine Christi*, as Beza speaketh, as dyed with Christs blood, and covered all over and inclosed in the Amber of his merits, become precious in the eyes of God, and are in a faire sense and construction, both *placatoria* and *impretatoria*.

In Master *Wards* Comentary upon Matthew, written copy page 259. this passage is expunged: Matth. 13. 20. 21. *The stony ground, &c.*

Obj. Bellarmine (de justif. lib. 3. cap. 14.) produceth these two verses to prove, that faith and the grace of justification may be lost; arguing thus; these receive the word with joy, but they have no root; yea for a while beleve, but in the time of temptation fall away; and therefore faith may be lost; for they had faith because they beleved, they beleved the Word of God, and yet fell away.

Ans. The Text expounds it selfe, they had no root, and they beleved but for a while, therefore they had no true faith, for true faith is not without root as appears by Saint Paul's prayer for the Ephesians, 3. 17. *I pray that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith, that being rooted and grounded in faith, &c.* and therefore true faith hath a root.

Ibidem on Matth 5. 7. written copy page 60. 69. this sentence is dashed out.

Qu. Why may not we ascribe some merit unto our works?

Ans. Because that were to derogate from God and his good will, who so graciously invites us to come and buy grace of him without money or money worth, Isa. 55. 1. and therefore we must not expect nor exact the reward of glory as a due debt unto us from God for our works, as Saint *Elzearius* did (Stapler. assist. fol. 141. initio) who upon a certaine day refusing to accept of a Scarlet robe, and an ounce of gold which were offered unto him when he entred into his chamber, powred forth this pharisaicall prayer unto God: *Tu mihi Domine Deus in paradiso debes centum aureuncias & duos pannos coxineos*: O Lord remember how thou art indebted unto me (when I come into Heaven) two Scarlet robes, and one hundred ounces of gold: Thus Papists proudly arrogate much unto themselves, and derogate greatly from God both in their prayers and opinions; but let the opinion of the Protestants be, that blessednesse is derived unto them from the meere mercy and free favour of God, and let their prayers be, that the Lord would be graciously pleased to count them worthy of this blessednesse (2 Thes. 1. 11.) and that they may find mercy of the Lord at the last day, 2 Tim. 1. 18.

Obj. Will not this hinder and discourage men from working, to remember that all their works merit nothing at Gods hands at all?

Ans. It is so farre from hindring that it furthers, so farre from discouraging, that it encourages; so farre from lessening that it encreases; and so farre from extinguishing that it enflames our desires and endeavours to be rich in good works, &c.

Ibidem on Matth. 5. 18. page 96. this is castrated: *Your good works*: The Papists produce this place to prove the works of the righteous to be perfect, and Bellarmine (lib. 4. de justif. cap. 5.) argues thus; The Scripture calleth the works of the righteous absolutely good works, as in this verse (*that they seeing your good works*:). But if all the good works of the righteous be mixed with mortall sinne, then they are rather to be called evill then good works: This he proves from another (viz. ex *Arcopagita quarto de divinis nominibus, Quia malum dicitur opus absolute nisi integre sic bonum*: because except a work be perfectly good, it is absolutely called evill: First, this phrase *works are absolutely called good*, is Amphibola and doubtfull, sometimes signifying the works which are good, simple; and sometimes those which are good in part. Secondly, works are called good, either first, indefinitely, as they are commanded in and by the law; or secondly peculiarly, as they are performed by some singular persons; as it is one thing to define vertue in generall, and another the vertue of *Alcibiades* or *Socrates*; as it is one thing to commend learning in generall, another the learning of *Plato* or *Cicero*; so it is one thing to speak of good works in generall, another of the good works of *Peter*, *John* or *Paul*.

Thirdly, these things premised, we grant, that works are absolutely called good taken indefinitely and as they are commanded; yea this verse proves it, which speaks not of works done by any particular person, but of those which men ought to doe; there is none of sound judgement can deny or doubt, but that we are so debtors unto the Law, that we ought not onely to begin, but also to perfect that which the Law prescribes as perfectly good, and in all the parts thereof absolute; but he were of unsound judgement

judgement that hence would conclude, because it is our duty to doe it, therefore we doe it, for Saint Paul confesseth, that he doth not onely the good which he ought, but which he would doe: Thus I say, if we consider the works as they are enjoined, it is true that they may be called absolutely good; but if we understand particularly the works of this or that man, then we deny that ever the Scripture calls them absolutely good, neither doth the Cardinall prove this, because (as was said before) this place speaks not of what is done, but of what ought to be done, Chamier, *Tam.* 3. fol. 360. 1. 2. 3. *de Imperfect. Op.* lib. 11. cap. 23.

Fourthly, our work which we doe are called good in Scripture; *Non secundum perfectam justitiam, sed hanc qua humana fragilitati competit* (Hier. Dialog, 1. Contr. Pelag.) not according to perfect righteousness, but as it is agreeable to our humane frailty; or, they are good in part, though not perfectly. Becanus yet urgeth this place for the proove of this opinion of perfection of works; disputing thus: The Apostles are commanded so to shine before men, that they may see their good works, and glorifie their Father which is in Heaven: But how shall men see their good works, if they all be damnable? or how shall their heavenly Father be glorified, if all they doe be contaminated and defiled with sinne? *Answ.* We must distinguish between humane and divine judgement; men see mens works as they are outwardly, and can goe no further, they onely perceive what is obvious to their senses, and can neither see the heart, nor know whether that which is done be done according to all the circumstances that are required thereunto. Now true righteousness is proper unto the heart, and it is the circumstances that make the work more or lesse, good or bad: and therefore although men see the good works of the righteous, which outwardly they shew forth and glorifie God for them, yet it followes not hence, therefore those works are in Gods sight perfectly good, &c.

Ibidem fol. 185. this is crossed out: *The morall law was a bond of salvation unto Adam Rom. 2. 13. and of death, Gal. 3. 10. but is now abrogated by Christ, in regard of the conditions, we being now justified onely by faith.*

Ibidem on *Matth. 12. ver. 27.* written copy page 251. this discourse is obliterated: By thy words thou shalt be justified.

Quest. What is the matter or materiall cause of our justification?

Answ. First, some say that the onely act of mans heart in believing is the matter of it. Secondly, some say that partly faith and partly Christs obedience is the matter of our righteousness. Thirdly, some say that the works of the law done by man, are the matter of our righteousness. Now all these three opinions are sufficiently refuted by Master *Forbes* of *Justification*, cap. 22. page 77. to whom I referre the Reader. Fourthly, we say that onely Christ in his obedience, is the whole matter of our righteousness, and that nothing in Heaven or in earth, in man or without man, is the matter of mans righteousness before God, except onely Christ; this being amply handled and proved by *Forbes*, cap. 23. 24. and his book being in English and easie to be had, I referre the Reader thereunto, &c.

Ibidem written copy page 68. this is crossed out by the Licenser:

Thirdly, the Lord having converted and regenerated us, we are onely able to bring forth good works, for *non precedunt iustificandum, sed sequuntur iustificatum*, *Aug.* good works march not before as causes of our justification, but follow as fruits or signs of our sanctification, &c.

And page 336. *Answ.* 1. They (good works) are the way and meanes unto this Kingdom, but I doe not give or grant this and that; First, because that which is but onely a meanes, is not at all a sufficient cause: and Secondly, because if we should grant this then the Papists would have what they desired; for they say, that good works are necessary to salvation. *Non modo necessitate presentia, sed necessitate efficiencia*, *Bellarmin.* *de Justific.* lib. 4. cap. 1. The way which leads to London, is indeed a meanes of coming to London, but not the efficient cause, *Neque enim facit sed patitur, ut quis veniat Londinum*; for when a man comes thereunto, the way doth nothing but onely suffers, and therefore the way thereunto is more rightly called *causa sine qua non*, *Pareus* f. fol. 348. b. 81c.

In Doctor Jones his Comentary on the Hebrewes, page 58. these clauses are purged out : *By grace you are saved, not by works ; any kind of way, let us not part stakes with the Lord, and give halfe to our selves, and halfe to the Lord, as the Papists doe.*

Page 208. *Our best works are defiled with sinne, faith the copy ; so often defiled, faith the Licenser, &c.*

Page 247. *Our praying, preaching, hearing of Sermons, and best works are unprofitable to bring us to the Kingdome of Heaven ; they may be seales of our election, but no causes of our salvation.*

Page 253. *The old Covenant depended on working ; doe this and live ; the new requirerh nothing but faith, &c.*

Page 339. *Here we may behold what reckoning is to be made of the works of the unregenerate, though they seeme never so glorious to the eyes of the world : God sets not a straw by them, no more then he did by the sacrifices of the Pagans ; nor their works be not meritorious, because they proceed from an heart void of faith : yet they affirme them to be good works, and such as please God : truly they be as pleasing to him as the sacrifice of Caine was, they are no better then fine glistering sinnes ; they want faith, therefore they cannot please God ; nothing that we doe without faith hath any acceptance with God : It is said of the ancient Israelites, that the Word profited them not, because it was not mingled with faith, nor sacrifice ; in the time of the Law nothing was good unlesse there were salt in it, so no work is good if it be not seasoned with faith ; therefore let us entreat the Lord to give us a true faith in Christ, that so our spirituall sacrifices may be accepted of him.*

And page 410. though the blind Papists will not see it, but we affirme, that our best works are defiled with sinne ; our preaching, our praying, our giving of almes hearing of Sermons, yea martyrdome, which is the most glorious work of all, may have some contagion of sinne in it, our bearing of sicknesse may have some infirmities, *we may curse God in it, as Job's Wife perswaded him to doe : and if God should mark what is done amisse, who could stand ? But here is his goodnesse, he saw a lye in the work of Rahab, yet he commends it for a good work ; he seeth imperfections in all that we doe, yet he passeth them over, and because we be in Christ, he accepteth of that we doe ; as a child may faile in doing his fathers errand, he may faile in some circumstances ; yet because the substance of it is done, the father praiseth him ; so will our heavenly father us, well done thou good and faithfull servant ; therefore let this encourage us to well doing &c.* And page 101. *We are not to seek salvation by the observation of the Law, as Papists doe.*

38. A Passage expunged against the Churches Infallibility.

IN Master Ward's Comentary on Matthew page 194. this is deleted.

Object. The Doctrine of the Church is in all things infallible.

Ans. First, this was a personall promise, made onely to the Apostles, and so cannot be extended to all the Church, if we will speak according to the words properly, according to their immediate sense.

39. Passages deleted against the Impositions, Tyranny and Dissimulation of Kings (see Arbitrary power, &c. page 289.)

IN Doctor Clarke's Sermons, page 224. instead of *legall imposts*, the Licenser hath put, *peaceable imposts*.

Ibid page 225. instead of *Subjects are not Tributaries*, the Licenser hath altered it to, *good subjects need not to be Tributaries, &c.* And instead of *not that in Samuel*, he puts, *if not that in Samuel*.

Ibidem, after *jus Regis*, the Licenser hath blotted out these words ; *A plea abused to corrupt good Kings.* Ibidem, *Not Samuel's Toller*, is made, *If not Samuel's Toller.*

Ibidem

Ibidem page 336. l. 4. these words, *at all*, are added by the Licensers; and these that follow; *Or if you will, not lawfull in a compulsory way, but in a consultory: it wills due respect and discretion:* The Author wrote thus; *Kings are uncontrollable; who will say (saith Job) to a King thou art wicked? that shewes that it is not safe to censure them, nor 'tis not lawfull, men may doe that they dare not doe, &c.*

And page 452. after *unto another*, this is expunged; *It was a King; a most Christian King, that taught his sonne happily all the Latine that he had, Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare, he cannot reigne that cannot faine, &c.*

In Master Wards Comentary on Matthew, page 145. written copy, this sentence is expunged: *Subjects are not actively to obey Kings, when they command and what God forbids in his Word.*

40. Passages deleted, *that the Law of God is possible to be fulfilled by men, as the Papists hold; and That men are damned for Original sinne as well as Actuall.*

IN Master Wards Comentary on Matth. 11. 5. page 227. this is obliterated. How is the fulfilling of the Law impossible?

Ans. First negatively, not because the works therein contained in their nature transcend the power of the mind or body, or Organs; for man in Paradise had strength enough to obey the whole Law, and the Saints in Heaven doe perfectly. Secondly affirmatively, the Law is impossible for man to fulfill: First, the judgment of the mind is so depraved, that we know not how to doe any spirituall work aright, so as we ought to doe it: and Secondly, because the affections are so corrupted, that we are not able to governe them, or to curb or restrain the malignity and depravation of them.

Quest. 2. Why are so many, or any damned perpetually?

Ans. Not onely for their actuall finnes, but even also for their originall corruptions, and depravation of nature, *Ephes.* 2. 1, 2. for sinners shall be beaten with stripes, and with more stripes, *Luke* 12. 47. &c. that is, First, they shall have *plura verbera*, more stripes, and more grievous torments in hell for their actuall finnes. But Secondly, they shall also have *verbera*, stripes, eternall condemnation and torments (though not equall with the former) who never committed actuall sinne, but onely dyed in their naturall estate, their originall corruption not being washed away by, or in the blood of Christ.

Observ. Secondly, by grace in Christ we are enabled to walk in the wayes of God, and to work his work, for Christ doth give unto all those whom he calls, power (in some measure) to obey him; for he gives not onely *velle*, power to will and desire, but *posse*, power to doe that which he commands, *Phil.* 2. 13.

Quest. 3. How doth this appeare, for none seem (and that especially to themselves) more weak then the children of God?

Ans. It most evidently appeares by these particulars, *viz.* First, because we are called unto the glory of God, *Phil.* 2. 15. &c. and to hold forth the Lamp of a pure life, *Mat.* 5. 16. and therefore certainly those whom God calls, shall from him receive grace and power to performe good works. Secondly, because Religion is the path-way to Heaven, and therefore undoubtedly those whom the Lord calls unto that inheritance he will enable in some measure to walke in the wayes of Religion, and to give unto him religious worship; read *Deut.* 5. 33. *Josh.* 22. 5. *Mat.* 3. 8. 10. & 7. 20. *Luke* 11. 28. *Rom.* 2. 7. *Gal.* 5. 16.

Thirdly, because Christ (unto those whom he calls) gives the holy comforter, even a bright shining light, whereby we are assured of the love of God; which love of his worketh a threefold effect in us; namely, First, it makes us love the Lord againe, and to returne love for love; and although we cannot love him in that measure and degree that he loveth us (his love to us being perfect, ours to him imperfect) yet we labour and desire to love him above all things in heaven and earth: Hence secondly, we desire

to doe all things which are pleasing unto him, yea and to performe them cheerfully and with delight. Thirdly, the love of God or the holy spirit which assures us thereof, doth teach us how to obey God; namely in sincerity of heart, yea with our whole heart and life, and that for the Lords sake onely, not for any base or by ends of our owne; and in faith, hoping that our works shall be acceptable unto God for Christs sake, &c.

Ibidem on Matth. 19. 18. page 289. manuscript Copy, this discourse is purged out by the Licenser.

Quest. Whether is the morall Law of God possible to be kept, or perfectly to be obeyed with, or by an actuall obedience?

Ans. First, the Law is possible to be obeyed, in regard of that relation which is betwixt our nature or our mind, or the faculties of the soule, and the actions themselves, which are enjoined in the law, for whatsoever is commanded in the law, whether internall or externall, may be performed by the faculties and parts of our bodies and souls; yea the obedience which is there required of us is to be performed by those faculties: The Lord in his law doth not require of us *impossibilia*, impossible things; either first, *in se*, in themselves; or secondly, *respectu facultatum*, in regard of the faculties of the soule; that is, the Lord in his law doth not command us to raise the dead, or to remove mountaines with, or by our vvords, for these are impossible things in themselves for us to doe; neither doth he command us to flye in the ayre, or to vvalk upon the vvater, because these are impossible in regard of us and our faculties; but he commands such things as our faculties are capable of.

Secondly, the obedience of the law is impossible in regard of some circumstances; that is, first, *respectu extentionis*, in regard of the extension; for first, although vve might performe some one particular action commanded in the law, yet not all and every such action vvhich is therein enjoined, and yet this the law requires of us: and secondly, although vve might performe some one action or other, vvhich the law enjoines, yet vve are not able alwayes to abide firme and immoveable in this our obedience, and yet the Lord threatens us vvith a curse, if vve both doe not doe all, and abide therein alwayes, Gal. 3. 10. and thirdly, although we might performe many duties which the law commands, yet we could not performe them all alwayes in that sufficient degree, and ample, and perfect measure vvhich the law enjoines; and thus *Andradus* himselfe confesseth, that the first Commandement cannot be kept, vve cannot love God in that manner, measure and degree vvhich the law commands.

Secondly, *respectu intentionis*, in regard of the intention, because vve can doe nothing vvith a perfect mind, for *whatsoever is not of faith is of sinne*, Heb. 11. 6. and therefore vvithout faith, no true or acceptable obedience.

Thirdly, *respectu infirmitatis*, in regard of the infirmity of our nature, because all the gifts and faculties of our nature are vitiated and corrupted, Job 4. 8. 19. & 15. 15. 16. Rom. 3. 10, &c. Psal. 14. 12. *Chrysostome* (sup. Matth. fol. 614.) saith *That by nature we are blind, lame, taken with the palse and incarcerated, and therefore no wonder Legem non esse possibilem, if the law be impossible unto us.*

Quest. 2. Is not this unjust for God to require of us that which is impossible unto, or for us to doe?

Ans. No not at all: God may justly command a blind man to walk, if his blindness come from himselfe: if maliciously, he hath plucked out his owne eyes: A man may justly require his debt of a Prodigall: Rent is due unto the Land-lord, though the Tennant have wasted all his estate and substance; and God may justly require that obedience of us, which once from and by him we had power to performe, although now by our sinnes we have lost that power.

Quest. 3. What may we learne from hence?

Ans. First, to acknowledge that the duties enjoined by the law are possible in themselves; and Secondly, that they are become impossible unto us by sinne, and the infirmity of the flesh, Rom. 8. 3. and Thirdly, to confesse that God is true, and we lyars, he just, but we wicked.

Ibidem

Ibid, on Mat. 11. 29. The Papists generally object this place to prove the possibility of the law's fulfilling; What is this *light burden and sweet yoke* (say the Rhemists) but the Commandements of God? and therefore they are possible to be kept, *Bellarmino* de justifi. lib. 4. cap. 11. and *Vasques*, and *Alphonfus*, and *Salmeron*, and the *Trent Council*: and *Beccanus* urgeth this place to prove, that *actuall obedience to the whole law is not onely possible, but also very easie to the regenerate and justified person*: They argue thus:

That burden which is light may be carried without shrinking under it, that yoke which is easie is worne without paine, and those Commandements which are not burdensome, may be observed without difficulty: But such is the morall law, *My Yoke* saith Christ here, *is easie and my burden light*; therefore the morall law may be easily observed.

I will for the satisfying of this Objection, give onely a double answer, viz. First answer to the point which they endeavour to prove, and then to the place which they alledge for their prooffe.

First, to the substance or matter, or subject matter of the Objection, viz. That the law is possible and easie to be observed by the regenerate: I answer; the law of God is impossible to be kept in such perfection as God requireth, and therefore *no man can be justified by the works of the law*, Gal. 2. 16. & 3. 11. Here observe these particulars, to wit, First, the old Pelagians did wrest this and the like places for this end, to prove the possibility of the fulfilling of the law, as appeares by *Hierom* (advers. Pelagian lib. 1. cap. 1. & lib. 2. cap. 2. & 4.) and *Augustine* (de Perfect. Justific. contra *Coelestium*, & de *Natura & Gratia contra Pelagian* cap. 69.) and therefore we may note by the way, from whence the Papists and those amongst us, who hold this erroneous tenet, took or learnt it, &c.

Ibid. on Mat. 19. 21. *If thou wilt be perfect, &c.* this is purged out; The Papists hold that a man may perfectly obey, and fulfill the Law of God, and for the prooffe hereof argue thus. If a man may doe more then the Law requires, then certainly he may doe as much. But a man may doe more then the Law requires; therefore he may doe as much. The minor *Bellarmino* proves by the example of this young man, who telling Christ, that he had observed all the Commandements, and that from his youth, our Saviour bid him doe one thing more, and then he should be perfect (*if thou wilt be perfect, goe sell that thou hast and give it to the poore, and follow me.*) Now if the yong man had done this, he had done more then the Law required, in as much as whatsoever the Law required he had formerly observed, as he said himselfe; *Hac omnia servavi a juventute*, All these things have I observed from my youth up. &c.

First, this word *More*, may two manner of wayes be understood; namely, either, first simply it signifies something which is not commanded, and in this sence the consequent is naught, viz. if a man may doe any one thing which is not enjoyned by the Law, then he may doe any thing which the Law enjoynes and commands; this followes not, for it is not necessary that that be done which is commanded, because something is done, which is not commanded: as for example, the Sonne which was bidden to goe into the Vineyard, went not, and yet might at that time be doing some household worke. *Adam* brake the Commandement given unto him, and yet sewed figge-leaves to cover his shame, which he was not commanded to doe. Secondly, this word *More* may signifie some good thing over and above that which is commanded in the Law, or, after the fulfilling of all these things which are prescribed in the Law, to doe over and above some other good worke which is not prescribed. Now in this sence we grant the Major, but as absolutely false we deny the Minor, viz. That a man may performe whatsoever is commanded in the Law, and other good things besides which are not commanded. For there is no good thing at all beyond that good is commanded in the Law; otherwise the Law should not be perfect, which is false by the very letter of the word, *Psal. 19. 7. & 9.* yea, those things which are not contained in the Law, are in themselves neither good nor bad, but indifferent; and where they are made good, it is by those things which are in the Law. As for example, to Fast is not in it selfe a morall good worke,

but it is good if it be done for the love of God, and for the hatred of Sinne, or both, which are commanded in or by the Law. And therefore it is utterly false, That a man may performe a greater good worke then the Law enjoynes. Secondly to the prooffe of the Minor, we answer two things: first, the yong man speakes of a part not of the whole Law; that is, of the second Table, not of the first, as appeares by the text: He demands of Christ, What he must doe to be saved? Christ answers, keep the Commandements, verse 17. He demands againe, Which? Christ answers, These, ver. 18. and recites the precepts of the second Table onely; whereunto the Pharisee replies in this sort; *all these precepts (viz. of the second Table) have I kept from my youth.* Now suppose a man could absolutely and perfectly fulfill the second Table, yet it followes not therefore he fulfils the whole Law, for he may faile in his duty towards God; and he onely fulfils the Law, who performes his duty absolutely both to God and Man. Secondly, the Cardinall playes the Sophister, committing the fallacy, called *petitio principii*, taking that for granted which is to be proved, viz. that the yong man kept the whole Law, for without prooffe we neither can nor may beleewe it, either upon the Jesuites or Pharisees word: We (I say) doe not beleewe the testimony of this vaine yong man touching his owne righteousnesse, vvhich boasted of keeping the second Table in the outvvard duties thereof, vvhich as yet he vvanted inward charity towards his neighbour, and love towards his God; He avouched that he had kept all perfectly, and fulfilled that Commandement, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy selfe*: and thereupon is so bold as to aske Christ *what lacke I yet?* Christ to convince him of his pride and wants, puts him thus to the triall, If thou hast such perfect charity towards man, then certainly if God command thee to bestow, not a part, but all thy goods upon the poore, upon promise of better things to thy selfe, thy duty unto God, and thy singular charity unto men vvill make thee do so; Goe then sell all that thou hast and give to the poore, &c. upon vvhich speciall command his covetous minde sheeves it selfe: nay, it is plaine, he loved not his neighbour so vvell as his riches, neither is so dutifull to God, or charitable to the poore, as for either of their sakes to part vvith his possessions; by vvhich he proclaims his heart to be full of covetousnesse, and void of faith in God and true charity towards his neighbour; and consequently vvias farre from the observation of the vvhole Law.

41. *Passages deleted against the Constancy of Gods Love and friendship to his Children.*

IN Doctor Jones his Comentary on Heb. 4. 16. page 141. this is rased out: *A friend is borne for adversity, & will be a friend when we need him: he is a friend indeed that keeps with us in a time of need: such a friend is God Almighty through Jesus Christ, he will help us at our need in this life, and at the length, take us up into that place where we shall need nothing any more.* Strange, that such a passage should be obliterated as heterodox.

42. *Passages expunged against the Popish Masse, Transubstantiation, adoring the Host.*

IN Doctor Clarks Sermons, page 155. l. 4. this is blotted out by the Licenser: *I think indeed we prosper never the better for the Masse, never came blessing upon Israel by Baals Priests, &c.* Admirable that such a passage as this could not passe our Prefes without a purgation, unlesse the resolution of these Inquisitors were to usher in Masse and Masse-Priests againe without opposition.

In Mr. Wards Comentary on Matthew, p. 179. there is this deleatur: *There is a satisfaction to God of attonement, which is unwarrantable, because Christ by his death hath done this; hence then the Masse is an abomination, not an oblation,* Heb. 10. 18.

P. 239. Thirdly vve know not how to serve God aright, nor vvhen vve do vvell; so the Papists being ignorant of the vvay unto salvation, sometimes runne unto the Masse, sometimes undertake some long and vveary pilgrimage, sometimes flee unto the Popes Bals,

als, sometimes enter into diverse Orders of Monasteries, and sometimes hope that they shall be helped out of purgatory : thus staggering like a drunken man, too and fro, not knowing what way they should take to come unto Heaven, and therefore who will deny but great is our blindness? &c.

In Doctor Jones his Comentary on the Hebrewes, chap. 9. ver. 28. these notable passages are purged out, page 282. This Chapter may well be called *the cut-throat of the Masse*; it is strange that the Papists reading it, are not ashamed to uphold that *Idol*; for as no man dyes but once, so Christ was to be offered but once for the expiation of our sinnes : It is the most grosse and fantastick assertion that ever was heard of, most repugnant to Scripture and reason.

First, *Heaven must containe the body of Christ till all things be fulfilled : Ergo, it cannot be on the earth.*

Secondly, if the bread that Christ gave to his Disciples, were turned into his owne body, he must of necessity have two bodies, the one held in the hand of the other. Their distinction of a *bloody and unbloody sacrifice* will not serve the turne, for *without blood there is no remission of sinnes* : and if his body were offered for our sinnes in the Supper, then why was it offered after on the Crosse? either it was a perfect oblation, or imperfect; if they say imperfect, O horrible blasphemy! if they say perfect, then why was not another made? for as *bono nil melius sic perfecto nil perfectius*. The Apostle calls the Gentiles fools, *professing themselves wise they become fools*; for they turned the similitude of the incorruptible God into the similitude of Beasts, Birds and creeping things; much more may we call the Papists fools, that turne the similitude of God into the similitude of a peice of bread : If the Egyptians are worthily to be derided for worshipping a Cat for God, then justly may we laugh at the Papists, for worshipping a wafer cake for God : If the Angel in the Revelation would not have John to worship him, O doe not so, worship God, how much more doth it grieve the Angels to see a peice of bread worshipped for God; wherefore let us spit at this abominable sacrifice, and never give entertainment to it : Doctor Taylor was angry with the Priest that began to say Masse at Hadley in Queen Maries dayes; thou Devil, who made thee so bold as to enter into this Church of Christ, and to profane it with this abominable Idolatry; the people pulled downe the Altar; you that have been seasoned with his wholesome doctrine, tread in his steps : Let no Masse-monging Priest, that will take upon him without Commission to offer up Christ forij or a hundred times, be admitted into our Church; remember that Christ can be but once offered to take away the sinnes of the world. The deleting of such a notable passage as this, discovers a professed designe to bring in Popery among us againe, without the least opposition : But this is not singular, but seconded with others.

Ibid. page 305. Whereas they say the Masse is but a commemorative and applicatory Sacrifice, to bring to our remembrance the sacrifice on the Crosse, and to apply it to us; that needeth not; a sufficient commemoration and representation of it is to us in the Supper, 1 cor. 11. 26. and it is applied to us by faith, Rom. 3. 25, 26. Act. 18.

Page 244. No mortall man can offer up Christ, as the popish Priests blasphemously presume.

Page 292. Here we have a club to beat downe the Masse.

Page 417. If the Martyrs in Queen Maries dayes, would have gone to Masse, if they would have acknowledged Masse with mentall reservation to themselves, the reall presence of Christ in the sacrifice, they might have been delivered; but they would not; they had rather have irons on their legs, then the intolerable burden of an evill conscience in their soules; they had rather have bodies in prison then soules in prison; they had rather endure the paines of a materiall fire for a time, then the torment of hell fire or ever; this was greatly to be admired.

Page 418. We may scoffe at the Idolatry of the Papists; a woman said unto a Priest in Queen Maries dayes, that came to buy a Capon; man canst thou make God Almighty, and canst not make a Capon?

Ibid. page 263. When Christ saith, doe this in remembrance of me, If the Masse be
a remem-

a remembrance of Christ, as they say it is *comemorativum sacrificium*, then Christ is not there himselfe.

P. 270. *Obj.* although Christs death was necessary, for the full confirmation and accomplishment of the New Testament, yet it was begun to be declared in the sacrifice of his last Supper, *Matth.* 26. 28, whereby it is plaine, that the blessed Challis of the Altar hath the very sacrificall blood in it that was shed on the Crosse, in and by which the New Testament was dedicated and doth consist. *Answ.*

The New Testament was ratified by the blood of Christ at his death, as appeareth by the whole discourse, for the *Testament is of no force till the Testator be dead: Ergo* it could not be ratified at all by the Sacrament of his blood.

Page 291. there are sixteen lines crossed to the same matter, that the Masse is no *commemorative nor propitiatory sacrifice, and may well be spared.*

Judge then by these purgations, what was intended by this Arch-Prelate and his confederates.

43. Passages blotted out in defence of Priests marriage.

IN the Sermons of Doctor Clarke page 205. after *as our Apostles*, this is obliterated; *The Papists except, that marriage is a clogge to Christians, and an encombrance to the practice of religious duties; Saint Chrysostome controles that; it is (saith he) no hinderance unto heavenly things, yet doth the Pope condemne it.*

And in Master Wards Comentary on Matthew, fol. 1. this is deleted: *Honourable marriage is to be preferred before dishonourable whoredome: and therefore, ex ungue Leonem*, we may easily conjecture without breach of christian charity, what to think of Popery, that to all or any of their Clergy doth allow a dispensation for fornication, but denies unto them the lawfull remedy of marriage.

In Doctor Jones his Comentary on the Hebrewes, chap. 12. v. 14. this is deleted: *Saint Paul strains holinesse to marriage, this is an holy bed, Heb. 13. 4. men may be holy and honest men though they be married.*

44. Passages dashed out, that the Virgin Mary was not without sinne, originall and actuall; brake not the Serpents head: is not to be prayed to, &c.

In Doctor Clarke ninth Sermon of the Nativity, these words are deleted: *theres a woman too, Papists say: without sinne, Christs Mother; for her, why calleth shee then her sonne her saviour? &c.*

Ibidem page 338. l. 20. after *never any sonne*, should follow, *One woman onely is exempt from sinne, but onely by the man of sinne, &c.*

And p. 336. l. 20. after *the right Puritane*, the Licenser hath deleted these lines: *'tis a hard posse that never comes in esse, if one may live without sinne, 'tis mervaille never any did; still they urge Christs Mother; shee lived without sinne, was borne without it, some say conceived without it too: that they say is not de fide, and indeed it is not fit that every John Duns should encrease the Churches creed, for he was the first that forged that paradox: But if Christs Mother, why not his Father too? was he not the sonne of David? then had the Psalmist spared this speech, and I my paines at least in this poynt; he might have in the peoples name said, our sinne, not my sinne; in earnest sooth, the Papist must correct Magnificat, or grant our Lady was a sinner; for calleth shee not her sonne her saviour? My spirit (saith shee) rejoyceth in God my Saviour; Christ was called so, the Angel saith, because he should save his people from their sinne; Christ was not Marias Saviour if Mary had no sinne.*

In Doctor Jones his Comentary on the Hebrewes, chap. 11. v. 32. page 414. this sentence is blotted out: *the Virgin Mary had him in her womb that had no sinne, yet shee had sinne in herselfe, and was reprov'd by our saviour.*

And page 292. after *will be like God*, this clause is blotted out: *Pardon the Papists that mount Christs Mother above the Angels; shee hath deserved it, shee bare God,*

'tis fit shee should sit beside her sonne : Mater jube filium, shee may command him too ; School-men were not first founders of this pride, 'twas long before them, what Gods propriety.

45. Passages expunged against Popish Monckery Vowes, Stewes, and Incontinency of their Monks and Clergy.

These clauses are deleted in Doctor Clerks Sermons page 341. with Papists *Oratio is Aratio*, they worke as at the Plough; men pray almost all day, Monastery rise in the night too.

Ibid. page 371. What meant that Monk that said Rominizare, was Sodomizare, Rome was turned Sodome, the whole city.

Ibidem, page 218. *Answ. 1.* But the Monkish life is not persecution (except thus, because the Locusts, which are no other but Monks and Fryars) *Revel. 16.* doe bite and sting like Serpents, that is, doe secretly wound mens consciences. And foure lines after *An. 3.* All goe not to Christ that come into Monasteries, but rather goe from him; they living after another rule then Christs, for Francis their great founder erected a new sect of Monckery, and found out a new rule for them, which he called *Regulam Evangelicam*, the rule of the Gospel, as though Christs rule were not sufficient.

And page 309. Thirdly, so the Papists being ignorant of the way of salvation, sometimes runne unto the Masse, sometimes enter into divers Orders of Monasteries, staggering like a drunken man, too and fro, not knowing what way they should take to come into Heaven.

46. A Passage crossed out against mixing the Sacramentall wine with water.

This clause is purged out in Master Ward's Comentary on Matthew page 380. Wine and blood cannot be both in the Sacrament corporally and substantially, as the Papists teach : It is controverted between us and the Church of Rome, whether the Wine in the Lords Supper be to be mixed with water or pure Wine to be administred? and they say it is to be mixed with water : and we deny not but that of ancient times, in hot Countries, especially where their Wine was strong, they used to mix water with wine in their common drink, and thereupon so used it in the Sacrament : but now to put water into the wine at the Sacrament, when it is not ordinarily so used or drank, we hold it to be an *Antichristian custome*, and contrary to Christs institution, as appears by this argument ; Christ in his last Supper gave wine and not water to be drank for he calleth it, *the fruit of the Vine*, which is wine and not water, *Matth. 26. 29. &c.*

47. Passages purged out concerning the Ministers doing their duty in Praying, frequent Preaching of the word, the peoples diligent hearing of the word preached, &c.

IN Master Ward's Comentary on Matthew page 41. this clause is obliterated : *Mending their Nets.*

Qaest. What is observable in these Nets ?

Answ. Note here two things in them, viz. First *Lead*, that is, the ponderous denunciation and menaces of the law : Secondly, *Corke*, and that is the sweet and comfortable promises of the Gospell, reaching us, that the preaching of the Word should be fitted to the capacity and disposition of the hearers, and that in a threefold regard ; as first in regard of the time, it must be preached in season and out of season, *2 Tim. 4. 2.* and secondly, in regard of the object, to every creature. *Mark 16. 10. &c.* thirdly, in regard of the manner, milk must be given to Babes, and strong meat to men; the weak must be strengthened, the obstinate reprov'd ; the ignorant instructed,

the erroneous reduced into the way of truth, and the wicked reclaimed from their evil wayes.

Quest. Wherein must the Preachers of the Word, principally labour in the preaching of the Word?

Answ. In these two things: First, to sink to the bottome the Net with the weight of Lead, by diving, penetrating, sounding and descending into the intrals, bowels and lowest vaults of the heart, because otherwise they cannot catch those who are hid and drowned in the mudde and earth; they must reveale and make knowne the wrath of the Lord against all iniquity and wickednesse of men (*Rom.* 18.) that sinfull men by flying from, and forsaking their finnes, may avoid the wrath of God.

Secondly, when they have truly humbled their hearers with the judgement pronounced and denounced against them for their finnes, they must then raise them up to the top with cork, which brings the upper side of the net above water; they must be comforted and cherished by the promises of the Word, least otherwise the sight of their finnes and sense of Gods wrath, drive them to despaire: and these two, lead and cork, are carefully to be observed and handled; for first, sinners must be cast downe, then raised up: That Net needs no cork that hath no lead, nor those hearers comfort who never lamented for their finnes; and therefore, first, Ministers must shew the people the anger of God against sinne, *Rom.* 1. 17. 18. then secondly, the righteousness of faith, *Rom.* 3. 21. First, ordinarily comes the spirit of bondage, which sinks the soule to the bottome of sorrow, and then seasonably is held forth the spirit of adoption (*Rom.* 8. 15.) and the evangelicall promises which raise up the soule from the pit of hell: as cork without lead, and comfort without lamentation, leads to presumption, so lead without cork loseth the net in the mudde and earth; and therefore our concord must be mixed with discord, and our treble with baises; we must in our preaching sing of mercy and judgement, mixing threatnings with promises, and weaving, interlacing promises with terrors (as the Lord himselfe doth through the whole book of the Scripture) if we desire to fish, that we may catch many soules for an offering unto the Lord, for he fisheth in vaine whose net wants either lead or cork.

Ibidem on *Matth.* 13. 55. written copy 261. this is dashed out.

Quest. Who are unfit or unworthy to take the calling of the Ministry upon them?

Answ. First, those who being arrogant and proud for their learning and parts, think themselves worthy to be preferred before others: Secondly, those who make a shew of Religion for base and worldly respects and ends onely: Thirdly, those who are endued onely with a fox-like wit and craft, and subtle policy: Fourthly, those who are light and aiery in their preaching, seeking therein nothing more then popular applause and praise: Fifthly, those who doe not preferre the advancement of Religion and propagation of the Gospel, before all humane things: If the Reader desire to see these answers and particulars amplified and much enlarged, let him read *Chemnit. Harm.* fol. 893.

Ibidem page 38. this is deleted. Thirdly, as the fish gaine nothing except they be taken with the hooke, so preaching profits not the hearers, except they obey what is preached; and therefore great is their misery who neglect the preaching of the Word; for first, from such the Vineyard shall be taken away; and secondly, the wrath of God shall abide upon, and remaine with them; yea, thirdly, the Word preached, and the empty seats, will rise up in judgement at the last day; and therefore a man had better neglect pleasure, riches, honour, meat, health, yea, life it selfe, then the preaching of the Word; for what will momentary pleasure or uncertaine riches, or vvorldly honour, or food or health, or life, profit us, if vve lose our precious soules (of more vvorth then all these) eternally. In fishers vve must consider, besides their knowvledge and diligence, these two things, to wit, the place and maine scope. First, the place vvhere they fish, and herein vve may observe, first, that they must be in many places, for sometimes fishers are in one place or part of the sea, sometimes in another, as vve see in Christ and his Apostles, *Mark.* 1. 38. Secondly, there are fishers in all places, in the uttermost parts of the vvorld; so Ministers must follow Gods call, though

though it be to goe to forraigne parts, their line vvent through all the vworld: Thirdly, fishers make long journeys, goe much ground, saile farre in the sea for a fevv fishes: so Ministers preach long for the vwinning of a fevv soules. Secondly, in fishes vve may observe the maine scope; vvherein note, that seruants fish not for themselves, but for their Masters; so Ministers must wooe men for God, not for themselves, and labour to gaine soules, that they may be presented as pure and chaste Virgins unto the Lord (2 cor. 11. 2.) as Eleazer vwood Rebecca for Isaac not for himselfe, and continued solliciting her, untill shee consented to goe with him; so the Ministers of God must first labour not for an hour, but untill they have gained some soules unto the Lord their Master; and secondly, they must labour not for their owne sakes, but for their peoples, yea, for Gods sake, that is, for Gods glory, and their salvation; and thirdly, the Ministers may be said to labour for their owne sakes too, for it is true, *ye are my Crown and my glory*, as the Apostle saith (Phil. 4. 1. & 1 Thes. 4. 19. 20.) yea, the Epistle which is written in our heart (2 Cor. 3. 2.) and if you stand fast, then we live, 1 Thes. 3. 8.

Ibidem page 40. The Church of God is sometimes compared to the Sea, and then the Ministers are the Pilots of the Ship, and the fishers in that Sea; and therefore if our names imply labour, and our calling import industry, then Non-residents are not to be commended, if they absent themselves from their flocks, for their lucre or ease sake, and not upon some urgent and weighty affaires (for a time) which may be as profitable for the Church of God; Paul laboured night and day, and Christ prayed, not that drones and idle persons, but that labourers might be sent into his harvest.

Ibidem page 328. *Answ. 2.* Christ here onely reproveth the ambitious affectation of the Pharises, who delighted much to be called Fathers (when the Pharises sate in Moses Chaire, then they might call them fathers; that is, so long as they taught the truth) but when they were not directly subordinate unto God, and affected that which was due onely to him, then they were not to be counted as Fathers; mark here the opposition, *call no man your Father, for one is your Father in Heaven*: If the earthly Father be subordinate to the Heavenly, then ye may call them father; but when they affect that which is due to the heavenly Father, to whom belongeth the Kingdome, the power and the glory; then call them not Fathers.

Ibidem printed book, fol. 170. written copy, fol. 82. They mis-apply the Word, who, first, sow pillowes under mens elbowes; secondly, but principally, they who make sad the hearts of those by their preaching, whom God hath not made sad: such are those at this day, who have smoothe tongues, in respect of sinne, and yet are full of bitter invectives against the better sort; some hate the preaching of the Word, and therefore hate and abuse the Preachers thereof; whence it comes to passe, first, that some Ministers are partly fearfull, and so forbear preaching, that by so doing they may decline hatred, persecution, and reviling speeches: Secondly, some are partly weary, &c.

Ibidem printed booke, fol. 178. written copy fol. 79. *Quest.* How must we so preach that God may gaine glory thereby?

Answ. It is done three manner of wayes (*viz.*) either first, by preaching the glorious works of God, and that either first, his eternall works or decrees which were from all eternity; as namely, first, the creation of the Universe; secondly the predestinating of some unto salvation, from the corrupt masse of man-kind fallen in Adam; thirdly, our redemption by Christ; fourthly, the preparation of celestiall glory: Secondly, his works done in time; which are either first, temporall; as first, the preiervation of the whole world; secondly, the protection of man, least he should lack any good thing, or be harmed by any evill thing, &c.

Ibidem printed book, fol. 490. written copy fol. 298. A knowing Minister can better direct people to come out of their sinnes, &c.

Page 29. book fol. 9. written copy 262. They being converted, must convert their brethren the Gentiles. *Answ. 8.* The finall cause why the Apostles were sent unto Israel was, that so their obstinacy and hard-heartednesse might be perfected and ripened unto judgement; and therefore although the Samaritanes were more ready to hear

and embrace the Gospell then the Jewes (as appears by *John* 4. & *Act.* 8) yet Christ sends it to those who are most backward and difficultly perswaded (yea who will not be perswaded) to embrace it, that so their sinnes may be full and mature unto harvest: Hence observe, that the preaching of the Word is often sent unto many for their destruction; this evidently appears thus, *to wit*, first from these places, *Jer.* 7. 27. *Ezek.* 2. 35. & 3. 6. &c. *Math.* 24. 34. *John* 15. 22. 24. *Act.* 13. 46. & 7. 22. & 1 *Thes.* 2. 15. Secondly, because thus the justice and anger of God is justified, 2 *Chron.* 36. 16. *Rom.* 10. 21. *Prov.* 1. 24. Thirdly, because it is the nature of the Word to harden as well as soften, like the Sunne which hardens mire, as well as softens wax; for the Word is a light, and therefore where that shines men cannot sinne in darknesse; and when men sinne against light and conscience, then judgement is neer, even at the doore, &c.

48. Passages deleted against *Murther in Magistrates, Princes, and others.*

IN Doctor Clerks Sermons, in the Sermon on Innocents day, page 81. l. 5. After these words, *but onely Malefactors*, should follow this deleted clause: *These were not; nay, slay they may not any man, that terme is odious; justice loveth no slaughter: capitall offenders Kings may put to death, but they may not slay men; I may not be peremptory before so learned hearers, who can judge better then I; I will not say certainly, but I will say happily, the Evangelist used this word of purpose to make the act the more erroneous: Murther in a Magistrate, in a King to slay: Uriahs death plotted by David, David's selfe blood, Psal. 51. Blood and murther are synonymous; the Prophet expressly calls Ahab a murtherer, 2 King. 6. for Naboths death: The sword of justice smites, it slayes not in Scripture phrase: Nay, a King may not slay, not a delinquent; if in his passion either himselfe, or his men at his command, shall shed his blood, it is flat homicide; he might have sentenced him to dye, but his private sword may not kill any; Sauls Javelin throwne at Jonathan or David, had it kild either it had been murther, yea though they had been trespassers, and their crime never so capitall.*

In Master Wards Comentary on Matthew fol. 110. this is expunged: There is an excuseable homicide, which is either casuall, &c. or sodaine and strange: Now this is gathered from *Numb.* 35. 17, 18. where the Lord saith, if he smite him with throwing a stone (whereby he may dye) and he dye, &c. and if he smite him with an hand weapon of wood (wherewith he may dye) &c. as if he would say, if he chance to kill him with a stone or a peice of wood, which there was no feare or likelihood would kill him, then he should be quit and not dye: But here is a threefold doubt or scruple will arise, which I confesse I am not able to resolve; *viz.* First, whether such indulgence, pardon, or exemption from punishment, be altogether to be granted to him who thus unexpectedly killeth his Neighbour, or whether this execution can be collected out of this place? Secondly, if such a freedome from punishment be here to be understood, then whether the blow wherewith the party was killed, be to be understood of a stroke that was given in anger or in jest? Thirdly, whether by the blow which was given, be understood a stroke not mortall for the present, but a blow whereof the party long languisheth, and at last dyes?

49. That Christ is our sole Mediatour, not Saints and Angels, and against prayer to Saints, deleted.

IN Doctor Clerks Sermons, page 191. l. 24. after these words *hath it often*, should follow this expunction: *This provideth too against popery; God hath made Christ the onely Mediatour, the sole meanes of grace, of all his gifts whatsoever; Papiſts adde to him too more, merits of men, and intercession of Saints; horrible sacriledge to rob Christ of his right; he is our Intercessor; if not, yet blasphemy to disable him, he belike is unsufficient,*

cient, they put into his office the Saints, as Coadjutors : they be his fellow-advocates; he is weake alone, or they thinke him very proud : He is our Mediator, but they must make meanes to him, his Mother must entreat him : Entreat? command her sonne; jure Matris impera : they are not worthy the answering; what prayer is not made in his name is sin.

And page 200.l.19. After these words, Saint Peter to his Master, should follow. Protestants, some like not of the Liturgie; they say tis Popery: surely they mistake: tis a wonder the Papist censure it not rather, that they call it not Calvinisme, or the *Te regamus Domine*: and Christ have mercy upon us; because we pray in it immediately to Christ.

50. That Nature used well and improved, is a meanes to obtaine Grace, and greater graces then before. Expunged.

IN Master Ward's Comentary upon Mat. 25. 14. p. 355. Object. Some object these words to prove, That God will give greater graces unto him, or bestow greater upon him, who hath well used the light of nature. Answ. By those Talents are here understood the gifts of God, and especially the knowledge of God by the Gospell; which knowledge he is said to hide, who doth detaine the truth in unrighteousnesse, and doth keepe in the known truth. This Talent therefore cannot be that sufficient grace, which (they say) doth happen to Infidels and unregenerate persons; but that grace which God doth bestow upon his domesticall servants. Neither by him who hath, is understood a man in his meere naturals, or some heathen man, furnished with sufficient grace; but a man furnished with the knowledge of the Gospell, which is given to me for that end, that by edifying his neighbour he might spread the knowledg far abroad, and like monie put to use, it might be increased with daily additions.

51. Passages deleated concerning Originall Sin.

IN Master Ward's Comentary on Mat. 3. ver. 10. this is expunged, written copy, fol. 21. Every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewen downe and cast into the fire. Argum. The Papists say that for originall guilt onely, we are not guilty at all of Hel-fire; and therefore Infants dying before the committing of actual sinne shall not be damned or punished, *poena sensus*, with any sensible punishment. Now against this, these words may be thus aptly objected; Every tree which bringeth forth not good fruit, it hewen down and cast into the fire; but Infants vvho are vvithout the Covenant, are trees obnoxious of originall sinne, vvwhich brings forth no good fruit; therefore Infants that are without the Covenant, being guilty of originall sin, shall be cut down and cast into the fire, &c.

The Papists say, that those vvho are onely guilty of originall sinne, shall not be punished *poena sensus*, vvith any sensible torments after this life. Against vvwhich Tenet this Text is thus aptly objected, All Chaffe is to be burnt with eternall fire, vvwhich is a sensible torment; but whosoever are poluted vvith originall sinne, and not purged by the blood of Christ, are chaffe; therefore they shall be burnt with eternall fire, vvwhich is a sensible torment. The major proposition is proved from this verse, *He will burne up the chaffe with unquenchable fire*. The minor proposition is confirmed thus: It is necessary that such as are poluted with originall sinne, and not purged by the blood of Christ are either Chaffe or Wheat (and this the Papists I hope will not deny:) but they are not Wheat, because they are not gathered into the Garner for they say that such as dye before Baptisme, are not made partakers of the joyes of Heaven:) and therefore they are Chaffe prepared for the fire.

52. Deleted clauses against the Oath ex Officio and forced Oaths.

IN Master Ward's written Comentary on Mat. p. 138. this Discourse is purged out : Faulty, they are faulty here, who injuriously constraine men, to swear: and this is

two.

two fold, namely, first when men are forced to sweare against themselves: this is injurious, no man being bound to betray himself; *In criminalibus, licet in contrahendis*, not in criminal offences but in contracts and bargaines: for an oath may lawfully be administered and given unto a man, to answer whether he made any such bargain or covenant (as is alledged) or not; but is never used to a thiefe or murderer: for in criminal offences witnesses must come in against a man, or he is acquitted by Law, and is never put to his oath to accuse himselfe. Secondly, Men are injuriously constrained to take an oath, *De rebus ignotis*, to answer they know not to what. This was altogether disliked and disallowed by that famous Martyr John Lambert, in his answer to the Bishops fourteenth Article, Fox fol. 1119. whereunto I referre the Reader. Fifthly, all rash swearers, &c. Fol. 139. *Swear not at all. Object. Sixtus Senensis*, and some other Papists say, that Christ here sets downe a councill of perfection, not forbidding all swearing, but rather wishing that men could so live in faith, love and truth, that there might be no use of an oath. *Answ. 1.* First, this is false, because Christs words are not perswasory, but prohibitory, expressly forbidding swearing. Ibid. fol. 239. b. fine. *Que. 4.* Whether it be lawfull to force one to swear? *Answ. 1.* First, a Magistrate may impose an oath, with these (three) limitations: first, if the thing be weighty: secondly, if otherwise it cannot be known: thirdly, if it be not a snare to catch a mans selfe, or a trick to make him accuse himselfe. *Answ. 2.* Secondly, Magistrates should be very wary how they enforce or constrain men to sweare; because, first oftentimes they thus adde fuell unto the fire of Gods wrath, by making men forswear themselves; and therefore here it should be considered, if it were not better to lose the thing in question, then to hazard the losse of our Brothers soule, by making him to perjure himselfe. *Paul* would rather never eat flesh while he lived, then offend his brother; and therefore he is far from *Paul* his charity, vvhich for a thing of smal value or moment, vvill drive his brother to perjury. Secondly, if thou beleeeve him when he sweare, vvhy vvilt thou not beleeeve him, if he take some solemn protestation? An honorable person being called into the Senat at Athens to depose touching some matters, the Senators vvould not have him to take the accustomed oath, knowing him to be a vertuous and honest man, *Cicero orat. pro Balto.* Thus except the matter be of very vveighty importance, vve should consider, First, if he vvhom we desire should be put to his oath, fear the Lord, then he dare no more lye then forswear himselfe. Secondly, if he fear not the Lord, then how vvill he fear to forswear himselfe? And thus both Magistrates, and those vvho are vvronged should be very carefull not to constrain any offendor to swear, if by any other meanes the matter may be known or decided.

53. A Passage obliterated against popish Pardons, Indulgences and Purgatory.

IN Mr. Ward's Comentary on *Mat. p. 179.* vvritten copy, this is crossed out as heretodox. We have no need of a second purging. (How derogatory then are the Papists to the sufferings of Christ, vvho ascribe more to the Popes pardons, then to Christs pangs? Antichrist by his Indulgences, can both deliver and preserve from Purgatory, and send the soule straight unto heaven; but they vvill dye in the quarrell, before they vvill grant such or so much power and efficacy to be in the death, bloodshed and merits of Christ, &c.)

54. The very name of Papists expunged, with a passage against the Popes power.

IN Doctor Clerke's Sermon upon Candlemas day, page 95. line 14. *The Papists say.* page 166. l. 7. let Papists hold, &c. p. 171. l. 7. This *Mannel*, but the Papists take advantage of that. page 200. l. 16: Papists hold it. p. 224. l. 38. A Papist, p. 299. l. 5. 9. Papists say; Papists make. p. 330. l. 16. even by Papists, who extenuate sinne, are blotted out. The like is frequently done in Doctor Jones his Comentary on the Hebrews, and in

in M. Ward's Com. on Mathew; vvhvhere p. 395. there is this notable passage purged out ; Christ saith, unto me is given all power : therefore (*Antichrists imp*) *Carerius* saith, The Pope hath power over Infidels. All power vvas given to Chri^t, therefore to the Pope, is a blasphemous Antichristian consequence, displaying the Pope in his colours to be the Whore, in making himselfe, or suffering himselfe to be made equall vvith Christ.

55. *A Clause expunged against Popish Penance.*

IN Master Ward, page 34. this clause is obliterated. Fifthly, *Bellarmines* Argument followes not, as appeares by this instance ; *Papists* say, their Penance is the second table after Shipwrack ; now she that sinneth not needs not this Penance ; but the Adulteresse is admitted unto it ; is therefore the Adulteresse better then the Innocent, because she is made partaker of the second Table, which the other is not ? No more is she for the second Husband.

56. *Passages expunged against Perseverance in Grace.*

IN Master Ward's Comentary on *Mat. 24. 13.* He that endured to the end, &c. this passage is rased out, He that endures unto the end &c. We may learn hence, that patience in persecution and affliction, is not praise-vvorthy, except it be permanent and endure unto the end. How doth this appeare ? First, evidently by these places and proofes, *Mat. 10. 22. Luke 21. In patience possesse your soules. Heb. 3. 6. & 6. 11. &c. unto the 15. and 12. 3. 12. and Jam. 5. 7. unto the 12.* And secondly, because vvithout this perseverance vve shall have no reward. He vvho digges for Gold, must continue digging untill he come to the vein or oare, else he loseth his labor. He vvho is upon a journey or race must continue therein untill he hath vvon his vvager, or reached his journeyes end. He vvho is fighting a Duel, must stand upon his guard and vvithstand his antagonist, yea continue coragiously to oppose him, untill he have got the victory, otherwise all he doth at first onfet is nothing. The Israelites vvent out of Egypt and yet never came to Canaan ; and many begin vvell, vvho for vvant of perseverance fall short of their reward. What is here required of us ? To labour to persevere and abide rightly armed against all temptations and trials vvhatsoever, even unto the end. How must vve doe this. *Answ.* By these vvayes and means, *to wit* ; First, our ingresse into the lists must be living and solid, and not sleeping or dead ; for otherwise vve can never endure to the end. Secondly, vve must not love but leave and relinquish the vvorld, *1 John 2. 15.* for otherwise vve shall never be able to hold out against the assaults of the vvorld. Thirdly, vve must be trained souldiers, and exercise our selves daily in the Lords lists ; that is, vve must frequently give our selves ; 1. to meditation : 2. to the hearing of Gods vvord : 3. to the practice of piety : 4. to the opposing and resisting of iniquity, and all manner of vvickednesse : and 5. to the strengthening and corroborating of our faith by the Word and Sacraments. Fourthly, vve must principally exercise our patience and labor that it may have its perfect vvorke in us. Who can be alwayes patient, or indure patient in persecution and affliction unto the end ? They can vvho have not placed their hope in this life or any thing therein, but live in Christ, and place all their hope and confidence in him, *Colos. 3. 3. 4.*

In the same Comentary on *Mat. p. 277.* vvritten copy, this whole discourse is obliterated. The words in this place ; *The gates of hell shall never prevaile against it : serve us as a strong rocke to build perseverance of grace and faith upon,* both against the *Papists, Pelagians, Socinians,* and others : For here our Saviour plainly promiseth, *that against those which build their faith upon this rock Christ, the gates of hell, and power of satan, shall never prevaile.* To this *Socinus* (in tractatu, de loco ; tu es Petrus) answers, That these words of Christs are not so to be understood, as though the Devill could
not

not prevaile against any of the members of the true Church of Christ : but, that so long as they are the true members thereof, it is impossible that they should be hardned by Satan or hell ; that is, he promiseth to the Church, so long as it remains the Church of Christ, that the power of death shall not so prevaile against it, that it come into condemnation : but he doth not understand by the *gates of hell*, the craft, deceit and fraud of Satan, whereby he labours to seduce and enthrall some. Hereunto we answer ; first, whatsoever is an adversary to the building of the Church upon the Rock, or to the constant adhering of the Church unto Christ, that is understood by the prevailing gates of hell, (for in these words he removes the contrary of that which before he had laid downe ; *upon this Rock will I build my Church :*) but the fraudulent and crafty temptations of Satan, which are effectually or of force, to seduce or enthrall the faithfull are principall enemies to this building of the Church, and constant adhering unto Christ ; and therefore these crafty and subtle tentations are understood by the gates of hell. Secondly, whatsoever comes out of the gates of hell, or hath its beginning from thence, that is here understood by this phrase of the gates of hell ; but the temptations of Satan are hatched in hell, and come from thence ; therefore they are here ment by the gates of hell. Thirdly, if the condemnation of the faithfull onely be understood here, by the gates of hell, then this promise may stand with the totall failing, or falling away of the Church militant ; (for then he should promise nothing to the militant members of the Church, but onely to the dead, who dye in faith :) but this is repugnant to the intention of Christ in this place, and to the interpretation of all Writers, and the opinion of all Christians. Fourthly, Saint Peter himselfe, unto whom our Saviour here speaks, seems otherwise to interpret these words then *Socinus* doth, 1 Pet. 2. 7. 8. where the Apostle teacheth, that unbelievers and disobedient persons, who stumble at Christ and are offended with him, doe belong unto those gates, which doe impugne and assault that building which consists of living stones, and is founded upon the corner stone and true rocke, Jesus Christ. Fifthly, the proportion or analogy ought to be observed, which our Saviour here intimates and implies, betwixt two Cities ; the one of heaven, which hath her gates and keyes, verse 19. and the other of hell ; which by the gates of her plots, practises and provocations doe seek the ruine of the heavenly city. Now in this place our Saviour promiseth (and would have us to beleve it upon his word, that none of the plots, projects, assaults or batteries of the gates of hell shall prevaile against the heavenly City, the Church. And therefore seeing one City is opposed to the other, and the gates of the one to the gates of the other ; and the one (*viz.* the Church) is considered in the state and condition of her present building ; it is very requisite that the other should respect her present impugning and assaulting of the other ; and consequently, the craft, deceit, and fraud of Satan, whereby he labors to seduce, enthrall and deceive the members of the Church.

Ibidem p. 201. *Christ is Never* (the Licenser makes it *sometimes*) *absent from his children* ; and then blots out this ensuing clause ; *For he loves them unto the end, Job. 13. 1, yea, promiseth to be with them unto the end, Mat. 28. 20. yea, dwels in them by his spirit, 1 Cor. 3. 16. & 1 Cor. 6. 16. but yet he seemes sometimes to be absent. And pa. 57. Professors are odious unto the world, and derided, scoffed and taunted at by the world ; but the comfort is, that they are dear unto God, and precious in the sight of Christ, who will acknowledge them to be his, when he doth deny and utterly disclaime those their mockers and despisers. And thus the Lord hath particuler consolations for all particuler sorts of his servants. And 12. lines after ; They stand or fall to their owne Master ; yea, they shall stand, and none (neither sinne or Satan) shall be able to plucke them out of Christ's hand. John 10. 18.*

57. *Passages purged out against the Popish Pyx and Transubstantiation.*

IN Master Ward's Comentary on Matth. page 341. there is this deletion. *Que.* Who may be ment there, or to whom may these words be fitly applyed? *Answ.* These words

words of our Saviours doe neerly touch the Papists, for they can point with their fingers, and say, here is Christ, and there is Christ: Behold, in this Pyx are three Christs, in that five, in that seven, in that more; therefore it is likely that Christ giveth us this speciall watch-word, and such others, *Beleeve them not.*

Quest. What doth our Saviour forewarne us of here?

Answ. We have in this verse a charge from Christ, that if those Impostors, the Papists, should say unto us of him; behold, he is in secret places or closets, we should not beleeve it; and this is most appliable unto them who tell us, that Christ is to be found in a Pyx, and think that they have him in safe custody, under lock and key.

59. Passages deleted against Prayer to Saints; Popish Prayers; the Merit of Prayer; praying first for spirituall things; and praying towards the East.

In Doctor Clerks Sermons page 140. l. 12. after *yea, and then,* the Licenser hath expunged this following sentence: *The Papists are foulely besould, who have prayed so long to Saints, being but damned spirits, and all in hell.*

Ibid. page 219. l. 6. after that word *mostly,* this is deleted: *Prayers, Papists say Saints pray; they want naught themselves, but pray for us; they ther efore pray to them; prooffe from Scripture they presse, but very poore; faine to fetch instance from hell: Dives prayed for his brethren: Bellarmine's reason, worthy a Cardinals hat, Happily.*

In Master Wards Comentary on Matthew page 82. this is gelded out: *When a Papist prayeth to any Saint in heaven; for sometimes they pray to those, who in all probability are in hell, as Thomas Becket, Hildebrand, and divers cheating impostors.*

Ibid. page 164. 161. 168. 169. this is deleted: Let those therefore who call upon the name of the Lord, depart from all iniquity, and let them labour to abound in all vertues, both morall and theologicall, that so our profession may be praised both of prophane and civill men.

Thirdly, the Papists have Rimes, which must be said over three or four times every day; certainly with a little paines a man might make a good Parrer, a good Papist, for he might be taught all this; therefore they were forced to cry much and long.

The Papists say, prayer is a Meritorious work, as hath been elsewhere shewed; Against which, we urge this place thus; we must not pray as the heathen did, for they thought to be heard for the merit of their long prayers: therefore it becommeth not Christians to pray with any opinion to be heard. *Answ.* 2. Spirituall graces are to be demanded before temporall good. Thirdly, we have no true right unto temporall things, nor proper interest in them, nor any true warrant to beg them, untill we be converted; and therefore temporall things are not first to be desired: Our Saviour teacheth onely those to pray for temporall blessings, that can call God father, as we see in the preface of the Lords Prayer, which we cannot doe aright untill we be converted.

Ibidem page 341. this is deleted; *Object.* It is controverted betwixt us and the Papists, concerning the formes of Churches; and Bellarmine affirms, that they should be built East and West, that so when we pray therein, our faces might be turned towards the East: and for the prooffe hereof, he produceth this place; *Ab oriente venturus creditur ad iudicium;* It is beleeved that Christ will come unto judgement from the East, therefore we ought to pray towards the East.

Answ. First, *creditur,* it is beleeved (saith he) namely, by those who can beleeve what they list, though never so absurd, &c. See page 299.

60. Passages obliterated concerning Predestination, Gods Decree and Reprobation. See Election, page 303.

IN Master Ward's Commentary on *Mathew*, in the written copy fol. 172. this clause is expunged. How is the Kingdome of God attained unto? First, the foundation of it is the eternall love of God. Secondly, from this love proceedes the Decree of Predestination. Thirdly, from this Decree followes Redemption wrought by Christ. Fourthly, thence followes the Promises of the Gospell, applying Christ to our hearts. Fifthly, and lastly, followes Faith, which apprehends both the Promises and Christ.

What reason can there be that God should prepare vessels unto dishonor? How can God create men to destroy them? *I Answer.* Neither is reason dumbe here, but can speake something in Gods behalfe: *viz.* First we for our food kill Sheep, Oxen, Birds and Fowle, who never wronged vs; yea, for this end we fat and cram them, although we did not create them. How much more then may God destroy a creature which he hath made, and for his glory passe by a man who hath infinitely offended him? Secondly, Artificers often make peeces of worke and breake them againe, for the praise of their skill and Art; why then may not the Lord doe so? *Obj.* God gave nothing unto man but a being, therefore it was unjust to doe more unto him, then to take away his being. God who created man of nothing or of earth, might justly have reduced him againe to his first matter, but not make him worse then he was: now to be damned is much worse then not to be. *I answer.* Artificers and Craftsmen make vessels for their owne service, yea even to serve for base offices, and that for a long time, yea even for ever, if they and their vessels could endure for ever. And therefore why should we dispute against God? Saint Paul durst not doe it, *Rom. 9. 12. &c.* What reason is there that God should condemne us for Adams fault? Reason answers, That for treason against the King, the Father is beheaded, and the children disinherited; yea, because old Wolves and Foxes endanger and injure us, therefore we kill the young ones that never harmed us, because they are of a ravenous nature also, and will doe hurt if they live; why then should we plead against God? &c. See more of this Sect. 25. concerning Election.

In Doctor Clerk's Sermons page 91. l. 12. after these words, *Saint Ambrose doth warrant it*, should follow this large discourse of Predestination, which the Licenser hath totally expunged. I will not be peremptory in so perplex a Question as is Predestination; I will say as I conceive it, and submit me to your censure. In the great Councell in Heaven (why name I heaven? heaven was not yet) God meaning to make manifest both his justice and his grace to the world, which he purposed to create in time, for the glory of them, both out of the whole masse of man, selected some, and refused the rest: whom his mercy pretermitted, those his justice predestigned unto damnation, but whom his love elected, those his grace ordained to finall salvation: The *Tragick Poet* could say, *God whom he loveth, he saveth*; what then his grace fore-purposeth, his power in time effecteth, and his wisdom manages and marshalleth all the meanes; salvation onely is the end intended by his grace, but the meanes are many, that might come between: Grace hath a golden chaine of many links, salvation the last, but so fastened to his fellows, that it cannot fail; adoption, redemption, regeneration, vocation, justification, sanctification: adoption to the right and title of Gods sonnes, redemption from death, regeneration by baptisme, vocation by the Gospell, justification by faith, sanctification by the spirit, all these *Paul* hath omitted, and named but the last, both as the most comfortable, and to which all the rest doe purposely tend: Damnation is the doome decreed to the reprobate; Gods justice sentenceth them, but how and in what order, I list not to discourse, for offending of weak consciences: For the execution of which sentence, there was ordained death and hell, and satan, and the evill day; death to attend them, hell to enjoy them, satan to torment them, and the evill day to judge and deliver them; The Elect also doe deserve that doome; Gods curse is justly incurred by their sinne, but Gods goodnesse travelled with good, which decreed

decreed they should be saved : Aske me not the Question why God Almighty dealt not equally with all ? It is already answered ; God is just as well as gracious : Had he saved all, where then were his justice ? had he damned all, where then were his grace ? Reply not in thy reason, that God had he so pleased, might have been both just and gracious, and yet have saved all ; for Christ who satisfied his Father for the Elect, might also have so done (had he pleased) for the Reprehates : Alas ! besides, why made God choice of thee, and not of me ? I must answer with Saint Paul, *O homo tu quis est*. Who art thou O man, that presumest to plead with God ? hath not the Potter power to make vessels of his clay to what use himselfe listeth ? As clay is to the Potter, so is man to God ; he will have mercy on whom he will have mercy. This project of Gods gracious love hath caused the Scripture by elegant Antonomasie to cast the name of it upon the meares of it ; Christ called not onely a Saviour, but salvation ; *Mine eyes* (saith old Simeon) *have seen my salvation* ; yea not Christ onely, that procured it, but the Gospel also that proclaimes it ; it is called Gods salvation, Acts 28. 28. for the Gospell is the word of it ; Paul calls it so, and Christ is the borne of it, old Zachary calls him so, a project worthy, &c.

61. Passages purged out against popish Purgations of sinne by other meanes then Christs blood, and against Purgatory.

IN Doctor Clerkes Sermons, page 23. l. 17. After these words Gregory Naz. the Lyceenser hath expunged these lines following ; *Satisfaction's a Purgation too*, a Popish one: the Almes of the living effectually purge for the sinnes of the dead. The Saints intercession, I thinke another too: the prayers of the dead for the sinnes of the living; and why not their blood too as well as Christs ? *Tu per Thomæ sanguinem*. Becketts blood is not so dry a drug as Christs ; happily it will worke better. Indulgences are another, the Popes too, he hath a great facility in that kinde of physicke. The Masse another, a strong purgative. Paul said, all purging is by blood ; the Masse hath none, tis *incrumenta hostia* (themselves so tearme it) an oblation without blood. A suppe of the Chalice, or a kisse of the Pax, offering to an Image, or creeping to a Crosse, Pilgrimage, Oyle, Holy water, purgers of sinne ; all, I thinke, all Popery is a purge : What meane the Friers flagellant, who whip their bodies, but to purge their sinnes with their own blood, set scourgers to be selfe purgers, happily they will not be beholding unto Christs The Prophet sayes, *By his stripes we are healed*, but they thinke they are by theirs : Shall I presse these purgers with this fourth tearme of my Text, *per semetipsum*, by himselfe, they will flye unto the second, and say, Paul said not, he had purged. All say, sins before Baptisme are purged by him, but those we act after it must be purged by others ; by the Pope, the Priests, our friends, or our selves, by pardons, penance, Masse, good works: New Romanists old Montanistes: even Aquinas himselfe puts but Originall sin onely to Christs purging. Aftuall to the Masse ; But you heard what point before, that Saint John was Paul's Paraphraſt 1 John 1. 7. he saies, *The blood of Christ cleanseth from all sinne* ; but yet that Almes purge sinne, they find in Tobia's History, whence they may ground good manners, but not faith ; but Solomon sayes it too, Prov. 15. 21. and that book is canonicall: that book, but not this verse ; it is a bastard Scripture, foisted in by some forgery ; the Hebrew Text hath it not.

Ibid. page 260. l. 16. after *unworthy of Christs presence* these words are put out : *they will rather goe to Purgatory*.

62. Passages obliterated concerning preaching, its end and frequency.

IN Master Ward's Comentary on Matthew, these clauses are deleted, written copy fol. 239. *Observ. 3.* The Apostles gently perswade and admonish, that so Christ may be planted in our hearts. *Object.* There is a double scope of the preaching of the word, viz. a declaration of the mercy and anger of God, Rom. 9. 22, 23.

and therefore the end and scope of all preaching is not to call men unto salvation. *An.* Certainly, it is most true, that there is a double scope of preaching, but the difference is in the Object, these differing in the Event, not in the first scope of God, for the Lords scope is, that all should be saved, *Ezek.* 18. 8. *1 Tim.* 2. 4. & *2 Pet.* 3. but his will is, that those who will not be saved, should be damned; and therefore the Ministers of the Word of God, in the preaching thereof, declare, pronounce and publish the wrath and anger of God against all those who will not accept of the tender of mercy, offered by him in his Word.

Observ. 5. Ministers are often calumniated for their zeale, industry in the preaching of the Word. *Quest.* How doth the truth of this appeare? *Answ.* First, naturall and simple men would not have them labour at all, because a little preaching is too much for them. But Secondly, they are ashamed to confesse and acknowledge this, and therefore they lay their fault either upon their Parsons, or their manner of preaching: It is according to the Proverb, *easye to find a staffe to beat a dogge*, and those who are ill affected to the Ministers of the Word, will easily find something to tax them for; as for example; First, for the person of the Minister, be he rich or poore, of noble or ignoble parentage, old or young, learned or illiterate, or whatsoever, something malice can find out to reproach him withall: Secondly, for the manner of preaching, let him preach sweetly or sharply, often or seldome, out of the Word onely, or else also out of the Fathers and humane Authors, or howsoever, yet some aspersions shall be cast upon him: Thirdly, for the manner of his life, be he severe and more reserved, as was *John*, or humane, affable, and more familiar, as was *Christ*, yet he shall not goe without a censure, but shall either be called a Devill, or a friend of wicked men.

Page 32. *Observ.* The most profitable preaching is to apply generall doctrines to particular persons, &c. *Quest.* Why is this manner of preaching most profitable? *Answ.* First, because we regard not generals, hearing them onely for forme, as though we heard the scenes or acts of a stage-play. *Answ.* 2. Secondly, because people are not able to apply generall Doctrines to themselves, and therefore they had need be applyed unto them by the Ministers who are able to doe it. *Answ.* 3. Thirdly, because if people be able to apply it, yet for the most part they mis-apply it, that is, they apply what they heare to others, not to themselves, self-love so blinding their consciences, that they cannot see their owne faults, *Luke* 8. 11. *John* 9. 40. 41.

Ibidem printed book, fol. 92. & written copy fol. 224. on *Matth.* 11. 15. 16. *Thou hast hid these things from the wise.* *Quest.* How doth it appeare that God hides the knowledge of the Gospell from those who swell great with humane wisdom?

Answ. First, it appeares thus; because God takes away his helping hand from unworthy persons, and that two manner of wayes, to wit, First, sometimes outwardly, by prohibiting the Pastors to preach, as *Matth.* 10. 5. *Act.* 16. 7. and sometimes inwardly, by not blessing the Word which is preached unto the hearers thereof, &c.

Ibid. in the written copy p. 396. *Quest.* To whom doth the preaching of the Gospell properly belong?

Answ. The Ministry of the Word belongs properly to the Elect, *Ephes.* 4. 11, 12. he gave Pastors and Teachers for the perfecting of the Saints, and for the edifying of the body of Christ. Against this, this place is objected, the preaching of the Gospell is sent unto all (*Goe and teach all Nations*) and therefore it doth not properly belong unto the faithfull.

Answ. 1. It is true, that we doe, and must preach unto all, because the Ministers of the Word, in the judgement of charity, must beleve well of those to whom they preach, leaving secret judgement unto the Lord: and Secondly, it is preached properly unto the Elect to convert them, and onely accidentally to the Reprobates, as being inseparable, mixed with the other, as tares and chaffe are mixed with good corne, *2 Cor.* 2. 16.

63. A Passage deleted against *Ministers Reading their Sermons.*

IN Doctor *Clerks* Sermons, page 404. l. 8. after these words, *improperly so called*, these words are blotted out: *A reading prophesie riseth in the Church, but fit to be prohibited, for it is not from the spirit, Prophetiza nobis Christe, Matth. 26. 28. Christ, read who hath smitten thee; much a doe is about a reading Ministry; the King to name it, and the Bishops to suffer it; but what shall we say of reading Prophecie? surely the Bishops are to blame to suffer it; and yet the greater part of those who condemn reading Priests; are themselves reading Priests; reading is no preaching, so they falsely say; but their preaching is reading, so I may truly say.*

64. Passages blotted out concerning the *Sabbaths morality, perpetuity, strict sanctification, and against the prophanation of it.*

IN Master *Ward's* Commentary on Matthew, written copy page 201. this is deleted, *I came not to destroy the Law, &c.*

It is here objected, that the Sabbath day was not morall; Christ would not have altered it; for in this verse, he came not to dissolve the Law, but to fulfill it.

Ans. The alteration of the day is no dissolving of the Law, no more then the alteration of the severall services, once in force by vertue of the second Commandement, (as namely, circumcision, sacrifices, the Paschever, and the like) doth abolish that Commandement.

Object. 2. It is objected againe, Christ compareth the Sabbath to a sacrifice, *Mat. 12. 7.* therefore it is ceremoniall.

Ans. Our Saviour in that place useth a proverbiall speech, thereby shewing, that the greater duty must be preferred before the lesse; see *Mat. 9. 33.* where the self-same speech is used, and yet there is no question of Ceremonies, but onely company keeping with Publicans and sinners: *Dod* upon the fourth Commandement.

Ibidem page 110. this clause is gelded out: Some will not allow of all the words of precept, according to the Letter; as for example: First, some divide the Sabbath into two houres in the fore-noon, and two in the afternoon, although they have no footing for it, either from the spirituall and literall meaning of the fourth Commandement: Secondly, other can distinguish, &c.

In Doctor *Jones* his Commentary on the Hebrewes, page 117. this sentence is expunged. Here we are to learne, that we are to occupy our selves in a serious contemplation of the Sabbath day, it is as chest full of precious and invaluable Jewels, if it were unlocked unto us; it is a recordation of things past, namely, of the creation of the world which is never to be forgotten by us; and our Christian Sabbath must put us in remembrance of the resurrection of our Saviour Christ, which was a re-making of the world: Again Secondly, The Sabbath was a type and figure of things to come, of that spirituall rest that we should have by Christ from sinne, satan and the paines of hell; and likewise of that heavenly and everlasting rest that we shall have in the Kingdome of Heaven; all the week long we are working in those callings wherein God hath set us, eating our bread, as is the Commandement, in the sweat of our browes; but on the Sabbath day we rest from them all, doe nothing but heare the Word of God, pray, sing Psalmes, receive the Sacrament: and this should put us in mind of that perpetuall Sabbath we should keep in Heaven, where we should doe nothing but praise God continually: yet for all that, this day, the day of dayes, the Lords day, which the Lord hath selected to himselfe, is too little regarded by a great number; some men are so worldly that they will not rest, no not on this day; they that doe rest from bodily labours, will not rest on such a heavenly manner as they ought to doe, it may be they will be sleeping even at the Church, when others be at Sermons, or they will be sitting idle at home, in the streets, or Church-yards, but they doe not make that holy and comfortable

ble use of the Sabbath, as they ought to doe, they doe not now take occasion to meditate upon that sweet and joyfull Sabbath, where we shall rest with *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob* for ever; yet as the holy Ghost teacheth us in this place, this is one principall use we are to make of the Sabbath.

In the said Doctor *Jones* his Comentary, page 41. 102. 119. 222. 236. 253. 252. 274. 319. 320. these words, *The prophonation of the Sabbath* are put out, and the very name of Sabbath obliterated.

So in Doctor *Clerk's* Sermons page 200. l. ult. & page 147. l. 7. the word Sabbath is deleted.

65. *Passages deleted, that the Sacraments Ex Opere Operato conferre Grace; and concerning the Sacrament of Baptisme.*

IN Master *Ward's* Comentary on Matthew, written copy page 399. this clause is purged out: Fourthly, by Baptisme we gaine eternall life and salvation; that is, although Baptisme doth not conferre these *ex Opere operato*, yet where the Sacrament is rightly administred, and faithfully received, and Christ within justifying the person to be baptized, *Rom. 4. 11.* there Baptisme doth seale all these mercies, graces and benefits unto the party baptized.

Answ. 2. Baptisme is not absolutely necessary unto salvation, as appeares thus; First Sacraments doe not conferre grace upon all, nor by a phisicall power give grace unto any, but sometimes God in and by the Sacraments conveyes grace unto his Elect children, and sometimes by the Sacraments confirmes grace which he hath formerly conferred.

Ibidem on Matthew 3. ver. 11. *I indeed have baptized you with water, but he shall baptize you with the holy Ghost.* this discourse is obliterated:

Quest. What is *John Baptists* principall scope herein?

Anf. His principall and particular scope was this, to shew that his baptisme had no efficacy nor power in it from himselfe at all, but onely from Christ: teaching us, that the outward Sacrament may be in-effectuall (*vide August. contr. Faustum* 10 4. & 19. 12.) and that two manner of wayes, *viz.* First, for a time onely, as those who were baptized into *John's* baptisme received not the graces of the spirit till afterwards, *Act. 9. 2.* And Secondly, sometimes finally, and for ever; and thus *Simon Magus* was baptized but never benefitted at all by it, *Act. 8. 13. 20. 23.*

It may here be demanded, why the Sacraments are sometimes in-effectuall, seeing they are the Sacraments of Christ, instituted by himselfe?

First, because they are Sacraments appointed for the confirming of grace formerly given, not for the conferring of grace by any phisicall power in themselves (*Rom. 4. 11.*) and therefore no wonder if the Sacraments be not effectuall, when they are administred to one voyd of grace; for a seale set to a blank profits nothing.

Secondly, because those things which are a meanes of conferring grace, according to the Ordinance of God, are but onely meanes, and not efficient causes; and therefore unto the receiver is like the preaching of the Word, altogether unprofitable when they are not mixed with faith, *Heb. 4. 2.*

How may we know whether we are truly baptized or not, or whether our baptisme be effectuall or operative in us?

We may know this by a serious examination of our selves by those things whereunto Baptisme is compared, *viz.* Water A. Spirit B. Fire C.

A. First, Baptisme is compared to Water, which hath these two principall properties; First, it washeth cleane, and cleanseth away filth and pollution from a garment, and therefore we must examine and try, whether we be washed and cleane purged from the pollution of sinne or not? Secondly, It moysteneth and maketh apt to fructifie, and to bring forth fruit, *Isa. 44. 3.* and therefore we must try whether we are barren or not? for if we encrease nor in the works of sanctification, we are not yet truly baptized

zed unto Christ. *B.* Secondly, baptisme is compared unto the Spirit, or to wind or breath, whose properties are these two, namely; First, to coole and refresh the Lungs; and secondly, to work inwardly, according to our Saviours speech *John 3.* the wind blowes where it lists, of which afterwards in his proper place, *viz.* upon *John 2.5.* Let us here onely examine, whether lust burne and rage within us or not? for if we be enflamed therewith, and have no spirituall breath to coole these carnall flames, then we are not truly baptized into Christ; the pulses of the conscience being sighes and prayers wherewith the child of God doth quench the fire of concupiscence. *C.* Thirdly, Baptisme is compared to fire, whose properties are these three; *to wit,* First, to give light, and therefore he that is blind, is not yet by baptisme made a member of Christ; for where the spirit of Christ is there the eyes of the understanding are opened by him; and secondly, to purge away dross from mettles: and therefore we must try, whether the corruption of our nature be more and more subdued, and whether we be more holy, more pure and more unpotted then formerly we were? yea like gold seven times tried in the furnace; and thirdly, it doth enflame and burne; and therefore key-cold and luke-warme Christians are not yet baptized into Christ: wherefore we must labour that our hearts may be enflamed with a desire to advance the glory of God; as Saint Paul, when he saw the City *Athens* subject to idolatry, his spirit was stirred in him, *Act. 17.16.*

66. Passages delered, that the Eucharist and Masse are no Propitiatory Sacrifice. (See Masse before.)

IN Master *Ward's* Comentary on Matthew written copy page 324. this discourse is deleted: *Quest.* Is the bread in the Lords Supper, when it is consecrated, to be offered up as a Propitiatory sacrifice unto God?

Ans. No: our sacrifices now are Thanksgiving and Almes, *Hosea 14. 3. Psal. 4. 18. Heb. 13. 15, 16.*

Objest. But this Sacrament is frequently by the Fathers called a sacrifice, and therefore the Masse is no Idoll; yea the Papists urge *Heb. 13. 10, &c.* and from thence offer up the Bread, Christ unto God for a propitiatory sacrifice.

Ans. First, it is not certaine that the Apostle in that place speaks of the Eucharist, yea rather contrarily, it is certaine, that he speaks not of the Eucharist, for verse 15, it is said, *Per illum*, by him, therefore let us offer, &c. and therefore if we offer sacrifice unto God (*per illum, ergo non illum*) by Christ, then we do not offer up Christ himself unto God.

Secondly, our sacrifices now are spirituall, *viz.* prayers, praises and almes; as was shewed before in the answer to the Question: And hence collections were wont to be made in the Church, *1 Cor. 16.* at the time when the Eucharist was celebrated; and thus the Fathers doe alwayes explaine themselves when they speak of sacrifice: for there is a double sacrifice, *to wit,* first, one which the Priest offers up, and this the Papists speak of, but not the Fathers; secondly, a sacrifice which every Communicant offers, and of this the Fathers speak; *Tu sine oblatione venis, participas quod pauper offert, Chrysost.* When thou comest to the Lords Supper, thou must not come without an offering.

Ibid. page 365. The Papists object, Christ in the institution of his supper speaking of his sacrifice, doth not utter the words in the future tense: This is my body, which *traditur*, shall hereafter be given for you; and my blood, which *effundetur*, shall be shed for you: but in the present tense, *pro vobis traditur & effunditur*, which is given for you, and shed for you; therefore Christ did not onely sacrifice his body and blood upon the Crosse, but also in the Lords supper.

Ans. First, if these words (this is my body which is given, and my blood which is shed) be the substantiall words of the sacrifice of the Masse, then there is a grosse and impious error in the Canon of the Masse; for in the first part of the institution, the Canon

Canon wholly omits these words, *quod pro vobis traditur*, which is given for you; and in the other part of the institution, the Canon hath not the present tense, but the future *effundetur*, this is my blood which hereafter shall be shed for you; and thus the very nerves and sinewes of this argument are quite cut asunder by the Canon of the Masse it selfe.

Secondly, how can the sacrifice of the Masse be called *Jucruentum*, an unbloody sacrifice, if there were an effusion of blood even at that instant when Christ celebrated his supper? yea if the Wine be substantially changed into the blood of Christ, and the Bread into his body, and that there be blood not onely in the Cup, but also with the flesh, as they teach, then it must needs be a bloody sacrifice.

Thirdly, it is not unknowne to the Christian Faith of Protestants, when and where the body of Christ was given for the redemption of our soules, and the blood of Christ shed for washing away of our sinnes; for the Scripture in many places declares, that this was done in the death and suffering of Christ, and not in the celebration or institution of the Eucharist.

Fourthly, neither doth the use of the present tense prove that which they would have, for it is usuall and well known, that there is an Enallage oft times in Scripture, and that not onely the present tense; but also sometimes the preter tense is put for the future for the certainty of things affirmed: as for example; *puer natus est nobis*, unto us a child is given or borne; *Agnus occisus*, the Lamb was slaine from the beginning of the world; behold the Lambe of God, *qui tollit*, which taketh away the sinnes of the world, *Ego pono*, I lay downe my life for my sheep, &c. *Chem. Exam. part 2. fol. 166.6.*

Many Passages of this nature are expunged out of Doctor Jones his Comentary on the Hebrews, others altered by the Licenſer, which we pretermitt.

67. Clauses deleted against Popish Satisfaction.

IN Master Ward's Comentary on Matthew written copy page 17. this is deleted: *Quest. Which are the parts of Repentance?*

First, the Papihs answer hereunto, that the parts of repentance are three, to wit, First contrition, or (as some of them say) Attrition: Secondly, auricular confession; Thirdly, Satisfaction of merit.

Object. We may satisfie the wrath of God for the punishment due unto sinne.

Answ. Neither will this evasion serve, that by grace our works satisfie, for grace and works are so divers, that they cannot herein concur together; grace taking away works, and works grace, if they should be joyned as working causes together.

Ibidem page 383 this is purged out: I read (saith *Ambrose*) of Peter's penitent tears, but not of his Satisfaction; the which words of the Father, being urged against popish Satisfaction, *Peter Lombard* answered, *Multa facta sunt qua scripta non sunt*, many things have been done which are not written or mentioned in the Scriptures.

Answ. This answer is a sufficient satisfaction (with the Papihs) being an essentiall point of penance, and pertaineth to doctrine, and therefore it should have an expresse warrant or prooffe out of the Scripture; for in matters of faith or points of doctrine, an argument may be drawne negatively from the Scriptures (though not so in matter of fact) as for example; This doctrine is not found in Scripture, therefore it ought not to be received, is a good consequence; wherefore the Fathers (*viz. Ambrose*) argument is good, and the Masters (*viz. of the sentences*) solution looseth not the knot.

And fol. 207. written copy: *Thy sinnes be forgiven thee.*

We see Christ here neither requires confession, nor demands or reserves Satisfaction of this sick man, but wholly takes away his sinnes, to teach us that Christ pardons our sinnes truly, *Heb. 8.12. Jer. 31.21. &c. Isa. 43.25. Heb. 10.17.*

68. *Scripture Texts themselves and their very words alone deleted.*

Not to trouble you with any already mentioned in the Premises take these ensuing instances instead of many more that might be added. In Master *Ward's* Commentary on *Matth.* p. 201. Christ indeed is never absent from his children; for, he loves them unto the end, *Ioh.* 13. 1. yea, promiseth to be with them unto the end, *Mat.* 28. 20. yea, he dwelleth with them by his spirit, *1 Cor.* 3. 16. *2 Cor.* 6. 16. But yet he seemeth sometimes absent. *Ibid.* p. 202. There is a fear of God, which is a godly fear; wherein two things are observable. *viz.* First, that he is to be feared, *Pf.* 2. 11. *Pro.* 1. 7. *Eccle.* 12. 11. And secondly, that he is not to be feared doubtingly, but beleaved confidently, *Ioh.* 4. 18. & *Rom.* 8. 38. *Ibid.* p. 84. All Christians are called light: Thus Saint *Paul* taxed the Jewes, Thou art confident that thou thy selfe art a guide of the blinde, a light to them that sit in darknesse, *Rom.* 2. 19. whence he intimates that every Christian is or ought to be a light. *Ibid.* p. 194. *Quest.* Why doth the Lord principally respect our Faith? *Ans.* First, because Faith only saveth us, *Rom.* 3. 12. 27. & c. and 4. 5. *Acts* 13. 48. *Ioh.* 8. 24. *Eph.* 2. 8. Secondly, because works serve onely to prove our Faith, *Gal.* 5. 8. *Iam.* 2. 18. *Ibid.* p. 207. Thy sinnes be forgiven thee. We see Christ here, neither requires Confession, nor demands or reserves Satisfaction of this sick man, but wholly takes away his sinnes: to teach us, That Christ pardons our sinnes truly, *Heb.* 8. 12. *Ier.* 31. 32. & c. *Isay* 43. 25. *Heb.* 10. 17. *Ibid.* p. 403. Secondly, it appeares the Holy Ghost is God, because he begat Christ the Sonne of God, *Luk.* 1. 35. where he is called, *The power of the most High*; and therefore he is God. *Ibid.* p. 187. the Lord is immutable and immoveable in his Law and Decrees of mercy, *Iohn* 13. 1. *Rom.* 11. 29. *Ibid.* page 221. All power comes from God; we neither have power to eschew evill, nor to do good, *Rom.* 7. 15. 19. 23. Were not these Licensers as bad or worse then Papists, thus to obliterate these very Texts of sacred Scriptures as heterodox, and unfit to passe the Presse? No doubt they would have rased them out of the Bible it self in time, as well as out of this Authors writings, who did but barely cite them in their genuine sense, against Popish and Arminian errors.

69. *Passages expunged, that the Scriptures are light, not hard to be understood, and to be read by the common people.*

IN Master *Ward* upon Matthew 14. 15. page 27. 90. these clauses are deleted. *Ye are the light of the world.*

The Papists affirme, the Scriptures to be hard, and difficult and obscure, that the common people or Laity cannot understand them, and therefore it is to no purpose for them to read them. Now against this we produce this place, arguing briefly thus; the Apostles are the light of the world, therefore their doctrine (*i. e.* the Scripture) is perspicuous, and facile, and may be understood by a diligent and observant Reader &c.

To this of *Bellarmino* we answer, first, the Major proposition is false, that every light is alwayes visible, for these two causes, *viz.* First, because the Sunne and Moone were ordered to be great lights (*Gen.* 1. 16. and *Psal.* 136. 8.) for the governing of day and night, and yet we see them often darkned, and suffer strange eclipses: so the Church, though it be ordained to enlighten the world by ministering the doctrine of the Scriptures, yet sometimes it may faile out of mens sight, as hath been shewed elsewhere, *viz.* upon *Matth.* 5. 14. Secondly, though the Church be a light, yet such as walke in darknesse; loving that better then the light, doe not alwayes see it, but want either will or eyes thereto: Thus the King of *Arams* Souldiers neither saw the horses and Chariots of fire that were

round about *Elisba*, nor knew that they were in the midst of *Samaria*, untill their eyes were opened.

Neither do men light a candle and put it under a Busbell.

The Papists say, that the Scriptures are so hard and obscure, that although people were permitted to read them in their mother tongue, yet they could not possibly understand them, and therefore it boots not at all to do so: Now against this Tenet of theirs we enforce this place, arguing thus; Christ in the former verses affirmed his Apostles to be, not only *the salt of the earth*, but also *the light of the world*; and in this verse shewes how absurd a thing it is to *light a candle, and then to put it under a Busbell*, and how usefull it is to put it into a candlestick, *because so it gives light to all that are in the house*. But if the writings of the Apostles be obscure, then we must of necessity confesse, that the light is hid under a bushell, and is not seen by those in the roome: Now if this be absurd, then let the Pastors acknowledge it an absurd opinion to think the Scriptures obscure, and rather affirme them to be perspicuous and plain; yea, not only perspicuous and clear to the understanding of some, but to all who are in the house, that is, to all the faithfull: Briefly, if the Gospell be like a lighted candle which is put into a candlestick, and gives light to all who are in the house, then it is perspicuous and clear to the whole household; but the former is true from this verse; therefore also the latter, &c.

Were not our Prelates wholly Popish, and Romes sworne Vassals, who could not endure to have such passages as these passe freely through our Presses without a Romish purgation? and do not these bad fruits discover how rotten their hearts, how corrupt their judgements were?

70. Passages blotted out against *Transubstantiation*, and *Christ's Corporall presence in the Eucharist*.

IN Dr. Clerk's Sermons page 229. l. 21. after these words, *not dye at all*, should follow this deleted cause; *God is the creator; 'tis hee* (John sayes) *made all things; the Popish Priest sayeth*, he can, by certaine words said in the Sacrament, make his maker, create Christ, incarnate him again, turne bread into Christs body.

And in Master Ward's Comentary on Matthew, p. 380. Wine and bread cannot be both in the Sacrament corporally and substantially, as the Papists teach; But of this subject you have heard much before; we shall not therefore here enlarge our selves any further.

71. A notable clause deleted concerning the Toleration of Popish Priests, and Divines preaching against it.

IN D. Fearlie's *Clavis Mystica*, p. 175. this notable passage is purged out by the Archbishops Chaplaine: Now though toleration of different Religions falleth in some respects, within the compasse of the mysteries of state, which cannot be determined in the Schools but are fittest to be debated at the Councel Table; yet considering the preheminance the Law of God hath above the law of men, and the dangerous consequence of an ill resolution of the state in this point, which may tend to the ruine of many thousand soules; certainly the States-man is not to begin but where the Divine ends in a deliberation of this nature; For first, it is to be enquired, *whether bearing with a false Religion, be a thing justifiable by the rules of true Religion? whether the God of Heaven permit any permission of blasphemy against himselfe, or heresie against his true worship?* And in case that God dispence with some kind of toleration of errors and abuses for some time, to prevent a greater mischief, the Councell of state is to enquire, whether the condition of the present state be such, that the onely meanes to suppress herefe,

is, for a while to let it grow ? as also, whether the cockle can be cleane weeded out without the spoile of much good corne ? If the Grecians never undertook any matter of great consequence, before they received answers from their Oraeles ; neither the Jews before they consulted with God by the Ephod ; nor the Romans, *prinsquam de caelo servatum esset*, before they had the approbation of their sooth-sayers ; doubtlesse all Christian estates are to expect either a command, or at least a warrant from Scripture, before they proceed in matters so neerly concerning God and his service ; otherwise, they goe about to set the sunne by the dyall, not the dyall by the sunne ; alter the house to the hangings ; whereas all good Governours should be like good Pylots, *qui manum ad clavum, oculos habent ad astra*, who have their eye upon the starres or Card and hand upon their helme ; that is, they ought according to the direction from heaven to steere their course.

72. Passages expunged against Veniall finnes.

IN Doctor Clerk's Sermons page 295. l. 26. after *Lotteries*, the Licenser hath deleated these words ; *All finnes ventall ; veniall (I would say) there ; yea (as a Romish Riball shamed not once to say) though a man had layen with our Lady.*

And page 333. l. 22. after these words. *A petty sunne*, should follow ; *nor ever heard I of vice in a Diminutive, but onely in a Papist ;* *Lindan hath Levicula vitiola*, substantive and adjective abated both.

In Master Ward's Comentary on Matth. 5. ver. 19. page 105. One of the least Commandements, this discourse is rased out.

Are all finnes mortall, are not some Veniall ?

First, some finnes are called veniall, *possibilitate*, because there is a possibility that they may be pardoned ; and they are thus called, in opposition to those mortall finnes which cannot possibly be forgiven, as finall impenitency, totall apostacy, and the sinne against the Holy ghost, *Heb. 64. & 10. 26.*

Secondly, some finnes are called veniall, *facilitate*, because they are more easily and usually forgiven ; and they are thus called, in opposition to those sins which are scarcely or seldome pardoned ; as swearing, and the idolatry of covetous men, which are seldome truly repented of.

Thirdly, some finnes are called veniall, *promissione*, because they have a promise of pardon ; and thus all the finnes of the righteous children of God are called veniall.

Fourthly, some finnes are called veniall, *vera estimatione*, because they deserve not death nor condemnation : And in this sense we deny any finnes to be veniall, because every transgression of the Law is mortall ; yea, hence *Bellarmino* confesseth, that they are not properly finnes, because they are *preter legem non contra*, besides the Law, not contrary to the Law ; and therefore we should not presume because our finnes are small, but feare because they are many ; the smalnesse of them having been a meanes to hinder us from turning from them, or repenting of them, and also to multiply and encrease the number of them.

Ibidem written copy page 334. *Object.* Therefore some finnes are veniall, some mortall.

Answ. First, neither an Eagle nor an Elephant will catch at flyes, and therefore it becomes not so great and learned a Scholler as *Bellarmino* is. to catch and snatch at these flyes and moats.

73. Passages rased out concerning our effectuall Vocation.

THIS whole discourse is obliterated in Master Ward's Comentary on Matthew 22 ver. 14. *Many are called but few elected :*

Quest. How many sorts of callings or calls are there ?

Answ. There is a double call, *viz.* particular and generall : First, there is a particular calling or function, as to the ministry, and the like, *John 6. 12. Matth. 7. 22.* now

this call belongs not unto salvation, and therefore I omit it : Secondly, there is a generall call unto salvation, which is two fold, *to wit*, ineffectuall and effectuall : First, there is an effectuall calling, which is twofold. *to wit*, a calling whereby God calls all men; and a call whereby he calls the outward Church : First, there is an effectuall call whereby God calls all men, and this is twofold, *to wit* ; First, the Word of God, which is said to call all, and that both because it speaks unto all without difference ; *Come all, &c.* Mark 11. 24. & Acts 17. 30. & 10. 35. and also because the sound thereof goes into all the world, or unto the utmost parts of the world, *Rom.* 10. 17. *Psal.* 19. 4 : The book of the creatures for the invisible things of God are seen in the creation, *Rom.* 1. 20. and there are some marks and impressions or prints of God in every creature : Secondly, there is an effectuall call, whereby God calls the eternall Church, *to wit*, the whole Church professing the Gospell outwardly, whether they be Papists, Arrians, Hereticks, Anabaptists or Protestants : Whence we may learne, That all in the outward Church are called, and therefore many are called ; this is cleere from this verse ; and chap. 20. 16. *Luke* 14. 16.

Quest. 2. How are all in the outward Church called ?

Answ. Two manner of wayes, by the Word and Spirit ; First, all under the Gospell are called by the Word preached, *Matth.* 23. 37. and hence the Gospell is called *Lucifer*, the day starre, *2 Pet.* 1. 19. and the Word of life, *John* 6. 68. and the salvation of God, *Act.* 28. 28. and the word of reconciliation, *2 Cor.* 5. 19. and therefore what will become of those who despise the Gospell ; that is, both first, the Papists, who because they hate us, therefore they contemne the Gospell which we professe, although it be the word of life, and the means of their calling : Oh woe be unto those who contemne the words of Christ ; and also secondly, they who think preaching a fine thing, but not necessary ; such are they who can be content with a dumbe Minister, or who, like the Gergeiens, preferre their gaine before Gospell ; Oh ! it is a greivous thing for Christ to call, and we to refuse his gracious calling ; and also thirdly, they who enjoy the preaching of the gospell, and may be made partakers thereof, hath forenoone and afternoone on the Lords day, and yet neglect it, and for every trifle, and upon every triviall occasion, will absent himselfe, *Prov.* 1. 24. Oh it is a fearfull thing for a man to loath this lovely manna ; and likewise fourthly, they who doe not make a right use of that which they heare, and this is the most usuall, and the most hurtfull of all, *Amos* 8. 11. And thus we see how all under the gospell are called by the Word : Secondly, all under the gospell are called by the Spirit, working within, as well as by the Word, preached without : Now because we make this a member of the generall ineffectuall call : it may be demanded,

Quest. 3. Whether the call of the Spirit be ineffectuall or not ? for it is said, that those who are led by the Spirit are the sonnes of God, *Rom.* 8. 14. and that there is no condemnation to the spirituall man, *Rom.* 8. 1. because the gifts of God are *ἀνεταμίνα*, without repentance, *Rom.* 11. 29.

Answ. All this is true of the effectuall operation of the holy spirit, because that is certaine and eternall ; but there is a generall work of the spirit, which ends in perdition ; that is, many may and doe fall finally and totally into sinne, and consequently into eternall destruction, in whom sometimes there hath been some good motions, and generall operations of the blessed spirit ; this is cleere from these places, *to wit*, *Mat.* 7. 22. & 13. 20. *Heb.* 6. 4. & 10. 26. & *2 Pet.* 2. 20. Now this generall call and operation of the holy Spirit hath these degrees following, *viz.* First, an understanding of the Word, for the meere naturall man cannot understand it, *Mat.* 16. 23. & *1 Cor.* 2. 14. Here observe two things, *to wit*, First, there are many in the places of the Gospell who heare the Word preached all the dayes of their lives, and yet understand nothing, but remaine children in understanding ; now these never were made partakers so much as of common or generall grace : Secondly, there are some who live under the Word, and doe dogmatically understand the Word ; now these must remember that knowledge is not enough, God having given them knowledge for practice sake, yea to know and not to obey will aggravate their punishment. Secondly, a taste of spirituall things and

and the heavenly gift, *Heb. 6. 4.* this is to receive the Word with joy, *Math. 13. 20.* and there are few ordinary hearers, but at some time or other have these affecting motions, although for the most part the reprobate rather rejoyceth in the newnesse then in the trunelle of that which he heares. Thirdly, obedience in part forsaking some finnes and doing God some service, *Mark 6. 20.* And thus much for the first generall call unto salvation, to wit, the ineffectuall call. Now

Secondly, there is an effectuall calling, and thus onely the sheep of Christ are called, *John 10. 27. & 6. 44. & 2 Tim. 1. 9. & 1 Cor. 1. 26.*

Quest. 4. How many things are observable in this effectuall vocation or calling?

Answ. These five which follow; namely, First, it is of and from God, that is, those who are effectually called, are called by God, *John 8. 44. Act. 13. 48.* Secondly, it is wrought by the Spirit, *Mat. 12. 18. Isa. 42. 1. 1 Cor. 5. 14. Gal. 3. 26.*

Object. 1. Thirdly, it is free: Now against this it may be objected, election is free but not vocation, because our works goe before effectuall vocation, as appears by the Prodigall, and Eunuch, and *Cornelius.*

Answ. There are two parts of our effectuall vocation, whereof the first is hid and secret, and internall, and is spiritually wrought by the holy spirit; and the second part is manifest, and that is, the perfection of sanctification, when it is outwardly perfected: Now both these proceed from the free love of God, who works in us both the will and the deed, both good habits and good acts; read *Phil. 2. 13. 2 Tim. 1. 9. Jam. 1. 18.* Fourthly, it is firme and certaine, *Rom. 8. 30. 1 Thes. 2. 24.* Fifthly, it is not appertaining unto all, but onely those who are elected, are effectually called, &c.

74. *Clauses obliterated against Wit-worship.*

IN Master Ward's Comentary on Matthew, written copy page 361. this is expunged:

Quest. Because this woman without any particular command from God, did by this her fact performe a good work, and an acceptable service unto Christ, it may therefore be demanded, Whether those works which are undertaken out of a good intencion, though without a command, be acceptable services or parts of Gods worship?

Answ. No; for the Word saith, that he is worshipped in vaine by the Doctrine of men, *Isa. 15. 9. and Col. 2. 20.* will-worship is condemned, yea this last was singular, not exemplary; for Mary anointed Christ without any speciall command from God, but not without a singular instinct of the spirit, and Christ defendeth the fact, not as simply good or worthy to be imitated, nor because he did approve of wil-worship, but because it was gratefull unto him for another use, which he knew, but shee knew no, namely his buriall, which was shortly to be, *Pareus f. fol 853. b.*

Ibidem page 57. in the written copy: Here indeed is a pride in Religion, when God must be content either to accept of wil-worship, or a freewill-offering, or else he shall have nothing.

75. *Passages deleted concerning the loving, prizing and hearing of Gods Word.*

IN Master Ward's Comentary on Matthew, page 110. in the written copy, this clause is rased out.

Answ. 3. Except their righteousness exceed that of the Scribes, they cannot be saved (because civill honesty without Religious zeale is but like a menstrens cloth, *Isa. 64.*) And afterwards the last line but four, First, delight in the hearing of the Word, and call it not a wearinesse or hard saying; we see in hunting that both the horse and the dog runne after the Hare, but after a diverse manner; for the horse hath no delight in that sport, and therefore if he were whipt and spurred, he would not ride after it, but the dog delights in the pastime, and therefore runs swiftly of himself without any beating: Thus it is not enough to come to the house of God upon Gods day to heare his Word,

Word, but we must doe it with delight and desire, if we would have the Lord to approve of our hearing.

Ibid. page 332. there is this further deletion: First, how doe we love the Word? whether doe we prepone or postpone other things before it? we should enquire with our selves, whether we so love the Word, that we had rather want our meat, drink, and rayment, and recreations, and riches, and all, rather then the preaching of the Word of God; &c.

Fourthly, unto an example of piety and purity, *Phil. 2. 15.* (we say and see that those who are in place among the Papists, are bold and couragious in the defence of their Religion, and therefore it is a shame if any Protestants, who are preferred either to Ecclesiasticall or civill dignities, should stand as Newters betwixt two.)

And a little after: Thirdly, whether the back and belly of the poore blesse us, &c. Fourthly, whether we use our riches for the buying and procuring the preaching of the Word or not, when we want it? For our Lord will take an account of the spending and disposing of our riches.

76. Passages deleted concerning good works, their end; and against the Merit of works, and Works of Supererogation.

IN Master Ward's Comentary on Matthev, p. 200. this is purged out: *Quest.* How many ends are there in the performance of good vworks?

Ans. Four; namely, first, to please God; secondly, to glorifie God; and thirdly to make our ovne calling and election sure; and fourthly, to confirme, strengthen and build up others: Now the morall vworks of the naturall man fall short in all these but onely the last; for sometimes his Neighbour reaps benefit thereby.

Ibidem printed book, fol. 156. written copy fol. 68. 69. Why may we not ascribe some Merit unto our works?

Ans. Because that were to derogate from God and his good will, who so graciously invites us to come and buy grace of him without mony or mony-worth, *Isa. 55. 1.* and therefore we must not expect nor exact the reward of glory, as a due debt unto us from God for our works, as Saint *Elzearius* did, &c. Will not this hinder and discourage men from working, to remember that all their works merit nothing at Gods hand at all? *Ans.* It is so far from hindering, that it furthers; so farre from discouraging, that it encourages; so farre from lessening, that it encreases; and so farre from extinguishing that it enflames our desires and endeavours to be rich in good works.

Ibidem written copy fol. 105. We deserve nothing at the hands of God but only by the obedience of the Commandements, i. e. if there be any merit, it is in the obedience of the Law: if *Adam* had merited, it had been by obeying that which was commanded, not that which was required; for when by such things we desire to please God, he will say, who hath required these things at your hands, *Isa. 1. 12.* and therefore little hope can the Papists have to merit Heaven by their monasticall Vowes, whether generall or particular.

NOTE. Ibidem written copy fol. 108. It is injurious unto Christ, to desire God to accept of the overplus of our brothers merits for us: Here we may observe the true *Mystery of Iniquity*, and the impious impudency of the Popish Writers, and all who herein subscribe unto them; who, first, hold that the merit of Christ is not sufficient to save us, because it is not ours, and we ought to have an inherent righteousness of our owne besides that imputative righteousness of his, or otherwise we can never be saved: And secondly, that the merits of a meere man can save us although we be wicked, and have no iherent righteousness in us at all; thus blasphemously arrogating more to the false and fained overplus of sinfull men, then to the whole sufferings and perfect merits of that Lamb without spot.

Ibidem written copy fol. 300. *Object.* For the merit of works: *Ans.* First, the Question between us and the Papists is, *de meritis secundum esse*, but this conclusion is enforced

inferred *de Meritis secundum dici*, and therefore proves nothing against us: *Answ. 2.* Secondly, he who can perfectly fulfill whatsoever is commanded in the Law, may be said to merit the reward promised: but this none are able to doe, as hath been formerly in divers places proved: *Answ. 3.* Thirdly, the promise of the Gospell is not, doe this and live; but belevee and thou shalt be saved: and therefore the reward is not merited by works, but given of grace and mercy. *Answ. 4.* Fourthly, these accidental promises, wherein life is promised to works, doe not give a right unto the Kingdome of Heaven for the merit of works, but the profession of life everlasting through grace in Christ: And therefore works are not antecedent, causall and meritorious causes of this life, but in respect of our right thereunto; they are frequent conditions, and in regard of our possession thereof, they are preparations thereunto.

Passages expunged against Prophanenesse, Libertinisme, and living, ending in sinne.

TO close up these purgations, we informed you in the first Section of them, p. 259. that the Licenser changed this passage in Doctor Jones his Comentary on the Hebrewes, page 106. *We have begun in pure and sound Religion, let us not END in Popery; into, let us not end in prophanenesse; yet behold these purgers ending not only in Popery, but Libertinisme and prophanenesse too, in the highest degree, as their expunging these clauses (to omit hundreds of like nature) evidence.*

In Mr. Ward's Comentary on Matthew, p. 161. they deleted this period *Thirdly, they (Professors) must be carefull to stop the mouthes of morall, civill. honest men, who usually object, that they are not so proud, covetous, idle, revengefull, angry, and selfe-conceited as Professors are; for they are Pharises toward others, and little better then Publicans in themselves; Let those therefore who call upon the Name of the Lord, depart from all iniquity, and let them labour to abound in all vertues, both morall and Theologicall, that so our profession may be praised both of prophane and civill men.*

Page 147. in the same Author: *Thirdly, another reason; why we must never stonde at all, is, because sinne is like Penelope's Webbe, and therefore to admit of one were to cast our selves as farre back as ever we were; wherefore we must so runne that we may attaine; and so follow Gods Plough, that we look not backe: the sow who after her washing turnes her selfe to her former wallowing, becomes as filthy as ever; and man by a willing running or falling into sinne, becomes as far off from God, and odious unto him as ever; and therefore we must take no liberty unto sinne at all.*

And page 217. *Secondly, those are here blame-worthy, who after a generall call to the profession of the gospell, live wickedly, turning the grace of God into wantonnesse, Jude 4. and ending in the flesh though they began in the Spirit, Gal. 5. 19: certainly these are the worst of all in the Lords esteem, this not being the perswasion of him who called them.*

TO these purgations, infinite others might be accumulated enough to make many whole Folio Volumes, but for brevities sake we shall pretermitt them; all these here mentioned (for the Readers fuller satisfaction, & clearer discovery of this prelates popish intentions) not being read at large, at the Lords Bar, but onely the principall of them, the rest but pointed at (though all there actually produced in generall collections of them) to husband time, and avoyd tediousnesse in this kind of evidence.

Now we appeal to all the world, and every mans conscience, who shal impartially peruse these severall orthodox passages expunged out of new licensed books, by the Archb. and his Agents, before they could passe the Presse (the like whereof was never heard of in any Protestant Church, but onely in Romish Babel) and compare them with the severall forementioned Popish Doctrines, Superstitions, Errors, Clauses authorized by them in other late printed Pamphlets, to corrupt the People: whether they be not a most full, satisfactory, experimentall, irrefragable Evidence to convince your Lordships and all gainesayers, of the Arch-bishops reall Endeavours, utterly to subvert the Protestant Religion, and introduce the whole body of popery (with arbitrary power and ty-

ranny) among us without any publike opposition, notwithstanding all his meer verbal protestations to the contrary, most apparently contradicted, refuted, by these his popish purgations, uncapable of any justification or excuse, unparalleled by any Protestant Prelates, unheard of in any Protestant Church, or in our own, before his commencing in it, unpractised by any, but onely popish Inquisitors, in their *Indices Expurgatorii*; wherein we find the very selfe-same passages in substance, yea and some of them in *terminis* deleted out of Classicall Authors, which this Arch-bishop and his Chaplaines have obliterated out of our Protestant Writers, as you may evidently discern by these few particular instances in the *Index Librorum expurgatorum*, by Casper Quiroga, Cardinall and Arch-bishop of Toledo, and generall Inquisitor for Spaine, Salmuri, 1601. wherein I find these with sundry other like clauses expunged out of the *Index* to Saint Augustine's Works, set out by Froben: The Annotations to the Bible of Robert Stephanus Erasmus, and others. *Eucharistiam non esse sacrificium, sed sacrificij memoriam: Fides sola justificat: Justi summus sola fide, Justos ab injustis fides discernit, non opera. Imaginum usum prohibitum. Matrimonium omnibus concessum qui continere non volunt. Opera nostra nos non salvare: Peccata venialia damnant. Qui Sabbathum observat sanctificat. Sacra sunt venalia Romæ. Cælum est venale Deusque: Roma ipsa Lupanar Facta est toto execrabilis orbe. Christus solus pacificator & justificator. Non meremur beatitudinem de condigno. Vult Dominus Altare terrenum, nos autem marmoreum construimus: Episcopus non differt a Presbytero. Sacerdos & Episcopus olim idem: Monachi olim non fuerunt, sicut hodie, &c. Votorum nulla vincula apud veteres Monachos. Beatissime pater audit Romanus Pontifex. Tum enim glorificatur nomen Dei, cum nihil nostris meritis, sed totum tribuitur illius misericordie. Templorum supervacaneus ornatus. Alienis meritis & operibus nemo juvetur: Fides etiam in tentatione manet: Summum malum est in operibus nostris & meritis confidere; hoc enim est meritum Christi blasphemare. Confitenda Deo peccata non homini: Scriptura divina omnibus volentibus pervia & facilis; Scripturas legere omnibus, etiam mundanis preceptum. Sanctorum invocationem precavit Joannes, Salus non ex Meritis. Imagines pictas contra Religionem esse scribit Epiphanius: Imagines vel statuas Dei cultores ad orare non debent, &c.*

What affinity there is between these purgations of this popish Spanish Inquisitor, and those of this English Archprelate & his Agents, you may easily discern by comparing both together; & therupon necessarily conclude, that their intentions were alike popish, because their Practises, Purgations are so parallell. Only there are these remarkable differences between them: First, that these purgations made by him and his Agents are far more grosse in sundry particulars then any we find in this, or any other Romish Inquisitors *Index Expurgatorius*: Secondly, that they were made by this Arch-prelat and his Chaplaines, who professed himselfe a zealous Protestant, and who in respect of his very calling, supreme authority in our Church, and the great trust reposed in him, ought rather to have authorized then purged out such passages, especially in such times when we were all generally running headlong unto popery, and apostatizing unto Rome; when as all these other deleatures were made by professed papists only in popish Kingdomes, Churches, when they were falling off to the protestant Religion, which they endeavoured to prevent.

By this Card you may see by what compasse this Arch-director and Corrector of our Church did sayle by, and what forraigne port he was making to.

The precedent branch of the Evidence against the Arch-bishop; hath given most ample proof of the seventh and ninth *Originall Articles*, to which we shall onely adde; That, the Arch-bishop having stop't the *English Presses* to all Orthodox Books against his Popish Innovations at home, endeavoured to hinder the Printing of them abroad in Forraign parts; to which end by Sir *William Boswells* means, (then Leager Ambassador at the *Hague*) and the assistance of one *John le Maire*, preacher in *Amsterdam* (his constant Spie and Intelligencer, to give notice of all *English* and *Scottish* Books there printing, as appears by sundry *Originall Letters* under his hand and seal, found in the Arch-bishops studdy) he procured the States of the United Provinces in the Low Countreies, to make a generall Proclamation in *Aprill* 1639. against the Printers and spreaders of Libellous and Seditious Books against the Church and Prelates of *England*, and obtained a Proclamation or Order from the Townes of *Amsterdam* and *Roterdam*, for the apprehending and punishing of Master *Can* and other *English* men, who Printed such *English* and *Scottish* Books; which is evident by divers coppies thereof, and Letters from Sir *William Boswell* and others, to the Arch-bishop. By meanes whereof the Presses both in *England* and the *Netherlands* were all closed up against Orthodox *English* Books, under the notion of Libellous and Seditious Pamphlets, and could neither be Printed nor imported without great danger and censure.

On the contrary, divers Popish books of all sorts, as well in *English* as *Latin*, *French* and other Languages, were Printed and dispersed in *London* by Priests, Jesuits, Papists and their Agents, without any restraint or search made after them; or punishment inflicted on the Printers or dispersers of them: yea, many thousands of them were dayly imported by help of the Queens Priests and Capucins, who dispersed them; and if the searchers or others seized them at the Custome-house, according to the Statute of 3. *Jacobi*. c. 5. which Enacts; That no person or persons shall bring from beyond the seas, nor shall print, buy, or sell, any Popish Primers, Ladies Psalters, Mannels, Rosaries, Popish Catechismes, Missals, Breviaries, Portals, Legends and Lives of Saints, conteining any superstitious matter, Printed or Written in any Language whatsoever, nor any other superstitious Books, Printed or Written in the *English* tongue; upon pain of forfeiture of 40. s. for every such Booke; &c. The Arch-bishop or his Chaplains would presently send to the Searchers, and enjoin them to restore these Books to the owners that claimed them; or else command them to bring them in to the High Commission Office, upon pretence to proceed against the Importers, and to have the Books themselves publickly adjudged to be burnt; where, after a little space, they were delivered out from thence to the Importers, without any penalty or confiscation, and then freely dispersed among the *Roman Priests* and *English Catholics*, to foment them in their Idolatry, Superstition, and seduce others unto Popery: as one *John Egerton* a searcher deposed, and others attested; of which more hereafter. Which compared with the premised Licensing of Popish, and purging Orthodox Books against Popery; will most perspicuously discover his impious designs to advance and set up Popery among us by degrees.



The fifth particular branch of the Evidence to prove the first Generall Charge against the Arch-bishop of Canterbury.

WE shall in the next place proceed to the eighth and ninth *Originall Article*, which we shall addresse our selves to prove, and make a fifth Generall proof

Proof of his Trayterous Endeavours to subvert Gods true Religion by Law established in our Church, and to set up Popish superstition and Idolatry in its stead: and that is, His countenancing, commending, fomenting, and preferring of divers Clergymen, who were most addicted to, and greatest Writers, sticklers for Arminian Errors and Superstitions Popish Doctrines, Ceremonies, Innovations, to the best Ecclesiasticall Dignities, Promotions, Benefices, and making some of them Chaplaines to his Majesty, to the Princes Highnesse; and Heads of Colledges in our Universities, to poison those Fountaines of Religion: Seconded with his contrary discountenancing, suppressing, suspending, censuring, imprisoning, persecuting, and driving forth of this Kingdome such zealous, Orthodox Preaching Ministers who were most bold and resolute to oppose them.

For pregnant proof of the former Branch of this particular.

First, it is clear and undenyable not onely by known experience and divers Letters found in his study, but by the Docquet Bookes and privy Signets on record, that this Archbishop (contrary to the use of his Predecessors) incroached, usurped to himselfe from the year of our Lord 1627. when he first grew potent at Court and became Bishop of Bath & Wells, afterwards of London, before he was Archbishop, and ever since he mounted to the See of Canterbury, the disposition and donation of all or most Bishopricks, Deaneries, Prebendaries and Benefices of note in his Majesties gift, or in the gift of the Lord Keeper and Master of the Court of Wards, not onely within the Kingdomes of England, but of Scotland and Ireland too; and that he usurped the power of nominating Chaplaines in ordinary to his Majesties and the Princes Highnesse (contrary to all former Presidents) belonging time out of mind to the Lord High Chamberlaines Office, who had the nomination of these Chaplaines and swore and invested them in their office, as Master Oldefsworth (a Member of the House of Commons) Secretary to the late High Chamberlaine the Honourable Earle of Pembroke attested upon Oath, and the Noble Earle himselfe averred upon his Honour, a thing so notorious to all old Courtiers, and Chaplaines in ordinary to the King, as to doubt of it were a Solecisme.

* See p. 157. to 164.

To make this apparent by punctuall proofes, we shall instance in such particular persons which were advanced by him to Bishopricks even for their erroneous Arminian opinions, or dangerous Popish Tenets and Practises. We have * formerly proved, that Richard Mountague was questioned and voted against in the Common House in Parliament April 13. 1626. for his Arminian and Popish Tenets, published in his Gagge and Appeale, and, endeavouring, as much as in him lay to reconcile us to Popery: which complaint was revived against him in the ensuing Parliament, An. 1627. No sooner was that Parliament dissolved; but this Prelate, then Bishop of London, who fomented, protected him against the Parliament all he could, in stead of discountenancing, punishing, advanced him to the Bishoprick of Chichester in the place of Bishop Carlton who writ against him. This was evidenced by the Docquet Book it selfe, wherein this entry of the Privy Signet and Election is recorded, July 18. 1628. His Majesties Royall assent for Richard Mountague, Batchelour in Divinity, to bee Bishop of Chichester, signified, By order of the LORD BISHOP OF LONDON (Land) And by the Record it selfe of the Kings Royall Assent, produced at the Bar by Master Prynn; and there Read in these Words.

CHARLES R.

FOR EX, &c. Reverendissimo in Christo Patri per dilecto & perquam fidei Nostro Domino Georgio providentia divina Cantuar: Archiepiscopo ac totius Anglia Primate & Metropolitano, ac aliis quibuscunque Episcopis quorum in hac parte intererit, salutem: Cum vacante nuper sede Episcopi Cicestren: per mortem naturalem ultimi Episcopi ejusdem, ad humilem petitionem Decani & Capituli Ecclesia nostra Cathedralis Cicestr: per Literas Nostras petendi licentiam concesserimus alium sibi eligendum in Episcopum

Episcopum & pastorem sedis prædictæ, iidem Decanus & Capitulum vigore & ob-
tentu licentia nostra per dilectum nobis in Christo Richardum Mountague; sacra
Theologia Baccalaurum sibi et Ecclesie prædictæ elegerunt in Episcopum & pastorem,
prout per literas suas, sigillo eorum communi sigillatas Nobis inde directas pleni-
us liquet & apparet. Nos electionem illam acceptantes eidem electioni Regium no-
strum assensum adhibuimus pariter et favorem, et hoc vobis tenore presentium significa-
mus. Rogantes, ac in fide et dilectione quibus Nobis tenemini firmiter precipiendo man-
dantes, quatenus vos eundem Richardum Mountague in Episcopum et pastorem Ecclesie
Cathedralis nostræ Cicestræ: prædictæ sic ut præfertur electum, electionemque prædictæ
confirmare, et eundem Episcopum et pastorem Ecclesie Cathedralis prædictæ consecrare,
ceteraque omnia et singula peragere quæ vestro in hac parte incumbunt officio pastorali,
juxta formam statutorum et legum Regni nostri Angliæ in hac parte editæ et provis: veli-
tis cum diligentia, favore, & effectu. In cuius rei, &c.

This containeth your Majesties Royall Assent for Richard Mountague Batchelar in
Divinity to be Bishop of Chichester, voyde by the death of the last Incum-
bent. By order of the Lord Bishop of London.

After this he so far honoured him, as to be present at his consecration; Witnesse
this passage in his *Diary*, penned with his own hand. August 23. 24. 1628. Satur-
day Saint Bartholmeus Eve, the Duke of Buckingham slain at Portsmouth by one Lieu-
tenant Felton about 9. in the morning; the Newes of his death came to Croydon where
it found my selfe, and the Bishops of Winchester, Ely and Carlisle at the consecration of
Bishop Mountague for Chichester, with my Lords Grace. In the year 1638. upon
the Translation of Bishop Wren to Ely; this Archbishop preferred him to the See of
Norwich; witnesse Bishop Mountagues Letter to the Archbishop thus endorsed
with his own hand. Rec. Martii 29. 1638. Bishop of Chichesters submission of his
Bookes to me, &c. Found in his Study at Lambeth and attested by Master Pryne.

May it please your Grace,

By Mr Bray I sent your Grace another part of my *Altar Relations*, as my be-
tween-times of sicknesse would give me leave to transcribe; the rest as I can dispatch
it, I will send after with Gods helpe: In the last, there is much of the Churches sa-
crifice, faithfully related out of *Antiquity* not positively by me asserted. I am but a
Narrator, and so the lesse offensive. Howsoever I give your Grace Power to dispose
of what I write, as will fit the Church and State. For we are, I know, of the same
Religion, drive to the same end, though not the same way. So much I related to Master
Bray, and Mr Deane of Christ-Church. The remaynes of my *Ague* are worle then
the *Ague* it selfe, so that I cannot waite upon your Grace as I would. Yesterday I
took a Purgation, which I hope will doe me good, but hath much weakened mee,
and Phisicians in expelling the remaynes and restoring health unto the castle of
strength, say they must *tuto pede movere*. I cannot learn that my Lord of Norwich is yet
fully translated, till when I suppose there is no issuing of my *Conge D'esleer*: I must
humbly intreat your Grace that you would be pleased to informe me, when and what I
should doe, in both which I am so ignorant: God make me profitable to his Church,
to which I can bring nothing but honesty and Industry, which I will promise; and to
your Grace thankfullnesse for your long-continued extraordinary Favours; in which
vote I rest.

Note

Note

Your Graces poor Servant and Brother,

Rich. Ciciſt.

For the most Reverend my Lord of Canterbury his Grace, this.

By

By this Letter it is most apparent: First, that Bishop Mountague made the Archbishop acquainted with his Bookes before he printed them, and submitted them to his censure: and how full of Popery they are, you have already heard: Yea after they were printed he presented him with printed Coppies of them curiously bound up and gilded, produced and read formerly at the Lords Barre: Secondly, That Canterbury and he were of the same religion, and did drive at the same end; and what was that but the erecting of Altars, the introducing of Popery, and reconciling us to Rome, as this Letter and the foregoing evidence manifest. Thirdly, That his promotions were by the Archbishops long-continued extraordinary favours, for which he returns him thanks in this Letter. And no wonder was it, that Bishop Mountague was his speciall Favourite; for if we beleave the Pamphlet intituled; *The Popes Nuncio*, p. 11. 14. 16. (first published in Italian by the Venetian Embassadour) this great confident of the Archbishop was very intimate with Panzaini the Popes first Legate here, frequently visited him, and very passionately desired a Reconciliation of us and the Church of Rome: Yea, Godfrey Goodman Bishop of Gloucester, in his Letter to the Archbishop while they were both prisoners in the Tower, dated August 30. 1642. (the originall whereof was seised on by M. Prynne) writes: That at that instant when he dissented from the New Canons (by Bishop Mountagues encouragement) An. 1640. he could have proved, how that in his person he did visit and held correspondence with the Popes Agent and received his Letters in behalfe of his Sonne who was then travelling to Rome, who by his Letters had extraordinary entertainment there. This Bishop Mountague would ascribe to the favour and credit which he had gotten by his writings. If so, it seemes they were very well approved of at Rome; And this is not onely probable but reall, as appears by an originall * Letter under Bishop Mountagues own hand to Secretary Windebanke, dated from Aldingburne Jan. 26. where in he desires this Popish Secretary to give his son leave to goe to Rome in his travells which he is desirous to do, and I (writes he) *AM DESIROVS HE SHOVL D*; desiring him to acquaint his *G R A C E* therewith, and remember his duty to him: His Graces advancement then of such an Arminian and Romish Prelate, so intimate with the Popes Legate and much favoured at Rome, must certainly favour of a Romish designe to corrupt our Church, subvert our Religion, set up Popery and reduce us back to Rome.

Note.

* See a necessary Introduction to the Archbishop of Canterbury his Tryall. p. 146. 147.

A fully malicious direction, as if acquainted with the civilly done on the way from to the same opinions with those with whom he hath conversation.

Doctor Roger Manwaring Vicar of Saint Giles in the fields, a man very Popishly affected, and intimate with Papists, who abounded in his Parish; upon a complaint and Impeachment of the Commons in Parliament for two Sermons preached before his Majestie the third year of his reigne, in Justification of the Lawfulness of the Kings imposing Lones and Taxes on his People without consent in Parliament, to the subversion of the Property and Liberty of the Subjects (which Sermons were preached and printed by this Archbishops speciall solicitation) was on the 14. of June 1628. censured by the Lords in Parliament; and thereby perpetually disabled from all future Ecclesiastical preferments in our Church: Of this censure the Archbishop took speciall Notice inserting it into his Diary: adding, that himself was complained of by the house of Commons. June 12. for warranting Doctor Manwarings Sermons to the Presse. Yet no sooner was this Parliament ended, but in high affront of their publike censure, in July following, by this Prelates assistance, Doctor Manwaring (as was proved by the Docquet Booke) was presented unto the Rectory of Stamford Rivers in the County of Essex, void by the promotion of Richard Mountague to the Bishopricke of Chichester; he who had right thereto was put by; and a dispensation granted to Doctor Manwaring to hold it with the Rectory of St. Giles; which made this Doctor in the superscription of a Letter of his to this Archbishop, when London, about the Commission of Fees in London Churches Jan. 28. 1631 (indorsed with the Bishops own hand and found in his study) to stile him, *My singular good Lord*: And so he proved; for soon after, as was proved by the Docquet Booke, in May 1633. the Deanery of Worcester was granted to this Doctor; and the grant signified to the signet office by the Bishop of London (Land) who procured him this preferment: What service

service *Manwaring* did in that Church in setting up a *Marble Altar*, introducing *Copes*, with other *Popish* Innovations, and what *Account* he gave thereof to the Archbishop his Patriot, you may formerly read, p. 81. under both their hands; which was such a *Meritorious Work* that in few days after, the Archbishop procured a *Conge d'eslier* for him to the *Bishopricke* of *St. Davids* in *Wales*; which was signed by the Archbishop himselfe, as appears by the *Docquet Booke* in the *Signet office* (produced at the *Lords Bar*) among the entries of *December 1635*. After which, himselfe consecrated him *Bishop* of that *See*, as was proved by his own *Diary*, wherein he entred this *Memento* with his owne hand: *Feb. 28. 1635. I consecrated Doctor Roger Manwaring Bishop of Saint Davids*. So that this paire of malignant active *Popish Prelates*, *Mountague* and *Manwaring*, received all their *Ecclesiasticall preferments* after the proceedings against them in severall *Parliaments*, by his procurement, in highest affront of their *Authority* and *Censures*; who obtained likewise a *Royall Pardon* procured for them, entred in the *Docquet Booke*, *Jan. 1628*. Both drawne according to his *Majesties pardons* of *Grace* granted to his *Subjects* at his *Coronation*, with some particulars for the pardoning of all *Errours* heretofore committed severally by them, either in *speaking*, *writing* or *printing*, whereby they might be hereafter questioned.

But to proceed to others; *August 1628*. we finde in the *Docquet Booke* a *Conge d'esliere*, and *Royall Assent* by order from the *Bishop* of *London* for *Doctor Mawe* (a known *Arminian*) to be *Bishop* of *Bath and Wells*: and the like in the same *Moneth* for *Doctor Richard Corbet* (a professed *Arminian* and one well-affected to *Popery*) to be *Bishop* of *Oxford*, by order from this *Bishop*, who afterwards promoted him to *Norwich*. In *November, 1628*, A *Conge d'eslier* by his order too, was directed to the *Deane and Chapter* of *Torke* to elect *Samuell Harsnet* then *Bishop* of *Norwich* (a professed notorious *Arminian* well inclined to *Popery*) to the *Archbishopricke* of *Torke*, *Mart. 25. 1632*. we find a *Conge D'eslire* to the *Dean and Chapter* of *Christ-Church* to Elect *Doctor John Bancroft* *Bishop* of *Oxford*, and in *June* following a *Warrant* for the restitution of the *temporalities* of this *Bishoprick* to him, both subscribed & signified by the *Bishop* of *London*; and what a corrupt unpreaching *Popish Prelate* *Bancroft* was, is known to all the *University* of *Oxford*. In *Octob. 1632*. We find these four severall *Conge D'eslires* all procured by order of this *Prelate*, then *Bishop* of *London*. One to the *Dean and Chapter* of *Winchester* to Elect *Walter (Curle)* *Bishop* of *Bath and Wells* to be *Bishop* of *Winchester*; Alike, to the *Deane and Chapter* of *Coventry and Lichfield*, to Elect *Robert (Wright)* *Bishop* of *Bristol*, to be *Bishop* of that *See*. Alike to the *Deane and Chapter* of *Peterborough*, to Elect *Doctor Augustine Lindsell* (an *Arch-Arminian* and very *Popish* and *Superstitious*, as was attested by *Mr. Peter Smart* upon *Oath*, and the *Author* of most of the *Innovations* in *Durham Cathedrall*, who joyned therein with *Doctor (Cosins)* *Bishop* of that *See*. Alike, to Elect *Doctor Pierce* *Bishop* of *Bath and Wells*. Now how active all these *Prelates* were to set up *Altars*, introduce all *Popish Ceremonies*, suppress *Lectures*, silence *Ministers*, promote the *Book of Sports*, advance *Arminianisme* and *Popery*, hath beene already manifested in the premises: And we find that *Doctor Lindsell* was afterwards translated to the *Bishoprick* of *Hereford* *Jan. 1633*. and this *Bishop* of *Winchester* made the *Kings chiefe Almoigner* in *June 1637*. by Order of this *Archbishop*. In *Octob. 1635*. we meet with in the *Docquet Book* a *Conge D'eslire* and *Letter* to the *Dean and Chapter* of *Norwich*, to Elect *Mathew Wren* *Bishop* of *Norwich*, both signified by this *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*; and the like for his translation to *Ely*, *March 17. 1637*. by Order from this *Archbishop*. Now what an *Arminian* and *Popish Innovator* this *Prelate* was in all particulars (the *Popish furniture* of whose *Chappell* with *Basons*, *Candlesticks*, *Corporalls*, *Altar-cloths*, A *Chalice* with a *cross* upon it, and other *Popish Trinkets* as appears by his own *Book of Accounts* costing him *159.1.4. shil. 1. d.*) and how great a *persecutor*, *silencer*, *supresser* of *Godly Ministers*, *people*, the world experimentally knows, and the premises demonstrate. We could instance in sundry *English & Welsh Bishops* more of the same strain who

who were all advanced by his order, means, as namely *BP Neal* made Archbishop of *York* by him; (an Arch promoter of Arminians, Popish Clergy men and all Popish Innovations:) *Dr Iuckeson*, first made Bishop of *Hereford*, afterward of *London*, and Lord Treasurer by this Archbishop: A man though of a milde temper; yet as Superstitious, as Popish as most of the former; and his *Visitation Articles* (especially the last enforcing the New Cannons and *Etcetera Oath*) as Superstitious and Vile as any: Doctor *Duppa* Bishop of *Chichester*, a known Arminian and very Superstitious: Doctor *Skinner* Bishop of *Bristol*, and after of *Oxford*, a man tainted with Arminianisme, and very much addicted to Popish Superstitions, Innovations; with sundry others; but these shall suffice. Onely we cannot pretermitt a notable Letter of *Dr. John Towers* to *Sir John Lamb*, to be a Mediator to his Grace, to confer the Bishopricke of *Peterborough* upon him; which Letter intimates, that all Bishopricks and Ecclesiasticall Preferments were then in his disposall.

Worthy S I R,

I Intended onely my hearty Thankes to you in this Letter, for what I read in your last Letter to my Lord Bishop, concerning my selfe; and your true Love in that I shall ever acknowledge with a sincere heart. But now Sir, I must intreat leave of you, that I may joyn an earnest suite to my thankes. My Lord Bishop, I hear, is to be translated to *Hereford*, and I am not thought on to succeed him. I dare not write to my Lords Grace of *Canterbury*. But I dare hope of his goodnes to me, and that he will commiserate my case, when he shall be truly informed of my need, and what an utter discredit it will be to me in my Country, when I shall be intercepted by whomsoever, now the third time, after that his Grace did encourage me to pitch upon this Bishoprick in his house at *Westminster*. In truth Sir, if I misse of it this third time, I shall have no joy to shew my face in the Diocesse. Therefore I beseech you, that you will speedily be my earnest Solicitor to his Grace, that if for no other reason, yet out of meer compassion I may not be so utterly disheartened. I could be as glad to see Doctor *Sibthorp* in the *Deanry* almost as my selfe in the *Pallace*. Your interest in his Graces Love, may be a powerfull Mediator for us both. Good Sir delay not the time, to commend my cause to his Grace; in whose goodnesse I cannot but have great confidence. I heartily commend you to Gods grace, and will ever be,

Peterborough,

Your very thankesfull friend.

Sept. 30. 1638.

Jo. Towers.

What effect this Letter produced, appears by the *Docquet Book*, Octob. 29. 1638. Where we find both a *Conge De'slire*, and Letter to the Dean and Chapter of *Peterborough*, to Elect this aspiring Dr. for their Bishop, both drawn up, by Warrants from this Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Belike *Sir John Lambe* found this Doctor very thankfull for his promotion according to his promise, the rather, because we find in the *Docquet Book*, Novemb. 5. 1638. A presentation of this Dr Towers to the Rectory of *Caster* in the diocesse of *Peterborough*, by order from the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Who as he disposed of all Bishopricks in *England*, so likewise in *Ireland* even whiles he was Bishop of *London* and since, as appears, not onely by sundry Letters from Doctor *Vsher* Primate of *Ireland*, and other *Irish Prelates*, found in his Study, but by severall Writings and Warrants under his hand for disposing Bishopricks there; we shall instance onely in three.

The first of them (seised in his Study by Mr. *Prynne*) is thus indorsed with the Archbishops own hand. Mr. *Lancasters Reasons why he should be Archbishop of Cassils*, though he be thought too young. Maii 21. 1629.

Whereas the Lord Bishop of *London* objected against my age, as being under 50. Your honour may be pleased, if it shall be insisted upon, to make known to his Majestie, that the lamentable estate of that Church is such, that it is requisite he should be active, able, and wealthy, rather then old and decrepid, that should have

that Bishopricke, to prosecute the recovery of the revenues thereof, where the last Archbishop left, who spent and spoiled himselfe in the prosecution thereof, and so shall any other that shall undertake that, unlesse he shall be of competent age, and shall have his Majesties gracious favour and furtherance therein. Again, gravity, sobriety, sincerity, integrity, courage, counsell, goodnesse, godlinesse, hospitallity, and charity are more to be regarded in that Country, (where they pry with Eagles eyes into our lives and conversations, but will not heare our doctrine) then old age, where he shall not long want grey haire, if suites, troubles, molestations, vexations, persecutions, and afflictions can procure them. Againe, it is held by most, that neither Saint John the Evangelist, nor Timothy the first Bishop of the Ephesians, were above 30. yeares old, and yet our Saviour made choyce of the former, and Saint Paul of the latter, saith in the first of Tim. 4. and 12. Let no man despise thy youth.

By this its apparant that the power of disposing the Archbishopricks and Bishopricks in Ireland were in this Prelates hands, and that he rejected or advanced whom he pleased there; and therefore must be satisfied.

The second is this Note writ with this Archbishops own hand found among Secretary Windebanks Papers, who thus endorsed it. Jan. 1634. My Lord of Canterburys Note for George Andrewes Dean of Limbricke to be Bishop of Fernes and Laughlin.

George Andrewes Dean of Limbricke to be Bishop of Fernes and Laughlin: To hold in Commendam any thing he hath saving the Deanery. The Bishopricke is voyd by the death of the late Bishop thereof. You must draw up a Letter accordingly out of hand.

W. Cant.

Thirdly, A Warrant thus endorsed with the Archbishops own hand; A Warrant for the Bishop of Limericke; writ by his Secretary Dell, and signed by himself in this forme: which will demonitrate the forme of all his other Orders and Warrants to the Signet for the forementioned English Bishops.

SIR,

You are to prepare a Bill for his Majesties Signature after the usuall manner, containing a grant of the Bishopricke of Limericke in Ireland, now voyde by the death of the late Bishop there, to George Webbe Doctor in Divinity, and one of his Majesties Chaplaines in ordinary. And for so doing these shalbe your Warrant.

Septemb. 22. 1634.

W. Cant.

To the Clerke of his Majesties Signet attending.

His Authority in disposing the Bishopricks in Ireland was so absolute, that William Bishop of Corke and Rosse in his Letter to this Archbishop. Aug. 7. 1640. (after he had passed through one or two Bishopricks there) writes thus by way of acknowledgement to him for his preferments there; *What I had or have is of your Graces goodnesse, under him who gives life and breath, and all things; and under our grations Sovereaigne, who is the breath of our nostrils.*

The like we could prove for Scotland: and what kinde of Popish and Arminian Bishops he there preferred, themselves have sufficiently declared in their Charge against him, and other * Writings.

Not to insist upon his earnest endeavour and contest to promote Dr. Theodor Price Vice-Deane of Westminster, to a Welch Bishopricke, as the fittest man in his conscience of all others, who lived a professed Unpreaching Epicure, Arminian, and dyed a reconciled Papist to the Church of Rome soon after, receiving extreame unction from a Popish Priest, who missed the Bishopricke onely by the Noble Earle of Pembrookes opposition, to which Dr. Owen was preferred in his stead.

* See Master Baylies Canterburian selfe conviction.

We

We shall passe from Bishopricks to Deaneries. To pretermitt his advancement of Dr *Manwaring*, Dr *Wren*, Dr *Duppa*, and others to Deaneries, ere they were made Bishops. Decemb. 1635. the Deanery of *Worcester* was granted to Dr *Christopher Potter* (a professed Arminian, which Dr. *Featly* attested) by signification and order of this Archbishop of *Canterbury*; as the *Docquet Book* records: to whom he submitted the correction of his Book entituled, *Want of Charity*; and imputed his preferments, witness this Doctors own Letter to the Archbishop, the originall whereof, attested by M. *Prynne*, was produced and read, as followeth.

My most honoured Lord,

I Humbly thanke your Grace for very many Demonstrations of your Love to me, and particularly for your last favourable mediation to his Majesty in my behalfe, for a Prebend in *Windfor*. The conveniency of that preferment (if my Sovereign Master please to confer it on me) I shall value much more then the profit: But how ever resolve, not to prescribe to your Grace, much lesse to his Majestie, or with immodesty or importunity to presse you. I blesse God for what I have, and hope he will give me the grace to rest well contented with my present condition, whatsoever it is. In the meane while my Lord, the Obligations which I have to you are such, as I can never satisfy, but with my prayers, which shall be constant, that your Grace may long live With honour and comfort to serve God, his Majesty, and this Church; which daily feelles the benefit of your wisdom and goodnesse, &c.

Note.

Your Graces in all humility.

Chr. Potter.

Octob. 6. 1633.

Queenes Colledge.

In April 1635. We find in the *Docquet Book* a Presentation of Dr *Richard Bayly* (generally reputed an Arminian, and Popishly affected) to the Deanery of *Salum*, by Order from this Archbishop. In October 1638. Dr *Thomas Jackson*, a professed Arminian (as Doctor *Daniel Featly* his fellow-Collegian attested) was made Dean of *Peterborough*, by the order and procurement of this Archbishop. By his meanes, Bishop *Wren* was made Dean of his Majesties Chappell: And to conclude with one notable instance more instead of all others. October 16. 1640. the Deanery of *Peterborough* was granted to Doctor *John Cosin*; by signification and order from this Archbishop, who promoted him to this dignity by his own confession, thus written with his own hand & attested by M. *Prynne*: I presented four of his Majesties Chaplaines in ordinary to his Majestie for the Deanery of *Peterborough*: His Majesty pitched upon Doctor *Cosin* in regard his meanes lying in the Bishoprick of *Durham* was in the Scots hands, and nothing left to maintain him, his wife and children, but a poor Headship worth 40. l. per annum; And out of the same consideration, and no other, did I put his name with the rest to his Majesty. What an Arch-Promoter of Popish Doctrines, Ceremonies, Innovations this Dr *Cosin* was, appears by the *premisses; and Master *Peter Smarts* testimony of him upon Oath; and what a reall intimate friend this Archbishop was to him, what a Patriot and Protector of him against al Prosecutions, might be evidenced by sundry Letters passing between them, over tedious to recite, the Originalls whereof, found in the Archbishops Study, we have ready to produce.

* See p 70. 73, 74. 78. 193.

For Clergy men infected with Arminianisme, Popery, and devoted to Popish Ceremonies, presented by him to be Chaplaines in ordinary to his Majesty, & the Prince his Highnesse; to corrupt their Persons, Courts, in the Theory and Practise of Religion; we shall instance only in these ensuing: Dr *Richard Bayly* Deane of *Salum*; Dr *Thomas Turner*, Dr *William Heywood*, Dr *Richard Marsh*: Dr *William Hutchinson*: (all formerly his own Chaplaines, as appears by a list of his Chaplaines since he was Bishop, written with his own hands) Dr *Peter Heylin*; Dr *William Brough*, Dr *William Lewes*, Dr *Thomas Laurence*, Dr *Samuel Baker*; Dr *Richard Sterne*, Dr *John Cosin*, Dr *Walter Raleigh*, Dr *William Watts*: Dr *Benjamin Layney*, Dr *Thomas*

Thomas Bletchenden, Dr William Beal, Dr James Browne (advanced to be Deane of Hereford by his means of whose Popish Practises * we formerly gave evidence) Dr Andrew Clare, Dr Christopher Dow, Dr Lushington; and Dr John Pocklington: How much many of these were addicted to Arminianisme, Popery and all Popish Ceremonies, hath been formerly attested upon other occasions; that the rest of them were of the selfe same strain, is so notoriously known in the Court, our Universities, the places where they live, to your Lordships and the Archbishop himself, that it needes no other prooffe: That these were made his Majesties and the Princes Chaplaines, by this Archbishops procurement, who usurped upon the Lord High Chamberlaines office to nominate Chaplaines in ordinary to his Majestie (which none of his Predecessors did since the Reformation) was attested by Mr Oldisworth a Member of the Commons House, who deposed; That upon his knowledge for 25. years space, it did belong to the Lord Chamberlaines office, to nominate and appoint the Kings Chaplains in ordinary, and so it continued all the old Lord Will. Earle of Pembrookes Chamberlainship: And this the difference of the Warrants proves: For where the Kings Warrant runnes; *These are to signifie his Majesties pleasure*: there the King is to be consulted with before the place is granted; as in the Warrant and case of the Bedchamber-men. But where the Warrant is, *These are to will and require you to admit such a one*, as in the case of the Kings Chaplains, there the Lord Chamberlaine doth all by his owne authority without consulting with the King. That since the present Earle of Pembroke was Lord Chamberlain, the Archbishop took upon him to recommend all Chaplaines to the King, and many of them were his own Chaplaines first: which the Earle of Pembroke himselfe seconded.

Mr Oldisworth likewise delivered in a list of the Kings and Princes Chaplaines in ordinary as they stood, Feb. 12. 1640. produced at the Barre. Two of these Chaplaines, to wit, Doctor William Heywood, and Doctor Samuel Baker, with his owne Arminian Chaplaines, Doctor Edward Martyn, Doctor William Bray, and Doctor Thomas Weekes (whom he openly denyed to be his Chaplaine before the Lords, till Mr Prynne proved the contrary by a list of his Chaplaines under his owne hand, affixed to the end of his Written Diary) were the Licensers of all the forementioned Arminian and Popish Bookes published in our Realme, and the Purgatory Doctors, who obliterated all the fore-cited Passages against Popery, Arminianisme, Popes, Jesuites, Papists, out of our orthodox Writers. Others of them were Authours of sundry Arminian, licentious, Popish Impressions: As Doctor Heylin, Doctor Laurence, Doctor Cosin, Doctor Watts, Doctor Dowe, and Doctor Pocklington; Whose Bookes were some of them written, others of them printed by the Archbishops command, some of them with, others without the Authours privy. Amongst these we shall instance onely in Doctor Pocklington's Bookes, the most Popish, Impious, and profane of any other; Who though lately dead before this Triall, yet speakes loud enough to this purpose, in his Petition to the House of Peeres before his censure, here remaining upon the File of Petitions.

A Copy whereof we have here subjoyned, compared with the Originall, by which you may clearly discerne by whose command his Popish Impressions were Printed and Published, even by this Archbishops, who perused them before they were printed.

A a a

To

To the right Honourable the Lords spirituall and
temporall now Assembled in the High Court of
PARLIAMENT.

The humble Petition of John Pocklington Do-
ctor in Divinity, and Rector of Yevelden, in
the County of Bedford.

Most humbly sheweth,

THat he is right hearty sorry for doing or bringing any thing into his said Church, without the direction of his Reverend Diocesan, and dares not goe about in any sort to justify his doings: But waving all manner of defence, hee most humbly casteth down himselfe at your Lordships Feet, beseeching you for Christs sake to look upon him with the eye of mercy, who, with a most penitent and sorrowfull heart confesseth his mis-doing in the Premises, &c.

Note.

And whereas your Petitioner is charged to have set forth and published two Bookes, wherein he defends not only Innovations in Religion, but divers Popish, Wicked, and Antichristian points, and casteth reproach upon our English Martyrs; in Mr Foxes Callender, and magnifieth Popish Canonized Saints, for true Martyrs.

Note.

Hee doth most humbly give your Lordships to understand, That order was given "for their Printing, and setting forth, without your Petitioners procurement, motion, or knowledge; who composed them for his own private satisfaction, and to be the better satisfied, was willing to have them presented to the consideration of the Reverend Governours of our Church to receive their Opinion and Judgement about them: And for the Contents of the said Bookes, If any Popish, Wicked, or Antichristian points be in them; Hee is ready and most desirous from his heart utterly, and openly to abandon and abjure them: "But hopeth that because the Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury his Grace, did see, and read all or a great part of them, (as "his Chaplain Dr Blay told your Petitioner) and did without any suite of your Petitioner, give order and allowance for their Publishing: That no such detestable points are contained in the said Bookes: and for our English Martyrs in Mr Fox his Calender, There is no mention, or any word, or syllable in either of those Writings about them.

Wherefore again and again, he casteth down himselfe before this most Honourable Assembly, and beseecheth you (who upon earth represent the God of mercy,) "to shew mercy to him, who is altogether innocent in moving to have the said Bookes "Published; And is truly penitent for what he hath done without his Diocesans Directions; and most humbly beseecheth his Lordship, now present, to admit his Submission, and to be a meanes to obtaine the favour of this most Honourable House, and to procure his freedome and dismissal, who voweth by Gods grace, to be ever hereafter so carefull of all his words, and actions, that neither the Church, nor any Member thereof, shall take any offence, or displeasure at him.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray for the
happy successe of this present Parliament.

Vera Copia.

John Pocklington.

Now

Now what a Capitall Crime and transcendent misdemeanour it is for this Arch-Prelate to place such Arminian Popish Prelates, and Chaplaines in ordinary about his Majestie, & the young Prince (more infectious then * *Cardinall Wolfies breath*, * See *Cooks* & Infit. p. 90. to King *Henry* the 8. when infected with the great Pox) to seduce, poyson them, as much as in them lay, with Arminian and Popish Errours, Superstitions, Ceremonies, and in and by them their whole kingdomes and Nationall Churches; and that not onely by transient verball Sermons (which infect only the eares of the Auditors for the present) but by pestilent printed Treatises, which corrupt the eyes, judgement, of the Readers, and universally seduce both the present and future generations more then any publike verball Sermons, though never so pernicious to the Auditors for the present, let all wise men judge:

For his promoting of Arminians, of persons addicted to Popish Ceremonies, Errours, Innovations, to Offices and Headships in our Universities to poyson those fountaines of Piety and Learning, we shall instance in these few Particulars. During the time of his *Chancellorship* in the University of *Oxford*, from April 1630. till Anno, 1641. it is observable, that he nominated only five Vice-Chancellors to govern the University under him; namely Dr *Smith*, Warden of *Wadham Colledge*; Doctor *Brian Duppa*, Deane of *Christ-Church* (whose further promotions he procured) Doctor *Pinke*, Warden of *New-Colledge*, Doctor *Bayly*, President of *Saint John Baptist Colledge*, Doctor *Frewen* President of *Mary Magdalen Colledge*, Dr *Christopher Potter* Provost of *Queenes Colledge*; (as the University Register undenyably proves, and all *Oxford* Schollers can attest;) all deeply tainted with Arminianisme, great Promoters of all Popish Innovations, Superstitions, Ceremonies, in that University, as we have * formerly manifested. Besides, he promoted Doctor *Thomas Iackeson*, a professed Arminian, to the President-ship of *Corpus Christi Colledge* in *Oxford*, and afterwards to the Vicaridge of *Witney*, as appears by the *Dotquet Booke*, to omit his advancement of Doctor *Laurence*, and other such like Popish Doctors there. * Here p. 70, 71, 72, 73.

What heades of Houses hee promoted in the University of *Cambridge*; and what professed Arminians and Well-wishers to Popery they were, you have * already heard in part; we shall onely repeate the names of some of them, Doctor *Brookes*, Doctor *Beal*, Doctor *Martin*, Doctor *Cofin*, Doctor *Layny*, Doctor *Sterne*, men very infamous both for Arminian and Popish Errours. * Here p. 73, 74, 75, 76.

And not content to corrupt our English Academies, he promoted Master *Chapple*, the Archeft and most notorious Arminian in the University of *Cambridge*, who leavened all his Pupels and many hopefull Schollers with Arminianisme (as Mr *Walker* and others witnessed) to the Provost-ship and Government of the *Colledge* and *Universty of Dublin* in *Ireland*, (as appears by sundry originall Letters thence, endorsed with his own hand, and himselfe must needs acknowledge) whom he brought into that place with an high hand, where he did much hurt by venting his Arminian druggs, and maintained *Justification by Workes*: Exemption of the *Clergy* from the *Secular power*, and was very active in the *Synod* there, in suppressing the *Articles of Ireland* against *Papists* and *Arminians*, (as was Doctor *Bramhall* too, his grand Arminian Popish Instrument there) as was attested upon Oath by Dr *Hoyle*, a Member of the Assembly, and Divinity Reader in that University.

His advancements of Persons tainted with Arminianisme, Popery and Popish Superstitions, to Benefices, Prebendaries and other Ecclesiasticall preferments, are almost numberlesse, as wee finde by the *Dotquet Booke*s, all or most of the Ecclesiasticall Preferments belonging to the Crowne being disposed of by him alone of latter times, not by the Lord Keeper and Master of the *Wardes* as formerly, upon whose Presentations he encroached. We shall instance in some few of many.

In September 10. 1628. Doctor *Augustine Lindsey* by order from this Bishop, and a Letter by him procured from the King in his behalfe to the President and Chapter of *Litchfield*, was promoted to a dignity in that Church, as appears

by the *Docquet Booke*: Mr *George Walker* the Minister attested upon Oath, that this *Lindsy* (whom the Archbishop afterwards made a Bishop) was reputed one of the chiefe heads of the *Arminian* faction: and that Dr *Bastwick* writing against the *Arminians*, & bowing at the name of *Jesus*, was sent to him by this Archbishop to be instructed and refuted, as the ablest of that party. Mr *Peter Smart* a Reverend Divine deposed; That this Doctor was an *Arch-arminian* to his knowledge, with whom he had frequent disputes, a defender and setter up of Images and Altars: That he said in his hearing; That none but ignorant Calvinist Bishops did put down Altars at the beginning of reformation; and that they were worse then Jesuites: That he was much offended with the Homilies against the Perill of Idolatry, against setting up Images in Churches, and said, that he would have these Homilies put out of the Homily-Book, and wondered why they were suffered to continue in it so long. A fit Cathedralist to make a Bishop afterwards; and a great companion and friend of *Sancta Clara*.

Note.

In Octob. 1631. *Peter Heylin* (this Arch-Prelates great Creature and Votary, who resigned himselfe to his directions and command in all things, as appears by an Epistle in a Manuscript Sermon of his found in the Archbishops study) was by his order and procurement presented to the Rectory of *Hemingford*; and in November following to a Prebendary in *Westminster*; and in November 1632. he procured him a Presentation to the Rectory of *Haughton* in the Diocese of *Durham*. In September 1631. Dr *Thomas Bletchenden* by his order and procurement was promoted to a Prebends place in the Cathedral of *Canterbury*; and Dr *William Bray* to another Prebendary in the same Church November 13. 1637. by his order too. Mr *Thomas Lushington* was by his order presented to a Prebendary in the Cathedral Church of *Sarum* in June 1931. Dr *John Weekes* in December 1633. was by his order presented to a Prebendary in the Cathedral of *Bristol*: Dr *Brian Duppa* Jan. 1633. was by his order presented to the Chancellorship of *Sarum* and the Prebendary of *Bridgenorth* thereunto annexed; and May 19. 1638. to the Rectory of *Perworth*. Dr *John Bramhall* June 1632. was by his order presented to a Prebendary in *Fork* Cathedral. Dr *William Beale* Octob. 1637. was by his order and procurement presented to the Rectory of *Pauls Perry*, of which two others were unjustly deprived in the High Commission to make way for his promotion to it. Dr *William Brough* Jan. 19. 1938. by his order was presented to a Prebends place in the Church of *Windsor*. In May 1639. by his order Dr *Samuel Baker* was preferred to a Prebends place in the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, and *Tho. Brown* to a Prebends place in the Collegiate Church of *Windsor*. July 29, 1640. Dr *Mumford* by his order was presented to the Rectory of *Auseby*: what other *Arminian*, *Popish*, *Superstitious*, *Scandalous* Persons were advanced to livings by him, and how he poisoned our Church with such almost in every place, the World may see at large in Mr *John Whites* first Century of *Scandalous Ministers*. We shall only add this one thing more; that even after his Commitment for high Treason he still interposed in preferring *Superstitious* *Episcopall* Clergy men of his faction to his Majesties livings as well as to those in his own gift; as we shall evidence by this Letter of his to the King (seised by Mr *Prynne* among his other Papers) all written and thus endorsed with his own hand; For the Kings most Excellent Majestie; which was answered by the King himselfe in the Margent with his own hand in this ensuing forme.

May it please your Majestie,

I conceive the Great Seal being left as it is, your Majestie will bestow all such livings as shall be voyde, and were usually in the gift of the Lord Keeper, of what value soever they be. This I tooke my duty to put your Majestie in minde of, since it in part belongs to the service which your Majestie was wont to trust me with. And I am the more bold to put your Majestie in minde of this; because by this meanes (if you please to make use of it) you may the sooner provide both for the *Scottish-men* which suffer, and for other men which have served your Majesty at sea. At this time I am informed that the Rectory of *Astet* in *Northamptonshire* is voyd and in your Majesties gift.

You are right.

It

It is thought not to exceed one hundred pound a year. The Bishop of Brechen hath a sonne (if your Majestie please) that is ready to take Orders, and may be fit for it. And by that meanes may be some helpe to his father, who certainly needes it. If your Majestie like of this, and let me know so much, I shall give Warrant for it accordingly. But I submit all this, and my own unhappy condition, to Gods will and your Majesties.

Your Majesties most humble servant
though unfortunate,

Jan. 3. 1640.

W. Cant.

What a Plague and Poyson these Arminian, Popish Prelates, Deanes, Prebends, Heades of houses, Parsons and Vicars thus advanced by him proved to our Church, how near they had reduced us back to Rome, and how much they endangered the utter extirpation of our Protestant Religion, is so experimentally knowne to all men, so plentifully evidenced in the premised proofes, that we may confidently averr, had not God himself miraculously from heaven by the late Scottish Troubles and happy convention of this present Parliament retarded, prevented and utterly frustrated their dangerous proceedings and Jesuiticall designs, in these three kingdoms, in all probability we had long ere this been totally over-run with Popery, and the zealous Professors of the Protestant Religion in all three been either totally extirpated and massacred, as some hundred thousands of them have been of late in Ireland, or banished their own Countrey into forraigne Climes, or left to the mercy of the bloody Papists and these their Popish Confederates, whose tender mercies are but cruelties. This crime then of his is no lesse then treasonable and capitall, being so destructive both to Church and Kingdome.

As he thus preferred Popish and Arminian Clergy men to the chiefe Ecclesiasticall preferments in our Church, so on the contrary (following the counsell of *Contzen the Mogountine Jesuit in his Politicks) he discountenanced, suspended, silenced, suppressed, censured, imprisoned, persecuted most of the prime orthodox, diligent preaching Ministers in the Realme and forced many of them to fly into America, Holland and other forraigne places to avoyd his fury, only for opposing his Popish Innovations, and expressing their feares of the change of our religion by the encrease of Popery and Popish Superstitions. Not to trouble you with any forementioned instances of Master Peter Smart, Mr Henry Burton, Mr Snelling and others; we shall instance in some fresh examples.

Mr Samuel Ward of Ipswich, a most reverend, orthodox, and learned Minister of speciall eminency, was by this Archbishops meanes on the 26. of Novemb. 1635. (as appears by the High Commission Records,) censured in the High Commission at Lambeth; and there suspended from his Lecture and Ministry, and every part thereof till absolved by his Majesty, enjoyned a publike submission and recantation, such as the High Commissioners should prescribe, condemned in expences and costs of suite, and committed to prison; For preaching in some of his Sermons at Ipswich, against Bowing at the name of Iesus, the Booke of sports on the Lords day, and saying, that the Church of England was ready to ring the Changes, and insinuating unto his Auditory, that there was cause to fear an Alteration of Religion; saying, that Religion and the Gospel stood on tiptoes ready to be gone; that divers good Ministers were silenced, and that they should beware of a relapse unto Popery. In this censure the Archbishop had the chiefest hand, as was proved by the High Commission Bookes and Mr Wardes Submission, which was drawn up by Sir John Lamb and lent to this Archbishop, who endorsed it with his owne hand. This severe sentence utterly ruined this famous painfull preacher who lay long in prison, and soone after ended his dayes in great grief and sorrow.

In April 1630. Articles were exhibited against Mr Charles Chancy, a Reverend learned, painfull Minister living at Ware, for preaching against the Bacchanales and disorders

* See, Look about you.

Master Samuels wards Case.

Mr Chancys Case.

disorders used by many in the Christmas holy-dayes, the increase of Popery, Arminianisme, and using these expressions in a Sermon of his, charged against him in his Articles, in January before: That Idolatry was admitted into the Church, and that not only the prophets of Baal, but Baal himselfe is received, and houses multiplied for the entertainment of them; and with all saying, that the preaching of the Gospel would be suppressed: That there wanted men of courage to tell the Superiours in the Church of their neglect, for that there was increase of much Atheisme, Popery, Arminianisme and Heresie in our Church since the reformation of it, as at this time, wherein Heresies were not onely broached but maintained; whereby he raised a fear among the people, and insinuated to them, that some alteration of Religion would ensue and be brought in; and scandalized the whole Church of England and Government thereof. To these Articles Mr Chancy gave in his answer upon Oath in the High Commission the 21, of the same April: and the very next day, by Order of that Court, the whole cause was referred to this Bishop (then of London) being his ordinary; provided that if Mr Chancy did not submit himselfe to performe his Lordships order therein, that then his Lordship, if it seemed good unto him, might transferre the cause backe again to be censured in this Court. Whereupon Mr Chancy made a Submission to his Lordship in Latin, and soon after was enforced to desert the Kingdome, and set sayle for New England to avoyd further persecution. All which is manifest by the Originall Articles, and Mr Chancys answer to them, found among Sir John Lambes sequestred Writings by Mr Prynne; and by the Order of Reference and Mr Chancys Submission, endorsed with the Bishops own hand, the chiefe Profecutor of this cause.

To these we could add M. Cotton, M. Hooker, M. Davenport, M. Wells, M. Peters, M. Glover, and sundry other Ministers driven into New England, and other Plantations; those that fled over into Holland to avoyd his prosecution; with some hundreds of Ministers questioned in the High Commission and else-where, by his meanes, and there suspended, silenced for not publishing the Booke of Sports, or not submitting to his Popish Innovations. M. Salisbury was questioned and troubled by this Prelate for these passages in his Sermon, on Math. 24. 6. *How many thousands have made shipwrack of faith & a good conscience, renounced our true Church, stepp'd aside to Arminianisme, and from thence (as it is the widest gate that opens towards Rome) relapsed to Popery.* Thus are wee scattered in our Jacob, and divided in our Israel. The Low Countreyes not long since (if not still) sighed as deeply, and mourned as strongly, to finde herselfe (as imperceivably) to be overgrowne with Arminianisme. And what a faction is like to be in our deplorable England between Popery and Arminianisme together, except God be more mercifull and our State the more vigilant and mindfull, we shall see sooner then tell, and feel sooner then see. Doctor Staughton, D. Sibbes, D. Taylor, D. Gouge, M. White of Dorchester, M. Rogers of Dedham, with sundry more of our most eminent preaching orthodox Divines were brought into the High Commission and troubled or silenced for a time, by his procurement upon frivolous pretences: But in truth, because they were principle Props of our Protestant Religion, against his Popish and Arminian Innovations. But omitting these we shall conclude this head with one memorable instance more which comes very home.

Note.

Mr Nathaniel Bernard Lecturer at Sepulchers in London preaching at Antholins Church in May 3. 1629. used this expression in his prayer before his Sermon. *Oh Lord open the eyes of the Queenes Majestie, that shee may see Iesus Christ, whom shee hath peirced with her Infidelity, Superstition and Idolatry:* This Archbishop, then of London, was presently informed of this passage, attested by Walter Kirby an Atturney of Bernards Inne, John Browne of Durham, Minister, and some others: Whereupon the Bishop brought him into the High Commission, where after long attendance, upon his Submission, this ensuing Order was framed,

*Die Jovis viz. xxviii. die mensis Januarii Anno Domini juxta, &c. 1629.
Coram Commissionariis Regiis apud Lambeth judicialiter sedentibus, presente
Thoma Mottershed, Registrarij Regij Deputat:*

Officium Dominorum contra Nathanielem
Bernard Clericum.

Prima Sessio Terminii Hillarij.

HIS appearance by bond was respited untill this day, at which day and place the said Nathaniel Bernard appeared personally, and then it being objected unto him by the Court, that he had in a Sermon lately by him preached or otherwise, delivered some Scandalous and undutifull speeches, derogatory to some particular person of most eminent place, which the Court desired not to have there repeated; and for that the said Mr Bernard had acknowledged his error in that kinde, as some of the Commissioners there, unto whom he had submitted himself, reported, and himselfe confessed; the Court was inclined upon his submission, being a young scholler and a student in Divinity, to accept his submission, and enclined to deal mercifully and favourably with him; yet considering that his scandalous and undutifull speeches were of such high nature as could not be well remitted or pardoned by this Court, without the approbation and the good liking of his most Excellent Majestie: the Court desired the Lord Bishop of London, to acquaint his Majestie therewith, and if his Majestie upon understanding of the Cause would be graciously pleased to pardon him and leave it to the Court, that then this Court, would take such further order for his dismissal, as they should think meet.

Note.

Mottershed.

The Copy of this Order, with another Paper containing the words, were both endorsed with the Bishops own hand and found among his Papers by Mr Prynn, who produced them. Mr Bernard not long after upon his submission was dismissed the Court, After which repairing to the University of Cambridge to visit his friends, he fortun'd to preach at Saint Maries Church there on the 6. of May 1632. in the afternoon; wherein he let fall divers Passages concerning preaching, the purity of Gods Ordinances, worship, and against the Introducers of Popery and Arminianisme, which this Bishops creatures excepted against, and speedily informed him off. Dr T. Cumber then Vice-Chancellor, informs him of this Sermon in a Letter of his May 22. 1632. wherein he writes in this manner. *I cannot but further advertise your Lordship in a word; that here was one Mr Bernard, a discontinuer and a Preacher, as I hear, about London, who uttered some offensive words concerning some Ceremonies, and Rites used in some Churches, in a Sermon of his at Saint Maries, and as I have heard in some other Church before. I gave a decree to the Beadle to convent him, but he could not be found: To which the Bishop returned this answer written with Mr Dells hand and thus endorsed; May 27. 1630. A clause of my Letter to Dr Cumber concerning Mr Bernard, &c.*

I AM sorry you have been troubled at Cambridge with the distempered speeches of any men in the Pulpit. And I must confesse, I heard of both the particulars you mention, before I received your Letter. That in St. Johns, it seemes they have punished, and you doe very worthily to joyn with them, in case any thing for the publique shall be further requisite. And as for Mr Bernard, I am the more sorry for him, because he is in London within my Charge; Neverthelesse if he have done unworthily, I shall be very ready to assist you and the Vniversity in what I may be able. And since you gave a Decree to the Beadle to convent him, and he slipt away the while, I will do the best I can to send him backe, there to be answerable to the Government against which he hath offended. And if he shall refuse so to do, without giving better reason then I thinke he can, I shall certainly suspend him till hee do it. So in hast I leave you, &c.

Note.

W. London.

Before

Before this Doctors Letter the Bishop had received an information of the heads of his Sermon from others thus endorsed with his own hand. *May 6. 1532.* Notes of Mr Bernards Sermon at Cambridge; the particulars whereof are hereafter expressed more at large in his own words.

Soone after Mr Bernard by this Bishops prosecution was brought into the High Commission Court and forced to deliver in a Copy of his Sermon to the Bishop, which he did: who excepted against these Passages in it, for which he was articked against. Gods Ordinances for his publike Worship are the glory of any Nation. By Gods Ordinances here, I understand chiefly the Word, Sacraments and Prayer, which if blended and adulterated with any Superstitious Innovations of men, cease to bee Gods Ordinances, and he owne them no longer. It is not the single having of Gods Ordinances for his publike Worship, but the having of them in their purity and integrity that dignifies a Nation. Gods Ordinance for his publike Worship in their Purity and Integrity are a sure shield between a Nation and publike ruine and desolation: For prooffe Whereof, I challenge all Records both divine and humane to produce one instance wherein God punished any part of his Church with any Nationall ruine and destruction, before they had either departed from, or corrupted his Ordinances. The Apostle Rom. 1. 16. affirmeth of the preaching of the Word, that it is the power of God to salvation. It is the meanes by which God manifesteth his omnipotent and irresistible power in the conversion and salvation of all those who from eternity were ordained thereunto, by Gods absolute and immutable Decree. This seemes to confute their error who think meanly and basely of these Ordinances of God, which we have proved to be the glory of that Nation, where they are in their purity and integrity. These men turn their glory into shame; for is there not a generation of prophane men among us, who are as afeard and ashamed to preach twice on the Lords day, to preach plainly, powerfully, and spiritually to the soules and consciences of their people, least they should be accounted Puritans? Many who are as afeard to hear too often, especially on the weeke dayes least they should be accounted Bible-bearers, and gadders after Sermons? Many who are as much as afeard to performe holy duties in their families, and to speake like Christians as Peter was, who that his speech might not betray him, began to curse and swear? Many who complain that there is too much preaching and that it was never merry since? Many who esteeme very meanly of prayer, especially of the publike prayers of the Church? Some that have scornfully called the singing of a Psalm a Geneva jigge?

But the principall exception was for this ensuing Discourse in the close of his Sermon.

Further, I will not deny that God hath his true invisible Church among those Nations, as he had in Israel in the dayes of Ahab and Eliah: nay, I see no reason why (in a large, yet true sence) we may not call the Church of Rome, Italy, or Spain a particular visible Church of Christ: as Israel in the Reign of Jeroboam was a Church of God, though Idolatrous, and Apostaticall: Yet I say, that it is impossible that any should be saved living or dying (without repentance) in the doctrine and Idolatrous Worship of the Church of Rome, as the late Tridentine Councell hath decreed it. My reason is this; Hee that thinkes to go to heaven any other way then by faith in Christ onely, shall never come there. But he that dyes without repentance in the Doctrine of the Church of Rome (as the Councell of Trent hath decreed it) thinkes to go to heaven another way, then by faith in Christ onely, as namely by the merits of his own Workes; Ergo such a one shall never come there. Thirdly, if Gods Ordinances for his publike worship in their purity are the glory of a nation, then it followes, that they who go about to deprive a Nation of any of Gods Ordinances for his publike Worship, either in whole or in the best part of them (idest) in their purity and integrity, they go about to make that Nation base, and inglorious and if so, then are they enemies to that Nation, and Traitors to it, if it be their own Nation: for Treason is not limited to the royall blood, as if he only could be a Traitor who plotteth and attempteth the dishonour and shedding thereof, but may be and is

Note.

Note.

so oft committed against the Whole Church and nation, which last, is by so much the worst of them two, by how much the end is better then the meanes, and the whole of greater consequence then any other part alone.

Whereby We may learn, what to account of those among our selves (if any such be, which is better known to you then to mee) who endeavour to quench the light and abate the glory of our Israel, by bringing in their Pelagian errors into the Doctrine of our Church established by Law, and the Superstitions of the Church of Rome into our Worship of God, as high Altars, Crucifixes, and bowing to them, id est (in plain English) worshipping them; whereby they Symbolize with the Church of Rome very shamefully, to the irreparable Shipwracke of many soules who split upon this rocke. The Papists teach, that it is impossible to be saved in our Church and our Religion: Some of ours (at least in outward profession) teach, that it is possible to be saved in the Romish Religion and Church; hence an unsettled judgement concludes, if we may agree in Heaven, why do we not agree and meet each other halfe way on earth? And hence we have many Cassanders among us, who meditate and wish a reconciliation between the Church of Rome and ours; and to be sure (say the unsettled) it is the safest way to be members of that Church wherein both sides agree that salvation is to be had, then of that Church in which one side onely affirms it, and that a party; And this fills Rome with English profelites. What can we thinke lesse of those men who by their Symbolizing with the Church of Rome in Doctrine and Worship give occasion thereunto, then that they are enemies to this Church and Nation? I say, they are enemies, and therefore let us take up armes against them. But what armes? Preces Ecclesiae sunt arma Ecclesiae, les us pray these men either to conversion (if it be Gods blessed will,) or to their destruction, fiat iustitia, pereant illi. And let us use that prayer against them, which David used against Achitophell, with which I will conclude all; O Lord turne the counsell of all these crafty Achitophells into folly, who go about to lay the honour of this Church and Nation in the dust, by depriving us of the purity of any of thy Ordinances for thy publique Worship, which are the glory of this our Israel.

For these clauses Mr Bernard was most severely sentenced in the High Commission by this Bishops violent Prosecution; Suspended his Ministry, excommunicated, fined a thousand pounds, imprisoned; condemned in costs of suite, committed prisoner to the new Prison, where he lay sundry moneths, being most barbarously used and almost starved for want of necessaries; of which he complained to the Bishop by sundry Letters and Petitions found in his study with Mr Bernards Sermon, and the informations against him, (endorsed with the Bishops own hand and produced at the Barre) but could find no reliefe, unlesse he would make this ensuing Recantation sent to him by the Bishop, and thus endorsed with his own pen: Septem. 11. 1632
A Copy of a Recantation tendered to Mr Bernard, Lecturer of Sepulchers, about a Sermon that he preached at Cambridge: He refused this Recantation.

Mr. Bernards RECANTATION.

Whereas in a Sermon made by me in this place the sixt of May last upon this Text. The glory is departed from Israel, because the Arke of God was taken. 1 Sam. 4. 21.

I had this Passage.

And the Apostle Rom. 1. 16. affirmeth of the preaching of the Gospel, that it is the power of God to salvation: Id est, it is that meanes by which God manifesteth his omnipotent and irresistible power in the conversion and salvation of all those who from Eternity were ordained thereunto by Gods absolute and immutable Decree.

And I do here publicly acknowledge, that hereby (contrary to his Majesties command in his Declaration lately published and printed with the Articles of Religion) I did go beyond the generall meaning of that place of Scripture, and of the said Articles

ticles. And draw the same to maintaine the one side of some of these ill-raised differences which his Majesties said Declaration mentioneth. And this I did, rather out of a desire to thrust in some-what into my said Sermon in affirmation of one side of the said differences, then any wayes occasioned by the Text I then preached of.

For which I here publicly professe my hearty sorrow and do humbly crave pardon of God Almighty, of his Majestie, and of this Congregation.

And whereas in the same Sermon I had this passage.

*If Gods Ordinances for his publique Worship in their purity are the glory of a Nation, then it followes, that they who go about to deprive a Nation of any of Gods Ordinances for his publique Worship either in whole or in the best part of them, id est, in their purity and integrity; they go about to make that Nation base and inglorious; and if so, then are they Enemies to that Nation and * Traytors to it, if it bee their own Nation; for Treason is not limited to the royall blood, as if he only could be a Traytor who plotteth and attempteth the dishonour or shedding thereof, but may be and is too oft committed against the whole Church and Nation: which last is by so much the worst of them two, by how much the end is better then the meanes, and the whole of greater consequence then any one part alone.*

Whereby we may learne what to account of those among our selves (if any such bee, which is better knowne to you then to mee) who endeavour to quench the light and abase the glory of our Israel, by bringing in their Pelagian Errours into the Doctrine of our Church established by Law, and the Superstitions of the Church of Rome into our Worship of God; as high Altars, Crucifixes, and bowing to them, id est, (in plain English) Worshipping them; whereby they symbolize with the Church of Rome very shamefully to the irreparable Shipwracke of many soules who split upon this rocke.

I doe now upon better information finde, that many erroneous and dangerous assertions and consequences unfitting to bee here expressed may bee collected and inferred out of the said Wordes. And I doe therefore hereby publicly recant all the said wordes, as they are an use, or inference and application used by me, to be very rashly and inconsiderately uttered, and to be very undutifull towards his Majestie. I doe humbly referre and submit my selfe to his Majesties Clemency and gracious acceptance for the interpretation of my meaning of the same. And I am heartily sorry, and doe humbly crave pardon that wordes and applications so scandalous to the present state of the Church of England and so dangerous, proceeded from mee.

Thirdly, whereas in the same Sermon I had this passage.

By Gods Ordinances here, I understand chiefly the word, Sacraments and Prayer, in that purity and integrity wherein the Lord Christ left them, not blended and adulterated with any Superstitious Inventions of man, for then they cease to be Gods Ordinances and hee owne them no longer.

I desire that this passage may be taken and understood as I spake and meant it, and not otherwise; That is, not that I hold all humane Inventions added to Gods Ordinances to be Superstitious, for I account that tenet not onely false but palpably absurd and foolish. But to exclude all those humane Inventions which may hinder the preservation of the Doctrine and Discipline of this Church of England in that Purity and Integrity wherein (through Gods gracious goodnesse, by his Majesties Lawes Ecclesiasticall) we doe enjoy them.

Fourthly and lastly, whereas by some other passages in my said Sermon I was (as I understand) conceived by some, not onely to cast aspersions upon the present State of our Church and some principall Members and parts thereof,

* This Doctrine touched this Bishops Copy hold then, and was one principall charge of high Treason against him now; no wonder therefore he was offended at it, & would have it recanted.

thereof, thereby to bring it and them into scandall and dislike: But even under some ambiguous words, to move to take up armes for redresse, although with recalling or restraining the same in termes afterward and saying thus.

Let us pray these men either to conversion (if it be Gods blessed will) or to their destruction. Fiat justitia, pereant illi: and calling them crafty Achitophells, &c.

I doe here acknowledge and professe I had no such Intentions, neither doe I know any cause why my selfe or any other should so bitterly invay against any in our Church. I am therefore heartily sorry that I gave cause to any of the hearers to conceive so. And I humbly crave pardon for it.

For refusing to make this strange prescribed Recantation, this godly Minister, though he in generall termes professed, his sincere sorrow and penitency for any Oversights and unbecoming Expressions in his Sermon, both in his Petitions and Letters to the Bishop, (which would not suffice,) was for a long time detained in the New Prison, there miserably abused by the Keepers, of which he oft complained without redresse, and in conclusion utterly ruined for speaking out the truth.

Wee shall close this branch of our Evidence with this observation; That as Rewards and Punishments rightly distributed are the greatest incentives to vertue, piety, learning, and retractsives from vice, error, superstition; so when they are perverted, misplaced, they become the grandest discouragements to Piety, Religion, the strongest attractives to Heresie, Popery and all kinde of Superstitions; Schollers commonly looke most of all after preferments; yea make it their principall study to comply with those mens Opinions, and Practises, who are the chiefe Bestowers of them. No wonder therefore that our poor Church was sodainly overspread with a generation of Arminian, Popish, Superstitious, Ceremonious, prophane, Prelaticall Clergy-men, when all or most Ecclesiasticall preferments were in this Arch-Prelates disposal, who for the most part advanced none but such, but discountenanced, suppressed, persecuted, & kept back from preferments most orthodox zealous preaching Divines who would not comply with his Popish Innovations and Designes. It is very observable, that the Archbishop himselfe records in his *Diary*, April 5. 1625. *How he presented to the Duke of Buckingham, by his command, a Schedule wherein the Names of Ecclesiasticall persons were written under the Letters O. (that is orthodox in his sence, to wit, Arminians, or persons addicted to Popish Errors and Superstitions) and P. (that is Puritans) who was to deliver them to King CHARLES: Ever since which time Mountague, Manwaring, Wren, with such like unorthodox Clergy-men have been advanced, and all Puritans as they termed them, kept from preferment; And it is as considerable what Mr Chaloner deposed to this purpose: That being in Rome about five yeares since, Friar John (the great agent there for our English Benedictines and Catholiques) was very inquisitive and demanded seriously of him, whether the Archbishop of Canterbury had not the bestowing of all Ecclesiasticall preferments and livings in England, especially those in the Kings gift? Seeming to be confident they were all then in his dispose, and thereupon assuring himselfe, that he would advance such persons to them as should be most favourable, most plyable to Popery and Papists, to drive on their designes; as they did indeed with a witnesse, till this Parliament employed their diligence and power to weed them out by Degrees. And therefore his advancement of such unsound, corrupt, Popish Clergy-men on the One, and suppressing good Orthodox Preaching Ministers on the other side; must necessarily import a most desperate design in him to supplant our established Religion, by such a Generation of Vipers, who would eat out the very bowells of their own Protestant Mother Church, and Religion by Degrees.*

The sixth Branch of the Commons Evidence to make good their first Generall Charge of the Archbishops endeavours to subvert our Religion and introduce Popery.

WEE shall now advance our progresse from this to the sixth Branch of our Evidence, to make good our generall Charge of this Archbishops Traytorous Practises and Endeavours to subvert our true Protestant Religion, and introduce Popish Superstition, and Idolatry; to wit; His Iesuiticall Practises, Plots and Proceedings by himselfe and his Instruments to suppress the frequent and powerfull Preaching of the Gospel on Lords-dayes, Weeke-dayes, with all Lecturers and Lectures throughout the Kingdome, and the Feoffees for Improvements, a principall meanes to maintaine the same; and his silencing, suspending many godly Ministers in all parts upon frivolous illegall Pretences, that so Popish Errours, Superstitions might flow in and grow up the faster, with none or little publique Opposition: This is fully charged against him in the eleventh Originall Article and sixth Additionall; which were read upon this occasion.

The first and most pernicious Plot this Prelate layd to suppress Preaching, Lectures and Lecturers, was drawn up by himselfe under his own hand soon after the Parliaments dissolution in tertio Caroli, and presented by him to the King, under this specious title which he gave it. *Considerations for the better settling of the Church-Government*: The Originall draught whereof, written with his own hand and found in his study by Mr Pryne, was produced and read in forme following.

Considerations for the better settling of the
Church-Government.

That his Majesty would be graciously pleased,

1. **T**O Command the Lords the Bishops to their severall seases; excepting those which are in attendance at Court.
2. That none of them reside upon his Land or Lease that he hath purchased; or on his Commendam if he hold any, but in one of his Episcopall Houses. And that hee wast not the woods where any are left.
3. That they give charge in their Tryenniall Visitations; and at other times both by themselves, and the Archdeacons, that the Declaration for settling the questions in difference be strictly observed.
4. That a speciall Charge be given them against frequent and unworthy Ordinations.

Note.

5. That a speciall Care be had over the Lecturers in every Diocese: Which by Reason of their pay are the peoples creatures, and blow the Bellows their way, Sedition.

Note.

For the abating of whose power these wayes may be taken.

1. That the afternoon Sermons in all Parishes may be turned into Catechising by Questions and Answers, according to an Order set out by King James of blessed Memory. If this cannot be, then:
2. That every Bishop ordain in his Diocese, that every Lecturer doe read Divine service in his Surplisse before the Lecture.

Note.

3. That

3. That where a Lecture is set up in a Market Town it be read by a Combination of grave and orthodox Divines neer adjoyning.
4. That if an Incorporation do maintain a Lecturer he be not suffered to preach till he take upon him Curam Animarum within that Incorporation.
6. That the Bishop do countenance and encourage the grave orthodox Divines of his Clergy, and gaine them in the severall quarters of his Diocesse to be present at such Lecturers Sermons as are neere them: That so the Bishop may have knowledge.
7. That the Bishop suffer none under Noble men, and men qualified by Law, to have any private Chaplain in his house.
8. That his Majesty may be graciously pleased that men of courage, gravity, and experience in Government be preferred to Bishopricks.
9. That Emanuel and Sydeny Colledge in Cambridge, which are the Nurseries of Puritanisme; may from time to time be provided of grave and orthodox men for their governours.
10. That his Majesties High Commission be countenanced by the presence of some of his Majesties privy Councell, so oft at least as any Matter of Moment is to be sentenced.
11. That some course may be taken that the Judges may not send so many Prohibitions.
12. That his Majestie would be graciously pleased once in halfe a yeare to call for an Account of all, or so many of these as hee in wisdom shall thinke fitt.

Note.

Note.

Note.

Note.

Note.

1. The generall Feoffees for Benefices and preferment.
2. A new authorizing of the Injunctions.

By this Originall Paper, the main scope whereof is only to suppress Preaching, Lectures, and extirpate all Lecturers by Degrees; it is apparant. First, that this Prelate was the prime Projector, Promoter of all the Jesuiticall Devices contained in these Considerations, and since put in Practise in every Diocesse to suppress Preaching, Lectures and Lecturers. Secondly, that the specious pretence of *having the Afternoon Sermons in every Parish turned into catechising*; so much pressed and commended, was only a meer pretence and wicked policy of purpose to suppress Lectures and undermine Lecturers; None being enjoined to catechise but such as preached; none being questioned for not catechising if they preached not; and those that catechised and preached too, or expounded, or used any other Catechism but that in the Common-Prayer-Booke, being questioned and suspended as Delinquents. Thirdly, that he not only recommends these Considerations to his Majesty, but moves him to turne them into Injunctions, and to call for an Account every halfe year to see how they were observed. Fourthly, that to effect and further this wicked project, all his orthodox, grave Ministers are required to be present at Lectures the better to turne informers against Lecturers that were honest and painfull. Fifthly, some Colledges must have new Governours appointed them to prevent the growth of Puritanisme: No new Bishops must be made but such who would be active in putting this design in execution: The Kings own privy Councell must be specially enjoined to dance attendance at the High Commission to punish such who transgressed these Prescriptions, and the Judges inhibited to grant Prohibitions for their releife.

This foundation being layd, these Considerations of the Bishop were in a few weeks after, with very little alteration, transformed and hightned into the Title of *Injunctions from his Majesty*; the Originall Draught whereof we have here present, interlined, altered with this Bishops own hand: and then in Decemb. 1629, they were sent in the Kings own name, as his owne Regall Injunctions, to the Archbishops of Canterbury and Yorke, and by them to all the Bishops in their particular Provinces to see them punctually observed and put in execution in every parish within their Diocesse. One Copy of them was sent by Archbishop Abbot to BP Lande, then Bishop

shop of London. In pursuite whereof he summoned in all the Ministers and Lecturers within the City and Suburbs to attend him at London House; where hee made a solemne Speech unto them; Wherein (as appears by the Notes of it under his own hand here produced) he pressed obedience to these Instructions of his Majesty, which he said, had been mistaken by some of them before it was possible for them to see, much lesse to weigh them; adding, that they were full of Religion and Justice: that much good would come to the Church and Commonweale by obedience to them; the want of which obedience hath lost us more wayes then one. And professing he was sorry there was need of thole or any other; yet since there is need, and the Govern-ment hath found it so, hee was glad of this occasion to knowe, and see them together.

What these Instructions were, and how consonant to his own Considerations, We shall manifest by an exact Copy endorfed with his owne hand in this forme. Decemb. 30. 1629. Instructions from his Majesty concerning the Residence of Bishops; and the Lecturers: with some Notes, exceptions, explanations upon them in the margin, written likewise by himselfe.

CHARLES R.

Instructions for the most reverend Father in God, our right trusty and right entirely beloved Coun-
cellor, George L. Archbishop of Canterbury: Con-
cerning certain Orders to be observed and put in execution
by the severall Bishops in his Province.

Exceptions
taken.

(a) This is
broken.

(b) And this.

(c) This Cate-
chizing must
be by the Cate-
chism in the
Com. prayer
book and no
other. Divers
in London must
preach too or
loose their
means. They
cannot agree
upon the great
Cause.

(d) Whether
this bind the
Parson
or Vicar if he
read the Le-
cture? Or all
the Ministers
where there is
a combination
Vnlesse it be
upon the very
edge of a Dio-
cesse &c.

(e) And execut
by himselfe:
And whether
it shall be suf-
ficient to con-
forme some
times, so the
reading of
Prayer bee
constant.

1. **T**hat the Lords the Bishops be commanded to their severall Seas, (a) there to keep residence, excepting those wich are in necessary attendance at Court.
2. That none of them reside upon his land or lease that he hath purchased, (b) nor on his Commendam if he hold any, but in one of his Episcopall houses if he have any: And that he waite not the woods where any are left.
3. That they give charge in their Trienniall Visitations and at other convenient times, both by themselves and the Archdeacons, that the Declaration for the settling all questions in difference, be strictly observed by all parties.
4. That there be a speciall care taken by them all, that their Ordinations be solemn and not of unworthy persons.
5. That they take great care concerning the Lecturers in their severall Diocesses, for whom we give these speciall directions following.
 1. That in all Parishes the Afternoon Sermons (c) may be turned into Catechizing by Question and Answer, where and whensoever there is not some great cause ap-
parant to breake this ancient and profitable Order.
 2. That every Bishop ordain in his Diocesse, (d) that every Lecturer doe read Divine Service according to the Liturgy printed by Authority, in his Surplisse and Hood before the Lecture.
 3. That where a Lecture is set up in a Market Town, it may be read by a company of grave and orthodox Divines neer adjoyning and in the same Diocesse: And that they preach in Gownes and not in Cloakes, as too many doe use.
 4. That if a Corporation do maintain a single Lecturer, he be not suffered to preach till he profess his willingnesse to take upon him a Living with Cure of Soules, within that Incorporation: and that he do actually take such (e) Benefice or Cure, so soon as it shall be fairly procured for him.
 6. That the Bishops doe countenance and encourage the grave and orthodox Di-
vines of their Clergy, and that they use meanes by some of the Clergy or others, that they may have knowledge how both Lecturers and Preachers within their Diocesses

Diocesses behave themselves in their Sermons, that so they may take order for any abuse accordingly.

7. That the Bishops suffer (f) none under Noblemen, and men qualified by Law, to have any private Chaplain in his house.

8. That they take special care that Divine Service be diligently frequented as well for Prayers and Catechismes as Sermons, and take particular note of all such as absent themselves as Recusants or other waies.

9. That every Bishop that by our grace and favour, and good opinion of his service, shall be nominated by us to another Bishopricke, shall from that day of nomination not presume to make any Lease for three lives or one and twenty yeares, or concurrent Lease, or any way renew any Estate, or cut any wood or timber, but meerly receive the rents due and quit the place. For wee thinke it a hatefull thing that any mans leaving the Bishopricke should almost undoe the Successor. And if any man shall presume to breake this order, (g) we will refuse at our Royall Assent, and keepe him at the place which he hath so abused.

(f) Excepted against in regard of displacing many young men &c.

(g) What if he do not let them till the Royall Assent be past?

10. And lastly, we command you to give us an Account every yeare the second of January, of the performance of these our Commands.

Dorchester.

How diligent he was to put these Instructions into execution within his own Diocese, will appeare by this Letter of his to his severall Archdeacons; the originall whereof was produced, interlined with his own hand.

SIR,

These are to let you understand, that his Majestie out of his Royall and Princely Care that the Government of the Church may be carefully lookt unto by the Bishops and others with whom it is trusted, hath lately sent certain Instructions to my Lords Grace of Canterbury and of Yorke, to be by them disperst to the severall Bishops of each Diocese within their Provinces, to the intent that whatsoever concerns any Bishops personally, or otherwise, in reference to those of the Clergy which they are to govern, may be by every of them readily and carefully performed. The Instructions which concern the Persons to be governed, are only the third, for keeping the Kings Declaration, that so differences and questions may cease, and the fifth about Lecturers, and the seventh concerning private Chaplains in the Houses of men not qualified, and the eighth about either Recusants or any other Absents from Church and Divine Service; all the rest are Personall to the Bishops: yet because they are so full of Justice, Honour and Care of the Church, I send to you the whole Body of the Instructions as they came to me, praying and requiring you as Arch-Deacon of London, to send me at or before Wednesday the third of February next, both the Christian and Surnames of every Lecturer within your Archdeaconry, as well in places exempt as not exempt, and the place where he preacheth and his quality and Degree. As also the Names of such men as being not qualified keep Chaplains in their Houses. And these are farther to pray, and in his Majesties name to require you that you leave with the Parson or Vicar of the place a Copy not of all, but of the foure Instructions mentioned, with the foure severall branches belonging to the Lecturers, with a Charge that the Parson or Vicar deliver another Copy of them to the Churchwardens; and that you do not onely call upon them for Performance, now presently, but also take great care from time to time that at the End of your next Visitation, and so forward at the End of every severall Visitation, I may by your self or your Officialls have true notice how they are perform'd, and where and by whom they are disobey'd. For so much my Lords Grace of Canterbury requires of me as you shall see by the Tenor of his Graces Letters to mee here inclosed. I pray you in any case not to faile in this, for if you should, when I come to give up my Account I must discharge my selfe upon you, and that Neglect would make you go backward in

in his Majesties favour besides whatsoever else may follow; Thus not doubting of your care and fidelity in this behalfe I leave you to the Grace of God, and shall so rest.

Your very loving Friend,

January 4. 1629.

Wil. London

Upon the publication of these *Instructions* (strictly pursued till this present Parliament) Lecturers and Chaplaines in private Gentlemens houses were generally questioned and suppressed in all places, with very great Rigor; especially if they refused or neglected to read Common Prayers in their Surplises and Hoods before they Lectured: all Sermons on the Lords dayes in the Afternoon were generally suppressed by degrees throughout the Kingdome: most single, and many Combination Lectures were put downe in every place; All Catechismes, but that in the Common Prayer Book, prohibited; All Expositions of Chapters or of the Catechisme forbidden and layd aside; Wakes, Revels, Dancing, and all kind of Recreations introduced, authorized, commanded by a Regall Declaration, printed and published in the Kings name by this Prelate as we have already proved, (and preached for in Pulpits, instead of Afternoon Sermons and Catechismes on the Lords day) that people might go more merrily down to Hell, and banish the thoughts of God and heaven out of their minds, on that very day whereon they should mende them most. And that these Instructions might be the better executed, this Prelate both before and after he was Archbishop, together with Bishop Mountague, Bishop Wren, Bishop Peirce and others thrust them into their *Visitation Articles*, and every Church-Warden and Sidefman on their Oath, was to inquire after the Execution and Violation of them. If any doubt arose upon these Instructions how to proceed upon them, not Archbishop Abbot, but this Lording Prelate, was consulted with as the only Oracle, who best knew their meaning, as being the contriver of them: Witnesse the Bishop of Bristols Letter and Quæres to him about his Majesties late Instructions Febr. 12. 1629. the Originall whereof (indorsed with Mr Dells his Secretaries hand) found with the former Papers in his study, was produced. If any neglect or connivance at Lecturers was used in any place, information and complaint thereof was presently sent up unto him; witnesse this one from Canterbury against Archbishop Abbot himselfe: thus endorced with this Prelates own hand Feb, 18. 1629. *The Proceedings of the Dean and Arch-Deacon of Canterbury upon the Kings Instructions.*

M After Deane and Archdeacon of Canterbury received from my Lords Grace a Commission for the speeding of his Majesties Instructions enforced by these phrases. (It is expected that you should strictly put in execution these matters which do concern either your selves, in your own persons, or the Clergy that do remain within my Diocesse, and this to be done, not as a thing of forme, or perfunctorily, but so that an account be made and returned to his Majestie, what fruit there is of these Instructions, and how in the severall Diocesses they are performed. And therefore I pray you, and in the name of his Highnesse require you to advertise me what is done in these particulars, and whether there be due obedience unto these commands.)

Accordingly the Commissioners sent for Mr Palmer, a Lecturer in Saint Alphage Canterbury on Sunday in the afternoone, who first denyed to shew any Licence; Secondly certified that he had no Licence to preach there. Thirdly against the Ministers will, he read Prayers and catechized but not according to Canon. Fourthly, in that catechizing he undertook to declare the Kings minde in his Instructions. Fifthly, he hath never heretofore read Prayers or used the Surplisse in that Parish. Sixthly, the Incumbent, a man licenced by three Archbishops, petitioned that he might performe his own ministeriall duties in his own Parish. Seventhly, Mr Palmer preached a factious Sermon in the Cathedral Church, and detracted from Divine Service there

there, Eighthly the Incumbent for not joyning with him is threatned to loose his tithes. Ninthly, factious parties of all the Parishes in the Towne are his auditors, where they will not be forbidden to sit vpon the Communion table.

Hereupon the Commissioners, willed Master Palmer to desist, and to give Master Platt the Minister of the said-Church roome, to doe his duties himselfe, vntill they might heare farther from my Lords Grace of Canterbury, and to him they remitted him, sending up their reasons wherefore they did it.

They likewise sent for Master Vdnay Lecturer on Sunday in the after-noon at Ashford, a Market towne and the most factious of all Kent. Where though there be a grave learned diligent Incumbent, and a Lecture beside performed every Saturday by the grave neighbour Ministers, yet Master Vdnay was invited thither by factious persons, such as are registred in the high Commission for Conventiclers, whereupon he obtained a recommendation from the King, directed to the Constable of Ashford, who in the Kings name charging the Incumbent to admit him, thrust him up into the Pulpit, where he hath ever since Lectured directly contrary to the third instruction for Lectures, it being a great discouragement to the Incumbent, Vdnay himselfe having had a Benefice neere that Towne within eight miles, at which for this ten yeeres he hath never constantly resided. For these reasons the Commissioners wisht him likewise to desist, and referd him to my Lords Grace of Canterbury, who hath since replaced him in Ashford by his Licence and Seale, and as we are informed hath likewise authorized Master Palmer.

By these proceedings the Commissioners are made the scorne of the factious. They and all other conformable Orthodoxe Ministers are discomforted, his Majesties Instructions are annihilated, and Master Arch-deacon of Canterbury is inhibited his Jurisdiction.

Note.

In his own Diocesse of London many Lectures were suppressed, many Lecturers and Ministers questioned, suspended by colour of these Instructions, especially if they vsed the least glances against Arminianisme and Popish Innovations, by name Mr John Rogers of Dedham, Mr Daniel Rogers of Wethersfield, Mr Hooker of Cheshford, Mr White of Knightsbridge; Mr Archer, M. William Martyn, M. Edwards, M. Iones, M. Ward, M. Saunders; M. James Gardner, M. Foxly, with sundry others being likewise, some of them driven out of his Diocesse and the Kingdome too.

Bishop Wren in pursuance of these instructions, prescribed, printed and published these ensuing Visitation Articles concerning Lecturers, in his Diocesse of Norwich, on which the Churchwardens were strictly injoynd to enquire and present upon oath; as appears by his printed Articles, Anno. 1636. Which were read in forme following.

Concerning the Ministers, Preachers and Lecturers.

44. Have you any Lecturer in your Parish, and on what day is your Lecture? If any such be, doth he, twice at the least every yeere, reade divine Service both Morning and Evening; two severall Sundayes, publickly in his Surplice and Hood? and also twice in the yeere Administer both Sacraments, with such Rites and Ceremonies as are prescribed by the Booke of Common Prayer?

45. Doth the Lecturer, (whosoever he be) reade the Divine Service according to the Liturgy printed by Authority, in his Surplice and Hood before every Lecture?

46. Doth your Preacher or Lecturer behave himself in his Lectures and Sermons as he ought to do, teaching obedience and edifying of his auditory in matters of faith and good life, without intermeddling with matters of State, or newes, or other disc-

course,

courses not fit for the Pulpit, and also without favouring or abetting Schismatics or Separatists (that are at home or gone abroad) either by speciall prayer for them, or by any other approbation of them?

47. Have you any Lecture of Combination set up in your Parish? And if so, is it read by a company of grave and orthodox Divines, neer adjoyning, and in the same Diocese? and doth every one of them Preach in a Gown, not in a Cloak? And when and by whom were they appointed? And what be their names?

48. Is any single Lecturer (maintained by your Town or otherwise) suffered to preach, he not first professing his willingness to take upon him the cure of soules, nor actually taking a Benefice or Cure, so soon as it may be procured for him? What is his name? what license hath he? And hath he a settled contribution affixed to the Lecturers place; or is it arbitrary, and for this Lecturer onely? What summe doth it amount to ordinarily? By whom is it usually paid or collected, or of late years hath been?

49. If any Psalmes do use to be sung in your Church, before or after the morning and evening Prayer, or before or after Sermons (upon which occasions onely they are allowed to be sung in Churches) is it done according to that grave manner (which first was in use) that such doe sing as can read the Psalmes and have learned them by heart? And not after that uncouth and undecent custome of late taken up, to have every line first read, and then sung by the people?

Concerning the Parishioners.

8. Is there within your Parish in any house or family, any one that is called or reputed a Chaplain, or that is known or supposed to have entred into holy Orders? Or any that live there in imployment as a Scholler? Present their names if there bee any such, and how long they have been there.

Not long after, this Bishop in his Diocese of *Norwich* suppressed all Afternoon-Sermons on the Lordsdays throughout his Diocese; with most single Lectures, Lecturers, and Combination Lectures too; which he permitted onely unto some few places after much Petitioning upon these hard conditions, which he returned and certified to this Archbishop (from whom they originally proceeded) in these ensuing termes, as appears by the Originall under his own hand, (found in the Archbishops study and attested by Mr Prynn.)

Decemb. 7. 1636.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN,

AN Account touching the Royall Instructions given by the Kings most Excellent Majestie, to the most Reverend Father in God, William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, concerning Orders to be observed by all the Bishops of that Province. To the severall Articles of which Instructions, I Mathew, Lord Bishop of *Norwich*, thus humbly make answer, and in Order. Viz. To the 5^o Article, and the four branches thereof, I scarce found any Catechizing used in the whole Diocese, some fewe places excepted; but I have very strictly enforced it, and I presume it is now faithfully performed in most Churches of the Diocese. Especially in the City of *Norwich*, there were not above 4 Sermons on Sunday mornings in 34 Churches, only in the Afternoon they had them. But I caused Sermons or Homilies to be had in every Church in the forenoon, and Catechizing in the afternoon according to the Canon. Lectures abounded, especially in *Suffolke*: Not a Market, or a bowling greene, or an Ordinary could stand without one, and many of them were set up by private Gentlemen at their pleasures. At *St. Edmunds Bury* there were three: Two single Lectures on Wednesday and Friday (in either of their Churches one) and one by Combination of neighbour-
ing

ing Divines on *Munday* the Market day. The Combination ending at *Christmas* last, of themselves they forbore to begin it again, till they had sought to me for leave and order therein. I gave my consent and allowed fifty choice Divines inhabiting within that Archdeaconry, upon these two Conditions.

First, that the Divine Service being began duly by the Curate of the Church at nine of the Clocke, the Preacher for that day should be ready in his Surplisse and Hood to begin the second Service at the Communion Table; and so should ascend into the Pulpit after the *Nicene* Creede, and there using no other prayer then is prescribed in the 55. Canon, nor preaching above one hour, should not give the Blessing out of the Pulpit; but should descend again to the Table and read the Prayer for the universall Church; and so dismiss the congregation with the Peace of God &c.

Note.

Secondly, that the people of the Town should duly resort to the Church to the beginning of Divine Service and there deport themselves with all Humility, Reverence and Devotion, in kneeling, standing, bowing, being uncovered and answering audibly. Both which conditions are joyfully and duly performed, as well by the Preachers for their part, as the people, for theirs respectively: The two single Lectures are likewise continued and performed upon the same conditions. Only during the time of this Fast, I appointed the *Friday* Lecture to be held on the Fast day also.

At *Ipswich* there hath been no Lecture since Mr *Wards* censure: It was not unknowne to some of them, that if they had sought to have one, I would have granted it, but they are resolved to have him or none; and him they make account to have in despite of all censures.

At *Yarmouth* there hath beene no Lecturer these two yeares, ever since which time more Peace hath been in the Town, and good Order in Ecclesiasticall things much increased.

At *Lyme* their Lecturer dyed in *February*: They presently sought to have the Curate of the place allowed to be Lecturer: I gave leave that he should supply the place, till I might further enquire of him; but about *Whitsuntide*, he voluntarily relinquished, and not without some contempt; whereupon I would not suffer him afterward to return though some desired it.

At *Normich* one Lecture is still held by Mr *Cock*, an honest conformable man of whom they make no great regard. Other two have voluntarily relinquished, because they will observe no Order, whereof one (Mr *Bridge*) hath left two Cures and is runne into *Holland*.

The other Lectures in the Country Towns were at this passe: First, they observed no Order at all in reading of the Divine Service, or in obtaining from points of controversy, or in their habits. Secondly, Laymen had taken upon them to put in and put out some Lecturers at their pleasure. Thirdly, the people also knowing before hand who was to preach, when any factious fellow came, would throng and hang upon the Windowes; but if they did not please the man, the Church was halfe empty, to the great discouragement of many who complained thereof to me. Fourthly, they never sought to me to obtaine any allowances or to receive any order about them, whereupon (after more then halfe a years expectation) some of them were inhibited untill they sought leave of their ordinary. Since they in *Suffolk* Petition was made to me. 1 From *Debenham*, and I was ready to allow them a Lecture on the same conditions with *St. Edmunds Bury*, which they went to consider of, but I never heard since from them. 2 From *Bergholt*, (vulgo *Baisfeld*) which is a Mile of *Dedham* in *Essex*. But it being no Market Town, and I not finding a sufficient number of grave and orthodox Divines neer that part: and Dr. *Jones* (an eminent man their late Lecturer) having often complained to me of their factious dispositions, I took time to consider of it. 3 From *Haverill*, no Market Town also, where a young fellow had thrust up himself without leave, *Sede vacante*, to be their Lecturer, yet in regard of his want of means I yeilded; upon condition, that he should behave himselfe orderly; and the Towne should assure fourty Markes per annum, for a Stipend, which they have not yet done.

' In *Norfolk*, from *Wimendham* and *Eastharling* suite was made to me, but it was since the Fast began, whereupon I respited them, till it pleased God that it might cease, and then I would be ready to do to them as I had done at *Bury*. Besides these places afore named, I remember but three in *Northfolke* as yet inhibited: *Viz.* at *Diss*. new *Buckenham*, and *Northwalsbam*, and three in *Suffolk*; *viz.* at *Ixmou*, a Lecture started up by Sir *William Spring* within these four years; at *Cockesfield*, a private town, where the said Knight bound his Clerk (when he presented him) to read a Lecture there every *Thursday*, because Mr *Knewstubs* had for many years before done it: And at *Wickham* where the Lecturer is no Graduate and hath been a common Stage player, a man of small abilities, and of whom many complaints were brought to me.

Note.

This Bishop *Wren* likewise prohibited, all ringing of Bells to give notice of a Sermon to the Parishioners or others; Suppressed all Preparation Sermons to fit men for the worthy receiving of the Sacrament; all Prayers before Sermons but that enjoined by the 55. Canon; forbidding Ministers to use any Prayers after their Sermons: Enjoined there should be no Catechisms used on the Lord's day instead of the Afternoon Sermon, but only such Questions and Answers as are contained in the Common Prayer book, not allowing Ministers to expound or open the points of the same to the people, he and his Officers affirming in publike places, that such an Exposition might be as ill as a Sermon. And by colour of these Instructions and the Declaration for Sports he silenced, suspended at least fifty Ministers, forcing many of them, and above three thousand people besides to desert the Kingdome, and fly into *Holland* and *New-England*; as appears by the Articles of his impeachment, presented to the Lords by the house of Commons and by sundry witnesses before severall Committees. All which Exorbitancies issued from these Instructions; and must be put on this Archbishops score, the Author of them, to whom Bishop *Wren* and other Bishops gave an annuall Account of their due execution.

Bishop *Mountague* succeeding Bishop *Wren* in the Bishoprick of *Norwich*, in pursuance of these Instructions exceeded him in his Visitation Articles concerning Lectures and Lecturers; as appears by these ensuing; printed both at *London* and *Cambridge*: Anno. 1638.

4. Concerning Lecturers and Lectures.

Forasmuch as of late years the course and humor of Lecturing and the frequenting and hearing such exercises, is of great resent in the State and Church of *England*, (from which course, as much good may ensue and be procured, if well and discreetly managed, so if otherwise, great hurt, danger and scandall may and often doth result; the cure and care whereof properly and immediately belongs to the Bishop of the Diocese where such exercises are) the Church-Wardens and Sidesmen are given to understand, that there be amongst us three sorts of Lecturers.

1 The first, most hugged, followed, admired and maintained, is a super-inducted Lecturer in another mans cure and pastorall charge, who hath some resemblance to the ancient Catharist in the Primitive Church, but is up and down the same with the Doctor in the New Discipline; which (I take it) is the motive of his so great approbation and good entertainment above the Incumbent of the Cure, though never so learned and painfull.

2 Concerning him, it is to be enquired, of what degrees in Schools he is? and of how long standing and studying in Divinity? whether he be a graduate in Divinity, a Doctor, or at least a Bachelor, and not a young Student or Preacher?

3 Are his Lectures popular Afternoon Sermons? or be they Catechisticall, and readings upon some common place of Divinity, or the four parts of the *English* authorized Catechisme, or some of the 39 Articles of our Confession?

4 Is he there admitted with the consent of the Incumbent, or against his will, with warrant and authority from the Bishop, under his Episcopall seal? Is the Minister and Incumbent

Incumbent of that place where he Lectureth, a Preacher or not? and if a Benefice be offered the Lecturer, do you suppose he would take it?

5 Doth he often and at times appointed read Divine Service, and administer the Communion in his Surplisse and Hood of his degree?

6 Of what length are his Lectures, and how is his Prayer at beginning and end? is he there in conforme unto the Appointment and Order of the Canon? *Can. 55.*

7 Doth he in his popular Lectures ordinarily fall upon points of mysticall, darke, and abstruse Divinity, as Prædestination &c. Doth he intermeddle with matters of State, Government, forrein from his profession, above his understanding?

8 Doth he oppose or traduce openly the Doctrine of his Brethren and neighbouring Ministers; or obliquely, underhand or upon the by gird at them, the Doctrine, Discipline of the Church, any Parishioner &c. so designing him, them, or that, that a man may take notice of his meaning?

9 The second sort of Lecturers be those of Combination, when many neighbouring Ministers do voluntarily agree and consent with the Ordinaries approbation, not otherwise, to preach a Sermon, every man in his course, at some adjoining market town, upon the market day, for instructing of such who repair together to sell and buy in their duty to God, and commerce with man: Have you any such Lecturers?

10 Who be the Combiners? be they beneficed men of the Diocese, and not strangers or Curates? who are not to be admitted, because if they offend in their Sermons the Diocesan cannot reach them; they are gone.

11 Doth this Lecturer any way abridge, hinder, or cut off Divine Service, which is compleatly to be finished before the Lecture begin?

12 Do any resorting thereto, walke aloofe, or in the Church-yard, or stay at some house purposely, and not repair to the Church till Lecture begin? If any such misdemeanour be, present it; and without amendment the Lecture shall cease.

13 A third sort be running Lecturers: who point upon such a day to meete at such a Church, most an end in some Country Town or Village; and then after Sermon, and dinner at some house of their disciples, repeat, censure, and explain the Sermon, discourse of points proposed at their last meeting, by the head of that Classis or Assembly, ever to the promoting of their owne fancies, and derogation from the doctrine, and discipline of the Church: after all, they do again *condicere*, and appoint to meet next at such a Church, in like sort, to like purpose. Such I found in *Sussex* at my coming thither. If you have any such, or know any such, present them (as far as you can learn) who they be, where they do meet, whither any of your Parish run after them.

By these we may discern the spirit of this Prelate and his Malignity against Lecturers and Lectures, which he carefully suppressed in *Chichester* Diocese, (where he published the like Articles) and would have done the like in *Normich*, but that his predecessour Bishop *Wren*, had left no Lectures for him to suppress.

Doctor *Pierce* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, a great creature of this Arch-Prelates, to please his Grace the better, by colour of these Instructions (which he rigorously observed) suppressed all Lectures within his Diocese both in Market Townes and elsewhere, as well combination Lectures, as those maintained by Ministers, or Lecturers upon stipends or the peoples benevolence, some of which Lectures had continued 40 or 50 years without interruption, and were countenanced by some of his Predecessors actually preaching at them in their turnes: which when he had effected, he publicly gloried in this wicked act, using this most execrable speech: *I thank God I have not one Lecture left in my Diocese: professing before, that he hated the very name of Lectures, and would not leave so much as one Lecture in his Diocese; and requiring the Ministers upon their canonicall obedience not to preach any Lecture; alleaging, that there was no such need of preaching now as there was in the Apostles dayes. Yea, he suspended Mr Devenish*
the

Note.

the Minister of Bridgewater for preaching a Lecture there in his own Church on the Market day (which Lecture had continued from Queen Elizabeth time till then) and refused to absolve him, till he hath faithfully promised to preach it no more. And when he absolved him on this promise, he most prophanely used to him these words of our Saviour spoken to the Woman taken in Adultery, *John 8. 14. Go thy way sinne no more* (that is, preach this Lecture no more, as if preaching was as heinous a sinne as Adultery) lest a worse thing happen to thee: Furthermore in pursuit of these Instructions, he put down all Sermons on the Lords dayes in the Afternoon throughout his Diocese, strictly charging the Ministers in his Visitations, not to preach on Lords dayes in the Afternoon upon any occasion, under pain of Suspension; After which hee suspended one Mr Cornish, only for preaching a Funerall Sermon on a Lordsday Evening: Furthermore, he convented the Minister of Beercoockham before him, for having two Sermons on that parish Revell day; alleadging, that it was a hinderance to the Revel, and utterance of the Church-all provided to be spent on that day: (belike he had more care of the Church wardens Ale then the peoples Soules) and he questioned one Mr Thomas Erford a Minister, as a Delinquent, for preaching at the parish of Mountague on their Revell day, upon the Prophet *Joels* exhortation to *Fasting weeping and mourning*; charging him; that not only his Sermon, but his very text too, was scandalous to the Revel, and gave offence to the meeting: And whereas divers godly Ministers of his Diocese being restrained from preaching, did take great pains thereupon to catechise their Parishioners in the principles of Religion on Lordsdayes in the Afternoon, according to the Letter of these Instructions, enlarging themselves upon the Questions and Answers in the Catechisme in the Common Prayer-Booke for the peoples better Instruction, and using a short prayer before and after that exercise, this Bishop being informed of it corrected and sharply reprov'd these Ministers for their pains, threatening to punish them severely if they Peristed therein; saying, *That it was a Catechizing Sermon-wise, and AS BAD AS PREACHING*: Charging them, that they should aske no other Questions, nor receive any other Answers from the people, but such as were contained in the Book of Common prayer; which one Mr Barrett Rector of Barwick not observing, was enjoyned penance for it; and one Humfrey Blake Churchwarden of Bridgewater, was likewise put to penance for not presenting Mr Devenish the Minister there as a Delinquent, for expounding the Church-Catechisme, and making a short prayer of his own before he began his exercise: All which particulars were proved by substantiall witnesses before a Committee of the House of Commons, drawn up into an Impeachment against this Bishop; and being in verity the Impious fruites of this Arch-Prelates project (who encouraged him herein) must be justly and principally charged upon his score: *Quia plus peccat Author quam Actor.*

Note.

Note.

The like Suppressions of Sermons and Catechizing on the Lords day in the Afternoon were common in all or most other Diocese; neither could any Combination Lectures be obtained in them; but with very great suite, and upon very hard conditions, which the Bishops tooke advantage to prescribe by colour of these Instructions, all strictly observed till this present Parliament; This we could prove by many Instances we shall produce but one instead of all the rest, found among Sir John Lambes Papers (the Archbishops grand Instrument herein) by Mr Prynn, endorsed with Sir Johns own fist.

Orders given by the Right Reverend Father in God, JOHN Lord Bishop of PETERBOROUGH, for and concerning the Sermon weekly on Wednesday in Saint JAMES Chappell in BRACKLEY, September the 14. 1639.

I. IT is ordered that the fifteen Divines whose names are here under written, shall be appointed to their severall dayes by Dr Heath Chancellor of the said Diocese

ces, or his permission, by Doctor *Sybrhorpe* one of his Surrogates, in a Catalogue, to be signed by him, annexed to these orders.

II. That no other Divine shall be admitted to Preach there upon any Wednesday, but one of these fiftene (except the Curate of that place) upon any pretence whatsoever; And if one of these shall dye, or depart, or refuse to preach, none other shall be Substituted, but by expresse allowance of the Bishop.

III. That the Bell shall begin to toll a quarter of an houre before nine of the Clocke in the morning, and shall continue so toling, till nine of the Clocke and no longer.

IIII. That immediatly upon ceasing of the Bell the Divine Service of the Church of *England* for morning prayer shall begin, and shall be said, together with the Letanie, either by the Preacher for that day, or else (in case of necessity) only by the Minister of the place or his assistant, in his Surplice and Hood, according to his degree in Schooles.

V. The Preacher for that day, shall be ready at the Communion Table in his Surplice and Hood (while a Psalm is in singing after the Morning prayer and the Letanie) to begin the Communion Service (commonly called the second Service) and that there be no *Hiatus* or stopp at all, after the end of the Psalmes. If he be not there, He who did reade the Morning prayer that day, shall presently goe thither, and proceede to the second Service, and no Sermon shall be had that day.

Note.

VI. The Preacher as soone as he hath repeated the *Nicen Creede* shall goe up into the Pulpit, in his Surplice and hood.

VII. No other forme of prayer before the Sermon shall be vsed, then is set downe in the L V. Canon, to move the people to pray in the words and manner there perscribed, interposing only, if he so desire, the names of the Vniuersities and of his Colledge, or of his Patron, he being one quallified by Law, to have a Chaplaine.

Note.

VIII. The Sermon at the utmost shall be within the compasse of an houre, and shall be ended with *Glory be to God &c.* without any other prayers in the Pulpit.

Note.

IIII. The Preacher shall after his Sermon come presently from the Pulpit, and so goe to the Communion table, and reade the prayer for the whole estate of Christs Church, &c. and one or two of the Collects, which stands after the Communion Service, and so shall dismisse the people with that blessing there. The peace of God, &c.

X. A Surplice and Hood are to be provided for the Preacher at the charge of the Towne.

XI. The people to be admonished by the Preacher (as neede shall require) to be diligent and of reverend behaviour at the divine service, both before the Sermon and also after it. All men to be uncovered during all the time both of Service and Sermon; all persons to do Reverence at the blessed name of *Iesus*, to stand at the Creedes, Hymnes and Gospells; to kneele at the confession and prayers, and practise all other parts of conformity to the Church Government, or otherwise it shall be sufficient cause to have the combination for the said weekly Sermon forthwith inhibited, if the Divine Service be neglected or deserted, Or if these Orders above mentioned be not truly observed, Vpon condition whereof the Bishop hath condescended unto the humble Petition presented vnto his Lordship from the Major and the other Inhabitants of the said Towne of *Brackley*, for suffering the said weekly Sermon.

Note.

These Orders under my Hand and Seale are to be set up for all those whom they concerne, to take notice of the same, in some convenient place within the Chappell of *S. James Brackley*, or in the Chancell or Vestry

Vestery of the same Chappell, as the Incumbent of the place shall dispose them, In testimony whereof we have caused our Seale Episcopall to be hereunto put, the day and yeer above written.

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|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Doctor Sybthorpe Vicar of Brackley. | 9. Mr. Burton Rector of Helmedon, |
| 2. Mr. Burden Rector of Aynoe. | 10. Mr. Osten Rector of Braddon. |
| 3. Mr. Yates Rector of Middleton cheny. | 11. Mr. Iakeman Rector of Farthingoe. |
| 4. Mr. Losse Vicar of Leas weeden. | 12. Mr. Brocke Vicar of Maideford. |
| 5. Mr. Osborne Rector of Thenford. | 13. Mr. Hunt Vicar of Suigraue. |
| 6. Mr. Selby Rector of Chipingwarden. | 14. Mr. Mander Vicar of Chacombe. |
| 7. Mr. Gage Vicar of Culworth. | 15. Mr. Hiseild Vicar of Evenley. |
| 8. Mr. Adams Rector of Ashton in le walls | |

Jo. Petriburg.

By these unreasonable conditions, (to which the consciences of most orthodox godly Ministers could no wayes submit) most Combination Lecturers were totally discontinued, and such as remained were for the most part supplied only by Prelaticall, Superstitious, Ceremonious, Popish Clergy men of the Archbishops faction, whole Sermons and Examples did more corrupt then instruct, seduce then reforme the Auditors, and onely promote his Popish designs. To such slavery, misery were both Ministers and People reduced by colour of this Prelates forementioned Considerations: Who being afterwards advanced to the Archbishopricke of Canterbury, had an annuall Account returned to him from all the Bishops of his Province, how these Instructions concerning Sermons, Lectures and Lecturers, were observed, and what Proceedings were upon them; as was manifested by the Originals of their Accounts found in his study, endorsed with his own hand. And not content with his Provinciaall Bishops proceedings, himself in his Metropolitall Visitation, gave speciall Order to Sir Nathaniel Brent his Vicar generall, to inquire, how his Majesties Instructions were observed? as appears by a Memorandum touching his Visitation in generall March. 6. 1634. written with Mr Dells own hand, found in the Archbishops study with other Papers of that nature: and likewise ordered him to silence divers Ministers, and not suffer them to Lecture: We shall give you one memorable instance in Mr Leighe a reverend Minister then of Wolverhampton, but now settled in Shoreditch by order of Parliament; For whose silencing this Archbishop gave speciall order; as appears by a Letter under his Secretary Dells own hand (who acknowledged it at the Lords Barr) directed to Sir Nathaniel Brent, found by M. Prynn among Sir John Lambes Papers.

Worthy SIR,

THE Church and Colledge of Wolverhampton in the Diocesse of Litchfield, is an Appendix to the Deane of Windsor; who by Charter of Edward the fourth is both Patron and Ordinary, *cum omnimoda jurisdictione*. And in that regard, though they have not been visited by any time out of mind, yet now he is content to lay by the Bulls and Charters of Exemption, and to admit of my Lords Metropolitan visitation. But with all he hath made this humble suit to my Lords Grace, that if you visit that Church and Colledge, they may not be summoned out of their own Jurisdiction, but rather that in your way from Litchfield to Shrewsbury, your visitation may be held in that very Place, it being a goodly Collegiate Church, and every way fit for it*. In which my Lord wills you by all means to give Mr Dean content in what may conveniently be done. And whereas his Grace is informed that the Place is much given to Faction, and that the last Summer there were some very good Chapter Acts, and other Orders made by my Lord the Bishop of Hereford, then Dean, to settle things there in a Church way, and to curbe the insolency of some men, who since, upon occasion of this my Lords Visitation are bold to give it out, that they will have all reversed &c. His Grace hath commanded me to signifie his expresse pleasure

*I am informed that Wolverhampton is but 12. miles from Litchfield, and not out of the way to Shrewsbury. Might you not be there on Monday May 18.?

sure to you, That no former Act made by the Chapter there, nor any Order appointed by the Deane, be reverted, or any wayes altered, without first acquainting his Grace therewith. And that you take speciall notice of one Mr Lee, a Prebend there who hath been the Author of much disorder thereabouts, *And if you can fasten upon any thing, Whereby he may justly be censured, pray see it be done, and home, or bring him to the High Commission Court to answer it there, &c.* But HOWEVER let him not obtain any License to Preach any Lecture there, or in another Exempt place hard by at Tetenhall, whither those of Wolverhampton do now run after him, out of their Parish; for the Church hath not much need of such men. If you speak with Mr Latham of Litchfield who is the Surrogate there, he will informe you more fully concerning this Businesse. That he (the said Mr Lee) hath Churched Refractory Women in private &c. That he is averse to all good Orders of the Church. As also that in another place thereabouts they caused a Bell-man in open Market to make Proclamation for a Sermon, &c.

Note.

One thing more, which I may not forget. My Lords Grace is informed that at Monkes-Illith in Suffolke, there is a Monument placed just at the East end of the Church, where the Communion Table or Altar should stand; And therefore his Grace wills you, notwithstanding you are now past it, to take order that it be either removed or demolished. And that you be very carefull to do the like in all Churches else, where you finde the same Abuse. So not doubting of your care in these Particulars, and wishing you health and content throughout your Journey, I take my leave, and am,

Note.

Lambeth, April 27. 1635.

Your Faithfull poor Friend to serve you,

Mr Dean cannot be at Wolverhampton by reason of his attendance at Windsor, the Instalment being about that time, and therefore prays you to hold him excused.

William Dell.

Upon this Letter, Mr Leigh was suspended by Sir Nathaniel Brent, as appears by an Abstract of the Metropolitall Visitation delivered by Sir Nathaniel to the Archbishop, who thus endorsed it with his own hand. July 16. 1635. The Abstract of my Visitation of Norwich, Peterborough, Litchfield, &c. produced at the Barr; in which we find mention of above twenty other Ministers suspended from preaching in this his Visitation. In his Instructions for his Metropolitall Visitation in the Diocesse of London (endorsed and signed with his owne hand) wee finde divers Informations against sundry Ministers inclosed, among which this is one. Mr. Mr Randall. Randall Curate of Tuddington in Middlessex near Hampton Court, preacheth long Sermons and factious on Sundayes in the Afternoone, though he hath beene admonished of it, and inhibited by Mr Chancellor of London; to which the Archbishop underwrites this direction to Sir Nathaniel Brent his Visitor: Sir, I require you that (besides your other Instructions) you give me an Account of all particulars within named.

W. Cant.

Of which particular concerning Mr Randall, Sir Nathaniel after his Visitation gave this account to the Archbishop.

MAfter Randall Curate of Tuddington (noted in the paper) confesseth, that since he was inhibited by Mr Chancellor of London to preach in the Afternoones on Sundayes, he hath once offended and no more. It was to make a farewell Sermon to that exercise, as he saith: Wherein he rather aggravateth his fault then otherwise. Hee saith, that this Sermon was much beyond the compasse of an hour, and I beleieve it continued more then two houres. He now seeth and acknowledgeth his fault, protesteth he will be most conformable for the future, and humbly desireth to be dismissed with a Canonickall Admonition. But I keep him in fear still.

To this we might add his procurement of Dr Ienningson Lecturer at Newcastle, to be questioned in the High Commission at York, in the year 1639. whose Articles

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and Answers were both sent up to *Lambeth* to his Grace-ship; and enforcing to quit that place, with the Kingdome too, to avoyd his tury: His prolecution of Mr *John Lemmet* Lecturer at *Barwicke*, in causing the Bishop of *Durham* in December 1639. to send for him by a Pursevant, silence him from preaching in *Barwick*, and banish him the Town, without any Articles or Witnesses examined against him: with other instances of this nature; but for brevity sake we shall omit these, and proceed to his next stratagem to suppress preaching, which was:

2.

* Page 128. to
154.

His publishing of a Declaration for Sports in his Majesties name, and silencing, suspending, excommunicating, questioning, censuring in the High Commission and elsewhere, many hundreds of godly conscientious Preaching Ministers (whom the Instructions for Lecturers could not reach so farr as to silence, being Incumbents and not meer Lecturers) for refusing personally to publish it in their Churches, to animate their people to profane the Lords day, with unhallowed Pastimes: which because we have * formerly insisted on, and proved to be his designe; we shall here but mention, and passe by, only with this one Addition; that Mr *Thomas Valentine*, Minister of *Chalford Saint Giles* in the County of *Buckingham*, being suspended by Sir *John Lambe*, Deane of the Arches, for not reading the Book of Sports, from which suspension he appealed and procured time to consider, whether he would read it or not; Mr *Valentine* not long after to obtain further time and favour writ a Letter to Sir *John Lambe* dated April 28. 1636. with 5 l. inclosed, and a Petition to the Archbishop, on which Letter Sir *John* makes this endorsement with his own hand, Master *Valentine* 28. April. 1636. With 5 l. PEECES inclosed: which Petition Sir *John* recommending to Mr *Dell*, procured him a gracious answer and some longer respite for the present; but in December and January following he was again molested and suspended for not publishing this Declaration in proper person, though his Curate had formerly read it in the Church, as appears by two Petitions to the Archbishop for his absolution.

3.

His third design to suppress preaching was, by discouraging conscientious young Schollers and Divines from entering into the Ministry by putting divers clogs & difficulties upon them, under a most specious pretext; which was thus effected: No sooner was this Prelate settled in his Archbishoprick, but he contrived a Letter, drawn by Mr *Dell* his Secretary, but interlined, corrected with his own hand, (as appears by the Originall draught found in his study) directed as from his Majestie to himself; which he afterwards presented to the King, who directed and sent it to him under his Privy Signet to be put in Execution, in manner following, as the very Letter it selfe under the Kings Signet declares; thus endorsed with the Archbishops own hand; Rec. Sept. 19. 1633. From his Majesty, that no Ministers be made sine Titulo.

To the most Reverend Father in God our Right trusty and Right entirely beloved Councillor, William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitane of all England.

CHARLES R.

Molt Reverend Father in God, Right trusty and right entirely beloved Councillour, we greet you well. There is nothing more deer to US then the preservation of true Religion, as it is now settled and established in this our Kingdome, to the honour of God and the great comfort of our selve, and our Loyall people; and there can nothing more conduce to the advancement thereof then the strict observation of such Canons of the Church as concern those that are to take orders in their severall times. More especially of keeping that particular Canon which enjoyns, That no man be made a Priest or a Minister without a Title: For we finde that many not so qualified, do by favour or other means procure themselves to be ordeined, and afterwards for want of means, wander up and downe to the scandall of their calling, or to get maintenance fall upon such courses as are most unfit for them, both by humouring their Auditours and other wayes altogether unsufferable. Wee have therefore thought fit and Wee doe hereby streightly require and charge you

you to call such Bishops to you as are now present in or neer our City of London and to acquaint them with this our resolution. And further that you faile not in the beginning of the next Terme to give notice of this our will and pleasure openly in our High Commission Court, and that you call into our said Court every Bishop respectively that shall presume to give Orders to any man that hath not a Title, and there to censure him as the Canon aforesaid doth injoyn (which is to maintain the party so ordered till he give him a Title) and with what other censure you in Justice shall think fit. And our further will is, *That nothing shall be reputed a Title to enable a man for orders, but that which is so by the ancient course of the Church, and the Canon Law, so far forth as that Law is received in this our Church of England.* And as you must not fail in these our directions, nor in any part of them, so we expect that you give us from time to time a strict accompt of your proceedings in the same. Given under our Signet at our Pallace of Westminster, the nineteenth day of September in the ninth year of our Raigne.

Note.

Note.

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Upon receipt hereof; this Archbishop (whose project it was) directs this Letter following to the Bishops of his Province, as is evident by the originall draught thereof corrected with his own hand and thus endorsed by him. *Octob. 18. 1633. The Copy of my Letters upon this of his Majesties to the severall Bishops of this Province.*

S. in Christo.

My very good Lord,

HIS Majestie hath been often and much troubled upon complaints which have been made unto him by the Lords and other men of quality, concerning the multitude of both unlearned and unworthy Ministers, which pester the Church, and are alwayes the Causes of great scandall, and too often of Schism and Divisions therein. And some of them are forced, to the shame of themselves and their Calling, for want of means to begg for their Living, and yet are daily made in great numbers, and that directly against the Canon of the Church, which require's, *That no man should be made a Minister sine Titulo.* For remedy of this great abuse and wrong to the Church, his Majestie hath directed his Letters to me, and by them required me to call all such Bishops to me, as were then in or about the City, and after consultation with them, to send my Letters to every severall Bishop within the Province, to require obedience to the Canon of the Church, and his Majesties directions according to it. The Tenor of his Majesties Letter followeth, (as before).

According to these Letters I am to pray and require you, that at all times of Ordination you be very carefull to admit none into Holy Orders, but such men as for life and learning are fit, and which have a Title for their Maintenance, according to the Lawes and ancient practise of the Church. And his Majesty hath farther commanded me to advertise your Lordship, that He will not faile to call for an Accompt of these his Letters both of me and you. Thus not doubting but you will have a speciall care both of the good of the Church and his Majesties contentment herein: I leave you to the Grace of God and rest.

Note.

Your Lordships very loving

Friend and Brother.

W. Cant.

In this Letter we find this Paper inclosed, writ with Mr Dells, but endorsed with the Archbishops hand, declaring what shall be a Title.

D d d 2

So

So upon the matter these Titles are named in the Canon. He that is ordained must have.

1. A Presentation to some Ecclesiasticall Preferment.
2. Or, A Certificate undoubted that he is provided of some Church voyde there.
3. Or, A Grant of some Petty Canons place, or the like, in a Cathedrall or Collegiate Church.
4. Or, A Fellow, or in the right of a Fellow in some Colledge in *Oxford* or *Cambridge*.
5. Or, A Conduct or Chaplain in some Colledge in *Oxford* or *Cambridge*.
6. Or, A Master of Artes of 5. years standing living at his own charge in either of the Universities.
7. Or, The intencion of the Bishop that ordaines, shortly to admit him to some Benefice or Curates place then voyde.

And I think the Canon intends that after a Man is once admitted a Curate, the Parson or Vicar of the place should not have power to put them off at pleasure, but only for such criminall unworthinesse as might deprive him of his Benefice if hee had one.

So I conceive, under favour, the Order may go briefly thus.

And farther his Majesties expresse Command is, that this Canon be strictly observed by all Bishops in their severall Diocesses respectively, and that none presume to ordeine any man to be a Deacon, Priest or Minister under the penalty injoynd in the Canon, or any other which his Majesties just displeasure may inflict upon him.

These Letters *primâ facie* seem very faire, necessary; but *latet Anguis in herba*: there was a dangerous designe couched under them.

For first, no Lecture whatsoever, was admitted to be a Canonically Title: and so all ordination of Ministers to supply Lectures was totally seclused: which was one chiefe end of this designe. Secondly, no *Chaplainship* to any Noblemans or Gentlemans family was allowed to be a sufficient Title; and this gave a fatall blow to all such young Chaplains ordinations; unlesse they had some better Title and Livelihood for the future; which was likewise formerly aimed at in the precedent *Considerations* and *Instructions*. And by this device many yong Divines were in a manner quite excluded out of such Religious Gentlemens Families, which might season them with the practicall power of godlinesse, or any principles which the Prelates held to be *Puritanisme* or *Precisenesse*. Thirdly, by this device all young Students in Divinity were made more dependent on, more obsequious to the Bishops, & less dependent on the Nobility, Gentry, people; as the Letters insinuate. Fourthly, under pretext of these Letters a kinde of new subscription was imposed on all such who were to be ordained (especially if suspected to be orthodox or precise) to sundry Arminian, Popish Errours, and Superstitions, upon which they were interrogated to sound their inclinations, and denied Orders in case of dissent: As namely: *Whether Bowing at the name of Jesus, and to or towards the Altar at their approaches to it, or ingresse to or egress out of the Church, were lawfull, & commendable? Whether all baptized Infants were not truly regenerated? Whether Episcopacy and the Hierarchy of Bishops were not of divine Right? Whether the Church of Rome were not a true Church? Whether Altars, Copes, Organs, Tapers, Crucifixes and Images were not lawfull? Whether truly regenerate men might not totally and finally fall from Grace?* and the like, By which Interrogations, and many new Ceremonies introduced at ordinations, sundry godly Schollers and Students of Divinity were deterred from taking Orders, and a Superstitious, Popish, prophane, Episcopall generation of New ordained Priests (zealous to promote, embrace the very grossest Doctrines and Superstitions of Rome,) engendred and scattered among us in most places; all powerfull
soul-

soul-saving preaching banished or quite layd aside; and the people every where poysoned with Popish and Arminian drugs.

By these and such like practises, as likewise by *preaching and printing against frequent Preaching*; (*formerly touched) there ensued a great famine of the pure powerfull preaching of Gods Word, of godly Preachers in our Kingdome; and a monstrous increase of Popish Priests, Jesuites, Fryars, Papists, Popery, Superstition, Prophaneffe, Ignorance, Impiety; which have involved us in those miseries and distractions under which we now languish and are almost ruined. * Page 225, 226, 227.

His Fourth Device to suppress preaching, was the subversion of the Feoffees for buying in Impropriations, particularly charged against him in the 6. *Additionall Article*; in these words.

4.

That whereas divers gifts and dispositions of divers summes of money were heretofore made by divers charitable and well-disposed persons for the buying in of divers Impropriations for the maintenance of preaching the Word of God in severall Churches, the said Archbishop about eight years last past, wilfully and maliciously caused the said gifts feoffments and contrivances made to the uses aforesaid to be overthrown in his Majesties Court of Exchequer contrary to law, as things dangerous to the Church and State, under the specious pretence of buying in Impropriations; whereby that pious worke was suppressed and trodden down, to the great dishonour of God and scandall of Religion.

This Article informes us briefly what these Feoffees were, we shall only add who they were, what they did, and how they were proceeded against by this Archbishop. About the year 1626. some godly Persons in and about London to promote the preaching of the Gospel, and set up a Preaching Ministry to instruct the people in divers great Towns and Parishes impropriate where they wanted means to maintain Preaching, of which they had long been destitute in former times, resolved to lay their purses together and chuse out of themselves four Divines, four Common Lawyers, and four Citizens of note who should be Feoffees in trust to purchase in these Impropriations, and with the profits of them to set up and maintain a constant preaching Ministry in places of greatest need and eminency; whereupon they made choice of Dr W. Gouge, Dr R. Sibbs, C. Offspring, & I. Davenport Divines. Ralph Eyre, S. Brown of Lincolns Inne, C. Sherland of Greys Inne, J. White of middle Temple Esquires, Common Lawyers. John Geering, Richard Davis, George Harwood and Francis Bridges, Citizens; to be Feoffees for this purpose; who with their own monyes and the contributions of other well-affected persons in 2 or 3 years space purchased in the Impropriations of Hartford, Dunstable, Cirencester, with others, and set up able preaching conformable Ministers (authorized by the Bishops of the Diocesse) there in many other places where they had never any before; as likewise at Bridgenorth (Clarely; and had they not been interrupted in this good work, would in very few years in all probability, have purchased in most of the great Towns & noted Parishes Impropriations of England in Lay-mens hands, where Preaching was most wanting, and meanes to maintain it. No sooner had this Malignant Prelate notice of this pious religious work, but out of his enmity to Preaching, and the good of ignorant peoples souls (whom he would rather have still kept in blindness and the chains of Sathan, then instructed with the Gospels light, and brought under the Scepter of Jesus Christ) he presently projects not only the obstruction, but utter subversion of this pious designe, which none but a Devill incarnate, or Enemy of all goodnesse could dislike; many even of the worse sort of Bishops, yea Courtiers, applauding it, as a very necessary and godly work.

That he himself projected the overthrow of these Feoffees, was proved out of his own Diary; where thus he writes in the close of it. *Things which I have projected to do, if God blesse me in them: the third whereof is this: To overthrow the Feoffment dangerous both to Church and State, going under the specious pretence of buying in Impropriations. Over against which he writes in the Margin, DONE: which fights point-*

point-blank with his very next project of a quite contrary nature, justifying these Feoffees acts, namely: *To procure King CHARLES to give all the Impropropriations yet remaining in the Crown within the Realme of Ireland, to that poor Church: Against which he writes in the Margin; Done and settled there: though to the impairing of that Crowns revenues, and that by power of the Councell Table, in an arbitrary, forcible and illegall way, to the undoing of many; as appears by sundry Originall Letters thence; whereas the Feoffees buying in Impropropriations did no wayes lessen the Kings revenues, and was done in a just and legall way. To overthrow this pious work, he caused Mr Noy the Kings Attorney Generall, by the Kings command, to exhibit a Bill against these Feoffees in the Etchequer Chamber, to confiscate their purchased Impropropriations to the King by a Decree of that Court, and so dissolve all they had done: which Bill was prosecuted with all violence. To set on the prosecution with more edge he suborned his flattering creatures to declaim against these Feoffees and their design in the Pulpit both at Court and elsewhere. Among others, his great Minion Peter Heylin, preaching at Saint Maryes in Oxford before the whole University, at the publike Aſſ there, on Sunday in the afternoon the 11th of July 1630. discharged his venome against Lecturers, and these Feoffees in these bitter Invectives; p. 38, 39. Planting of Pensionary Lectures in so many places where it needs not, and upon dayes of common labour, will at the last bringing forth of fruites, appear to be a tare indeed, though now no Wheat be counted fairer, &c. Wee will proceed a little further in the proposall of some things to be considered. The Corporation of Feoffees for buying in Impropropriations to the Church, Doth it not seeme in the appearance to be an excellent peece of Wheat? A noble and gracious point of Piety? Is not this Templum Domini, Templum Domini? But blessed God, that men should thus draw near unto thee with their mouths, yet be far from thee in their hearts! For what are those intrusted in the managing of this great businesse? Are they not the most of them, the most active and the best affected men in the whole cause, et magna partis momenta, chiefe Patrons of the faction? And what are those whom they prefer? Are they not most of them such as must be serviceable to their dangerous Innovations? And will they not in time have more preferments to bestow, and therefore more dependances then all the Prelates in the Kingdome? &c. Yet all this while we sleep and slumber and fold our hands in sloath, and see perhaps but dare not note it.*

Note.

This Sermon he presented to this Bishop in writing bound up in Velome, who thus endorsed it with his own hand *S. Mar. 13. 25. Master Peter Heylin; and reserved it as a monument in his study; where it was seized by Mr. Pryn and Mr. Bendy, who produced and attested it.*

Feb. 13. 1632. this cause came to hearing and sentence in the Exchequer Chamber, where the Feoffees and their good designe were utterly overthrowne; of which the Bishop made this speciall Memento in his Diary in these termes: Feb. 13. 1632. Wednesday, the Feoffees that pretended to buy in Impropropriations were dissolved in the Chequer Chamber. They were the main Instruments for the Puritane faction, to undoe the Church: The Criminall part reserved.

John White of the Middle Temple Esquire (a member of the House of Commons) deposed at the Lords Barre; that he attending this Archbishop, then of London, at London House as a Councellour, about a right of Patronage to Chingford in Essex; after the hearing of the businesse, the Bishop demanded of him; Whether he were not one of the Feoffees for buying in Impropropriations? to which he answered, he was: whereupon the Bishop fell upon him with much bitterness of spirit, calling him, An enemy of the Church, an underminer of Religion; and vehemently affirmed, that this worke of his and his fellow-Feoffees was mischeivous to the Church and destructive to Religion, and that he would see him and his fellows shortly called to an Account for it, and stop them from proceeding in that work. That some few dayes after, he attended this Bishop again at Fulham upon the former cause, where he took occasion to discourse with him at large about the Feoffees proceedings; enforming him, that their onely ayme and end in purchasing in Impropropriations was, for the better maintenance

maintenance of Ministers and Preachers where there was most need; that they bought them with their own moneyes, and the moneyes of their friends, and disposed the revenues thereof to none, nor placed any Minister in any Church, but such as they took more then ordinary care should be thoroughly examined by the Ordinary of the place, for his Sufficiency and full Conformity by law required. And therefore hee besought him earnestly, that he would not use his power to hinder and destroy so good a work, but rather to cherish and further it: And if he disliked either the Persons who managed it, or the course they took in ordering the same, they would appoint such other meet persons and rules for the regulating and carrying on of that pious worke as he should think fit. But notwithstanding this and all other Arguments he could use and earnestly presse him withall, the Bishop with much passion expressly declared his resolution, to break the neck of this good worke, that it should not proceed: Whereupon an Information was exhibited against the Feoffees by his procurement in the Exchequer Chamber in the Kings name, by Mr Noy the Kings Attorney Generall, and sentence given against them for seising all the Impropriations they had purchased and moneyes received by them, into the Kings hands; whereby this good worke was destroy'd; the profits diverted to other uses (as appears by the *Docquet Book* ultimo Decembris 1638. and Sir *William Whitmores* Petition to the Archbishop Novemb. 13. 1633. found in his study) and deboynt scandalous unworthy Ministers, such as had been formerly turned out by other Bps put in to them; whereas they maintained sundry godly Ministers and six Lecturers at *S. Antholins* with the profits of the Impropriations purchased. After which, Mr *White* attested there was another Information put by the Kings Attorney into the Exchequer criminally against these Feoffees, as grand Delinquents, and that by this Archbishops direction, as was manifested by a Note produced by Mr *Prynne* under Secretary *Windebanks* own hand, to this effect.

IT is his Majesties pleasure, that the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Archbishop of Yorks Grace, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl Marshall, the Lord Cottington, Mr Secretary Cook and my self, calling to us Mr Attorney Generall shall consider, whether the Feoffees which have been questioned in the Exchequer for the Feofment of Impropriations shall be proceeded against Criminally? and if so, then whether in the Court of Exchequer or in Star-chamber?

Dated at Whitehall, 17. of January 1633.

Fran. Windebanke.

Mr *Thomas Foxly* a reverend Divine deposed upon Oath, *Viva Voce*; That about Eight years since, *William Laud* now Archbishop of Canterbury did put down his Lecture on Fridayes at Saint *Martins* in the fields, for fear (as he pretended) lest those that came thereunto should infect the Kings, Queenes and such Noble mens houses as were in that Parish, with the Plague, though there then dyed very few in and about London of that disease, the Plague not being then in that Parish when his sayd Lecture was suppressed, though God brought it into the Parish the very next weeke after its suppression; by means whereof this deponent was deprived of his present livelyhood. After which he being brought before the said Bishop for divers frivolous matters whiles he was Bishop of London, and cleared of them, because there was no colour of Crime against him; The said Bishop charged him, for intermeddling with the businesse of buying in Impropriations, and thereby endeavouring (as he expressed by putting his fingers to his Girdle and shaking of it) to bring the Bishops under the Feoffees Girdles for Impropriations; and when this deponent answered him, that this could not be, since the Ministers on which they bestowed the said Impropriations were sent to the respective Bishops of every Diocese to be approved by them; he answered, that if he had known this deponent to be so busie in this matter of redeeming Impropriations he should not have so easily gotten off before, as he did. And he farther deposed, that

that about nineteen Moneths before this present Parliament he having a Chamber in London and study in *Canewood* neer *Highgate*, was rifled by Pursevents and taken and kept Prisoner for two Dayes and two Nights space, by vertue of a generall warrant, to search for Popish Books and suspected Persons, and bidden to choose, whether he would be brought before the now Archbishop, or Sir *John Lambe*; whereupon he bid the Pursevant carry him whither he would; who carryed him to Sir *John Lambe*; who told him, he must put in Bond to appear the next Thursday at the *High Commission*; which he did accordingly: on which Thursday morning by meanes of *Dr Bray*, he obtaining speech which the said Archbishop, desired him to grant him one weekes time to consider, whether he might take the oath *Ex officio*, or not: which he hardly granting, the said Archbishop said; *He had almost forgotten him, but by way of threatning said, he remembered him about the businesse of the Feoffees:* to which the deponent replyed; *That he was encouraged therein by Bishops and Privy Councillors, who sometimes conceived it to be a very good worke to redeem Impropriations;* and so he was desired to appear the Thursday following. But the very next Lords day another Pursevant was sent to this deponent, who bringing him to the Councell Chamber door and there attending about halfe an Hour, a warrant under the said *Archbishops hand and five others*, was delivered to the said Pursevant to carry him to the *Gate house*; where he was kept close Prisoner in a Chamber, not four yards square, for the space of twenty months; not having the allowance of pen and Inke to Petition, that he might know whom or wherein he had offended; that so he might repent, through God gives leave, yea calls upon the greatest sinners to Petition to him: and at three Months end (he growing very sick by reason of his close Imprisonment, and for want of one to cut his Haire, which he used to wear short for his health) fell very sick: his wife thereupon Petitioned time after time to have access to him being at the very point of death, as his keeper informed her, but could neither by her selfe, nor any other friends, procure access unto him, untill such time as Sir *Mathew Lister* was appointed by the Privy Coucell to come unto him, to see in what ill case he was: upon whose certificate and fifty shillings paid Sir *William Beecher* and his man, so soon as it could be procured from Friends, she had a warrant to come and bring one *Physitian* and *Chirurgian* unto him, to let him blood, and permission to repair unto him during his sicknesse, but no longer. In which strict close Imprisonment by the said *Archbishops* procurement, he continued till about a Moneths space after this present Parliament began, and then upon a Petition of his wives to the House of Commons he was released without bayl, and his said Imprisonment by them voted Illegal; there being all this while no proceedings against him, nor any crime objected to him in any Court of Justice. By means of which Imprisonment he was much prejudiced and undone in his Estate, and his wife with four small children exposed to Pennury and Beggery.

Note.

Such a spite did He bear this witnesse for his Activity in the businesse of Impropriations.

Mr *William Kendall*, Mr *Iohn Lane*, and Mr *Tempest Miller*, severally deposed at the Lords Bar, that the *Archbishop* in the presence of them and divers others, speaking of the *Feoffees of Impropriations*, said; *that they were the bane of the Church;* and then uttered these words in a vaunting manner, *I was the man that did set my self against them and* (then clapping his hand upon his brest, said) *I thank God I have destroyed this work.*

Note.

So as he did not only subvert this pious project to propagate the preaching of the Gospell, but boasted of it, and had so much shamelesse Impiety, as to thanke God himselte for effecting it, who hath now in justice brought him into judgement for it, and made it one part of that Charge and Evidence, which we conceive will most justly destroy him.

The seventh and next stratagem he used to subvert the Protestant Religion, which he had almost totally suppressed, corrupted with Popish Errours, Superstitions, Innovations in our English Churches, was his endeavours to undermine and suppress it

it in these few Dutch and French Churches planted here among us; who enjoyed their owne Government, Priviledges, Discipline without any interruption by any of his Predecessors, or other English Prelates, in all our Protestant Princes reignes, from King Edward the sixth his reigne, till this Archprelates molestation of, and attempts against them, thus laid down in the twelfth *Originall Article* of his Impeachment.

He hath Traiterously endeavoured to cause division and discord between the Church of England, and other Reformed Churches; and to that end hath suppress and abrogated the Priviledges and Immunities which have been by his Majesty and his Royall Ancestors granted to the Dutch and French Churches in this Kingdom. And divers other wayes hath expressed his malice and disaffection to these Churches, that so by such dis-union, the Papists might have more advantage for the overthrow and extirpation of both.

To make good this Article we could produce many Letters, Papers, Instructions, Orders under the Archbishops own hand, or indorsed by him, found in his own study, here ready at the Barre; but for brevity sake we shall instance only in some few particulars of more speciall note.

The first is, that this Arch-prelate though he beares so good an affection and honourable respect to the Church of Rome, as to justifie her to be, a true visible Apostolike Church, which never erred in fundamentals, and wherein men may be saved; and that we and she are one and the same Church still, no doubt of that both one; as we have * formerly proved: Yet he is so maliciously despitefull to the Protestant Churches in foreign parts, and at home, that he reputes them not only no true Churches, but even no Churches at all, because they have no Lord-bishops, different in Order and Degree from ordinary Ministers. This opinion of his we shall manifest, not only by his Divinity Questions when he was to proceed Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity (for which Dr Holland publickly checkt, and turned him out of the Schools with disgrace, as a sower of discord between Brethren, to wit the Church of England and other reformed Churches;) but by his own late reprinted Book *An* 1639. entituled, *A Relation of the Conference between William Laud, then Lord Bishop of St. Davids, now Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr Fisher the Jesuite &c.* p. 175. 176. where thus he writes (in justification of his former *Theses* in the Divinity Schools:) For the calling and Authority of Bishops over the inferiour Clergy, that was a thing of known use and benefit, for preservation of Truth and Peace in the Church. And so much St. Ierom. tells us, though being none himselfe, he was no great friend to Bishops: And this was so settled in the mindes of men from the very infancy of the Christian Church, as that it had not been till that time contradicted by any. So that then there was no controversy about the calling, all agreed upon it. Then citing *Jeroms* words in the margin, he thus comments upon them. So, even according to St. Ierom, Bishops had a very ancient and honorable descent in the Church from St. Mark the Evangelist: And about the end of the same Epistle he acknowledgeth it, Traditionem esse Apostolicam: Nay more then so, he affirmes plainly, That ubi non est Sacerdos, NON EST ECCLESIA (St. Ierom advers. Luciferianos:) And in that place most manifest it is, that St. Ierom by Sacerdos meanes a Bishop; for he speaks de Sacerdote qui potestatem habet Ordinandi: which in St. Ieroms owne judgement, no meere Priest had, but a Bishop only, St. Ierom Epist. ad Evagrium: so even with him, NO BISHOP NO CHURCH. Which being his own positive judgement, the Dutch and French Protestant Churches both at home and abroad, must needs be no Church at all in his opinion, because they have no such Bishops; and so are in farre worse condition then the Church of Rome, in his repute.

To make this more apparent, we shall desire you to take notice, that in Decemb. 1639. there was a plot between this Archbishop and others of our Prelates to obtrude upon all our Ministers this subscription, as the received Doctrine of the Church of England; to wit, that there could be no Church of Christ without Diocesan Lord Bishops; which clearly appeares by the * forementioned propositions of Bishop Hall, which the Archbishop thought fit for the subscription of others; but especially by the 1. 12. and 13. propositions viz. God had never any Church on earth that was ruled by a Parity: There was NO CHURCH OF CHRIST UPON EARTH

* Pag. 239. 240.
241a

Here p. 237.
238.

ever since the times of the Apostles governed any otherwise then by Bishops. This course of government thus set by the Apostles in their life time, by the speciall direction of the holy Spirit, is unalterable by any humane Authority, but OUGHT to be perpetuated in the Church to the end of the world. From whence it inevitably followes, that the reformed forraign Churches having no such imparity of Governours nor Lordly Bishops in them, are in this Arch-Prelates and his Confederates judgements, No Churches of God or Christ at all; and if the designe of subscribing these Propositions had succeeded (as it did in the *Etcetera* Oath for a time) he would have engaged the whole Church of England, with all our Ministers by a publike subscription, in this most unchristian and uncharitable opinion; which not prevailing, was yet soone after thus seconded in print by his grand Favourite Bishop Mountague (whom he advanced to two Bishopricks) in his *Originum Ecclesiasticarum Tomi prioris Pars posterior* p. 464, published with his approbation, authorized by his Chaplain Dr Bray, presented to, and accepted by himselfe when published, as appears by two faire gilded printed copies thereof with his Archiepiscopall Armes engraven on the Covers, found in his study by Mr Pryne (printed An. 1640.) since these Propositions of Bishop Hall were sent him; resolving, that there can be not only no Church, but no Ministers at all without Bishops to ordain them, in these termes. *Non est Sacerdotium nisi in Ecclesia, non est Ecclesia sine Sacerdotio. Illud autem intelligo per xerodotiar Episcopalem ordinariam. Neque enim admittenda censemus extraordinariam aliquam seu vocationem seu xerodotiar, nisi miraculosam. Oportet omnino miraculis agant & suam confirmant functionem signo aliquo, qui non ab Episcopis derivata ab Apostolis per successionem institutione, in Ecclesiam inducuntur, sed vel arti a sese, vel nescio unde intrusi, sese ingerunt. Nam quod pretendunt ordinariam vocationem retinendam, adhibendam, eique adherendum, nisi in casu necessitatis, absurdum est; & suppositione innuitur impossibilitatis: Neque enim talis casus, aut extitit aliquando, aut contingere potest: nisi fallat nos Dominus, qui promisit, Porta inferorum non pravelebunt: Ecce sum vobiscum ad consummationem mundi.*

By which Position the forraigne Protestant Churches are resolved, concluded to be no Churches, their Ministers no Ministers, their Sacraments no Sacraments, their Ordinances no Ordinances of Christ; (which perchance made Mr John Dury ordained in one of these Churches, to be re-ordained a Minister here by the Bishop of Exeter Dr Hall, before he was admitted to his Benefice, as appears by their severall

* Dated Exon.
22. Febr. 1634.

(a) See here
p. 263, 264, 265.

(b) Harmony
of confessions
p. 318, 361, 388.

(c) See Illerius
his Catalogus
Testium Veritatis;
Morney
his Mystery of
Iniquity; Dar-
rius, Gualther
Tillanus, Mou-
lin, Sharpius;
and infinite o-
thers.

(d) See here
p. 276, 277, 278.
see Dr Featlies
Appendix p. 47.
and Dr Willets
Synopsis Papis-
ti.

* Original Letters found in the Archbishops study.) And then what are they but meeke Pagan Conventicles, farre worse then Papists and the Church of Rome.

We shall only adde to this, that whereas Bishop Hall in his *Treatise of Episcopacy* pag. 18. excused the forraign Protestant Churches from being unchurched by these Positions only in this regard; that the reason why they renounced Bishops was meeke out of necessity, because their Bishops would not suffer them to enjoy the Gospel. Adding pag. 19. That it is very considerable, whether the condition they were in doth absolutely warrant such a proceeding? which is somewhat too hard a censure of them; yet the Archbishop in his (a) forecited Letter to Bishop Hall, taxeth him for this his overmuch lenity towards them, in these termes: You are a little more favourable to the forraigne Churches and their Authors, then our cause will beare: and yet in the very same Letter, he mislikes and blames this Bishop for his overmuch sharpnesse towards the Pope, in his second Book, for bestowing the Title of Antichrist upon him; where- with he was so highly offended, that out of a zeal to his Holinesse, he presently com- plains to the King himselfe of this indignity offered to the Pope, and procures a spe- ciall Mandate from his Majesty to Bishop Hall, to qualifie his expressions in this par- ticular with his owne pen, which he did accordingly. Notwithstanding the Generall (b) confessions of all forraign Protestant Churches; The authorized (c) Impressions of all their eminentest Writers; Our own Homelies (d) Writers of all sorts, and the very Act of Parliament for the Confirmation of the Subsidies granted by the Clergy 3. Jac. (pen- ned by all the Prelates and Clergy of England in full Convocation) give the Pope this Title, and stile the Jesuites and their Adherents, THE UNSHAMEFACT BROOD

BROOD OF ANTICHRIST. This his indulgence therefore to the Pope, Priests, and Church of *Rome*, and professed enmity against the forraigne Reformed Churches in unchurching them, in making their Ministers no Ministers at all, and them no Christians, nor Christian Assemblies, discovers his very Intrals and inward bent of his soule to Popery, to the Church of *Rome*, yea his inveterate hatred to these Protestant Churches and their Religion too; The next thing wee shall fully evidence.

2. Though this Archbishop was so zealous an Advocate for the Church of *Rome*, as both in his publick Speeches, Writings to maintaine, *That her Religion is the same with ours*, as we have (e) formerly proved; yet he could by no meanes endure that the Religion of the forraign Protestant Churches and Ours should be termed one and the same; Whereupon he presumed to countermand, alter and purge his Majesties Letters Patents under the Great Seale for a Collection for the poore distressed Ministers of the *Palatinate*, Ann. 1634. because it termed their Religion, *The true Religion which we together with them professe to maintain*. This wee shall make good by two substantiall witnesses, and the printed Letters Patents themselves. The witnesses are Mr *Wakerly* (then Secretary to Mr Secretary *Cook*) and Mr *Hartlib*, who deposed at the Lords Barre upon Oath; That in the yeare 1634. the Queen of *Bohemia* sent over one Mr *Ruly* a *Palatinate* Minister into *England*, with Letters of recommendation to the Archbishop, to desire his mediation and assistance to the King, to grant Letters Patents under the great seale, for a generall Collection towards the reliefe of the exiled Ministers of the *Palatinate* and their families, who were then in great distresse: which Letter Mr *Ruly* presenting to the Archbishop (among whose Papers Mr *Prynne* found the very Originall) after the reading thereof, the Archbishop promised (out of respect to the Queen of *Bohemia* who writ to him with her own hand) to move the King in it, which he did; and then informed him, that it was the Kings pleasure there should be Letters Patents drawn for a generall collection for those Ministers as was desired: Whereupon Mr *Ruly* requested the Archbishop, in regard he was a stranger and knew not our proceedings, to give him some directions how to get the Letters Patents drawn and sealed; who answered, that he needed no instructions herein, for it was a thing of usuall course, and willed him to repaire to the Officers of the King (his Secretaries and Attorney generall) who would draw and procure them to be sealed. Whereupon he repaired to Mr *Wakerly*, who went with him to the other Officers and procured Letters Patents to be drawn according to former Presidents, both in King *James* and King *Charles* reignes, and namely *verbatim*, according to Letters Patents for a like Collection, dated 29 Jan. 3. *Caroli*, which being drawn, engrossed, and passed the Great Seal of *England*, without any scruple (the Lord Keeper both reading and approving the same before the sealing) Mr *Ruly* carried the Patent over to *Lambeth* to desire the Archbishops assistance for the printing, dispersing and promoting therof; where meeting with Mr *Dell*, his Secretary, he acquainted him with his business, and shewed him the Patent, who casting his eye thereon, took some exception therat, because it made our and their Religion to be both one, saying, *Are your Church and Religion and ours one?* which done, he carried the Patent to the Archbishop, who after he had perused it, calling for Mr *Ruly*, demanded of him in a very angry manner, *What have you brought me here?* Mr *Ruly* replied, *His Majesties Letters Patents*. At which answer he fell into a great passion, rating and reviling Mr *Ruly* with very ill language; threatened and called him ill names; protested that that Patent should not passe though it were under the Great Seale, and made Mr *Dell* write something out of it: Mr *Ruly* shaking for feare, excused himselfe, that it was drawn by the Officers to whom his Grace had directed him, and if there were ought offensive in it, he was altogether ignorant and not guilty of it. Whereunto the Archbishop replied; that were it not for his respect and engagements to the Queen of *Bohemia*, they should have no collection at all, and that he could finde in his heart to quash it; but however he would suppress that Patent, which he detained by him, and would have one drawn in another forme. Whereupon Mr *Ruly* leaving him to his angry mood departed, and acquainted Secretary

(e) Pag. 139.

141. 247, 248.

249.

Note

Note

tary Cook, the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, and other his friends with the Premises, who all wondered and were very inquisitive what was the cause of all this anger; The Archbishop presently after repaires to the King, and complaines much against this Patent, Secretary Cook, and the Lord Keeper for passing it; who being both sent for by the King about it, acquainted his Majesty, that it was made *verbatim* according to former Presidents, that they had his Majesties hand and Royall assent thereto; and it was now passed the Seale, and so could not be altered. To which the King answers, that it must be altered, for that the Archbishop would have it so; and another must be drawn according to his minde. Upon this the Patent was recalled, and a new one drawn according to the Archbishops direction and prescript; which being compared with the former by these Deponents and others (who were very inquisitive what it was did so much enrage his Grace) they found it was only this ensuing clause, which he caused to be quite purged out, with little or no alteration else from that he suppressed.

Note.

Whose cases are more to be deplored, for that this extremity is fallen upon them for their sincerity and constancy IN THE TRUE RELIGION, which WE, TOGETHER WITH THEM DO PROFESSE, and WHICH WE ARE ALL BOUND IN CONSCIENCE TO MAINTAINE TO THE UTMOST OF OUR POWERS; whereas these Religious and Godly Persons being involved amongst others their Countrey-men, might have enjoyed their estates and fortunes, if with other backsliders in the times of Triall they would have submitted themselves to the ANTI-CHRISTIAN YOK, and have renounced or dissembled the Profession of THE TRUE RELIGION.

In lieu whereof he only inserts, That they suffered FOR THEIR RELIGION; as if our Religion and theirs were contra-distinct and different one from another, and theirs not the true. Which Secretary Cook when he saw affirmed would make a Schism, a Division betwixt us and the forraign Protestant Churches, by intimating that they professed neither our, nor yet the true Religion, (as Mr Wakerly deposed) and gave great scandall and offence to the Deponents, yea to the forraign Churches and Protestants here, who took speciall Notice of it.

(f) Speech in
Star-chamber,
p. 32. 1939. See
here p. 247. 248

In this notable peece of Evidence we shall desire your Lordships and the world to take notice of these remarkable particulars. First, of this Archbishops insufferable Insolency, in daring to presume so farre as to stop, suppress the Kings own Letters Patents when approved by his Royall Signature, allowed by the Lord Keeper, and actually passed under the Great Seale of England. Secondly, his extraordinary over-ruling power with the King, who against his own Iudgement, Signe Manuall, Seale, and former Presidents, must have this Patent altered in this clause, only because the Archbishop would have it so, and for no other reason. Thirdly, that this alteration proceeded meerly from the Archbishops own motion, not from any Priests or Iesuits instigation, much lesse from the King (as he (f) pretended the alterations of the Prayer-Book for the fifth of November did.) Fourthly, that he was exceeding passionate and enraged at this clause, insomuch that this charitable Collection and Patent must totally be quashed, rather then this clause tolerated; whereas his Chaplaines authorized Books in commendation of Popery, Popish Errours, yea pleading for Rome and her Religion as true, and one with ours. Fifthly, that this very clause had passed both the Broad Seal and Presse too, without the least exceptions, in a Patent, 29 Jan. 3. Caroli not full seven yeares before, even in King Charles his own Reign; and in another Generall Collection granted under the Privy Signet the seventeenth of Iune, in the sixteenth year of King James, Anno Dom. 1618. for reliefe of the Inhabitants of the Town of Wexell; then printed by Authority, together with Archbishop Abbots directions concerning the same to the severall Bishops under him, dated June 25. 1618. wherein we finde these following expressions; That that City had been a place of succour and reliefe to many afflicted strangers, such as have been exiled for THE TRUE RELIGION. That they were not able any longer to sustaine the charge neither of the Ministry, nor of the Free-schoole, which heretofore they have erected for the propagation of THE TRUE

TRUE RELIGION &c. which should excite us to enlarge the Bowels of compassions toward them, which cannot be better expressed of our parts, then by having compassion and a fellow-feeling of them, MAKING THE SAME PROFESSION OF FAITH THAT WE DO, yet doe suffer such adversity &c. which are the same in terminis with those in this expunged Patent. What then was the cause that this Clause should be thought so insufferable, so impassible by this Archprelate now? Certainly there must be some great mystery of Iniquity in it; he and his Predecessor Abbot had not the selfe-same opinion of the Protestant Churches and their Religion. Abbot deemed both their Churches and Religion true, and the same with ours; but Laud deemes them no Churches at all, their Religion not the true Religion, nor the same with ours at this time, though formerly one and the same with it. And why so? because himselfe had altered, perverted, yea almost quite subverted it, both in Design and Execution, intending to set up Popery as the only old and true Religion: therefore to suffer such a Patent to passe both the Great Seal and Presse in his Majesties name, as should proclaim their Religion, to be the true Religion, which we together with them do professe, and we are all bound in conscience to maintain to the uttermost of our power; when he and his Confederates bent all their might to suppress it; and to commend their sincerity and constancy in the true Religion, when as they might have enjoyed their estates and fortunes, if with other backsliders, in the times of Tryall they would have submitted themselves to the Antichristian Yoke, and have renounced or dissembled their profession of the true Religion, in these dayes when he with his Confederates endeavoured to make men Backsliders, Apostates, and perswaded them to submit themselves to the Antichristian yoke, and to renounce or dissemble the profession of the true Religion, would have quite crossed or frustrated his Design; Therefore out it must, and be obliterated whatever comes of it. Finally, observe his embittered malice to the Protestant Churches, but grand affection to the Pope and Church of Rome, most evidently displayed by this expunction: the first in deleting those clauses which style theirs, the true Religion, &c. the latter in expunging this expression in favour of the Roman Church and Pontife only, if they would have submitted themselves to THE ANTI-CHRISTIAN YOKE; which we have elsewhere * dilated upon. In briebe, He that thus would have the Protestant Churches no Churches at all of God or Christ, their Ministers no Ministers, their Religion not the true Religion, nor the same with ours, must certainly expresse abundance of malice and disaffection to these Churches, endeavour to cause discord and division between the Church of England and them; (the very charge in the Article) and proclaime himselfe a greater friend to the Church of Rome and her Religion, then to the Protestant Churches and the true Religion in them professed: yea a Trayterous endeavourer to subvert the true Religion established in our English Church, which is the same with theirs. And the rather may we beleeeve this of the Archbishop, because shortly after he caused a Book entituled, *A Declaration of the Faith and Ceremonies of the Palgrave Churches*, printed first in Dutch, but afterwards in English Anno 1637. to be strictly called in and seized by his Purservants (in high affront of the Prince Palatine, then newly arrived in England, and of his Churches) because it declared those Churches Orthodox judgement and censure against sundry Arminian and Popish Errours, Innovations, Ceremonies, which hee and his Confederates then laboured to introduce among us; as was attested upon Oath by Michael Spark senior and Mr Prynn; when as we never heard of any Popish Books (as *Sancta Clara* and others here printed) either called in or seized by his speciall voluntary command, but countenanced, yea restored by him or his Agents, when seized by the Searchers and Stationers.

* Page 263.

Let all the world then judge by this prime peece of our Evidence, what manner of Protestant this Archbishop was, and how ill he stood affected to the Protestant Religion.

3. These premises considered, no wonder if he endeavoured by all his policy and power to suppress, nay abrogate the Priviledges, Immunities of the Dutch and French Churches in this Kingdom, granted to them by his Majesty and his Royall Ancestors; which

which he in part accomplished to their prejudice, the next part of his Charge in the twelfth Article, of which we shall present you this summary accompt.

King Edward the sixth by his Letters Patents dated the 24 day of July, in the fourth yeare of his Reigne, granted this ensuing Patent to the Dutch and French Protestants then living in exile in London, establishing their Church and Presbyterian Government among themselves, exempt from all Episcopall Jurisdiction, appointing a Superintendent over them, and Ministers of their own. Which Patent, for the rarity thereof, and the better understanding of this Charge, we shall at large transcribe.

EDwardus Sextus Dei Gratia Anglia, Francia, & Hibernia Rex, fidei Defensor, & in terra Ecclesia Anglicana & Hibernia supremum Caput, omnibus ad quos presentes literae pervenerint, salutem. Cum magna quadam & graves considerationes Nos ad praesens specialiter impulerunt. Tum etiam cogitantes illud quanto studio & charitate Christianos Principes in Sacrosanctum Dei Evangelium & Religionem Apostolicam ab ipso Christo inchoatam institutam & traditam animatos & perpensos esse conveniat, sine qua haud dubio politia & civile regimen neque consistere diu, neque nomen suum tueri potest nisi Principes ceterique prepotentes viri, quos Deus ad regnorum gubernacula sedere voluit, id imprimis operam dent, ut per totum Reipublica corpus casta sinceraque religio diffundatur, & Ecclesia in vere Christianis & Apostolicis opinionibus & ritibus instituta & adulta, per sanctos, ac carni & mundo mortuos Ministros conservetur, pro eo quod Christiani Principis officium esse statuimus, inter alias gravissimas de regno suo bene splendideq; administrando cogitationes, etiam religioni & religionis causa calamitate fractis & afflictis exulibus consulere. Scitis, quod non solum praemissa contemplantur, & Ecclesiam à Papatus tyranide per Nos vindicatam in pristina libertate conservare cupientes, verum etiam Exulum & Peregrinorum conditionem miserantes qui jam bonis temporibus in Regno nostro Anglia commorati sunt voluntario exilio Religionis & Ecclesiae causa multati, quia hospites & externos homines propter Christi Evangelium ex patria sua profligatos & ejectos & in Regnum nostrum profugos praesidiis ad vitam degendam necessariis in Regno nostro egere non dignum esse duximus, cujus liberalitas nullo modo in tali rerum statu restricta clausula esse debet, At quoniam multi Germanae nationis homines ac alii peregrini qui confluerunt, & in dies singulos confluant in Regnum nostrum Angliae ex Germania & aliis remotioribus partibus in quibus Papatus dominata Evangelii libertas labefactari & premi coepit, est, non habent certam sedem & locum in Regno nostro ubi conventos suos celebrare valeant, ubi inter suae gentis & moderni idiomatis homines Religionis negotia & res Ecclesiasticas pro patrio titu & more intelligenter obire & tractare possint.

Idcirco de Gratia Nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris, nec non de avisamento Concilii nostri volumus, concedimus, & ordinamus, quod de cetero sit & erit unum Templum sive sacra Aedes in Civitate nostra London, quod vel qua vocabitur, Templum Domini Iesu, ubi Congregatio & conventus Germanorum & aliorum peregrinorum fieri & celebrari possit, ea intentione & proposito ut à Ministris Ecclesiae Germanorum aliorumq; peregrinorum Sacrosancti Evangelii incorrupta interpretatio, Sacramentorum juxta verbum Dei & Apostolicam observationem administratio fiat, & Templum illud sive sacram Aedem illam de uno Superintendente & quatuor verbi Ministris erigimus, creamus, ordinamus, & fundamus per praesentes. Et quod idem Superintendens & Ministri in re & nomine, sint & erant unum corpus corporatum & politicum de se, per nomen Superintendentis & Ministrorum Ecclesiae Germanorum & aliorum peregrinorum, ex fundatione Regis Edwardi Sexti, in Civitate London per praesentes incorporamus, ac corpus corporatum & politicum per idem nomen realiter & ad plenum creamus, erigimus, ordinamus, facimus, & constituimus per praesentes. Et quod successionem habeant. Et ulterius de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia, & mero motu nostris, nec non de avisamento Concilii nostri dedimus & concessimus, ac per praesentes damus & concedimus praefato Superintendenti & Ministris Ecclesiae Germanorum & aliorum peregrinorum in Civitate London, Totum illud Templum, sive Ecclesiam nuper fratrum Augustinentium in Civitate nostra London, ac totam terram fundum &

solum

solum Ecclesia prædict. excepto toto choro dictæ Ecclesiæ, terra, fundo, & solo ejusdem, habendum & gaudendum dictum Templum sive Ecclesiæ, ac cetera præmissa (exceptis præceptis) præfato Superintendenti & Ministris & Successoribus suis in puram & liberam Eleemosinam. Damus ulterius de avisamento prædicto, ac ex certa scientia & mero metu nostris prædictis per præsentis, concedimus præfato Superintendenti & Ministris & Successoribus suis plenam facultatem, potestatem & auctoritatem ampliandi & majorem faciendi numerum Ministrorum, & nominandi ac appointuandi de tempore in tempus tales & hujusmodi subministros ad serviendum in Templo prædicto, quales præfato Superintendenti & Ministris necessarium visum fuerit. Et quod hæc omnia juxta beneplacitum Regium. Volumus præterea quod Johannes Alaico, natione Polonus, homo propter integritatem & innocentiam vitæ, ac morum, & singularem eruditionem valde celebris, sit primus & modernus Superintendens dictæ Ecclesiæ. Et quod Gualterus de Lænus, Martinus Flanders, Franciscus Riverius, Richardus Gallus, sint quatuor primi & moderni Ministri. Damus præterea & concedimus præfatis Superintendenti & Ministris & Successoribus suis facultatem, auctoritatem, & licentiam post mortem vel vacationem alicujus Ministri prædictorum de tempore in tempus eligendi, nominandi, & surrogandi aliam personam habilem & idoneam in locum suum. Ita tamen quod persona sic nominatus & electus, præsentetur & sistatur coram Nobis, Heredibus, vel Successoribus nostris, & per Nos, heredes, vel successores nostros institatur in ministerium prædictum. Damus etiam & concedimus præfatis Superintendenti Ministris & Successoribus suis facultatem, auctoritatem, & licentiam post mortem seu vacationem Superintendentis de tempore in tempus elegendi, nominandi & surrogandi aliam personam doctum & gravem in locum suum. Ita tamen quod persona sic nominatus & electus præsentetur & sistatur coram Nobis, Heredibus, vel Successoribus nostris, & per Nos, Heredes, vel Successores nostros institatur in officium Superintendentis prædictum. Mandamus & firmiter impungendo præcipimus tam Majori, Vice-Comitibus, & Aldermannis Civitatis nostræ London, Episcopo London, & Successoribus suis, cum omnibus aliis Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Justiciariis, Officiariis, & Ministris nostris quibuscunque, quod permittant præfatum Superintendentem & Ministros, & successores suos, liberè, & quietè suæ, gaudere, uti, & exercere Ritus & Ceremonias suas proprias, & Disciplinam Ecclesiasticam propriam & peculiarem, Non obstante quod non convenient cum Ritibus, & Ceremoniis in Regno nostro usitatis, absque impetitione, perturbatione, aut inquietatione eorum vel eorum alicujus, aliquo Statuto, Actu, Proclamatione, Injunctione, Restrictione, seu usu in contrarium inde antehac habitum, factis, editis, seu promulgatis in contrarium non obstante. Eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine præmissorum sive eorum alicujus, aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per Nos, præfatis Superintendenti, Ministris & Successoribus suis ante hæc tempora factis in presentibus minime facta existit, aut aliquo Statuto, Actu, Ordinatione, Provisione, sive Restrictione inde in contrarium factis, editis, ordinatis, seu Provisis, aut aliqua alia re, causa vel materia quacunque in aliquo non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium hæc litteras nostras fieri fecimus Patentes. Teste Meipso apud Leighes viceffimo quarto die Julii, Anno Regni nostri quarto. Per breve de privato Sigillo, & de dat. prædict. Auctoritate Parlamenti signatum.

Nota

P. Southwell.

Et est sigillatum Sigillo Regio sub-appenso.

To the Copy of this Patent found in the Archbishops study, we shall subjoyn these ensuing Orders and Passages in their favour, and confirmation of this Patent,

in Queen Elizabeths, King James, and King Charles their Reignes, presented to the Archbishop by the Ministers of these Forraigners Churches.

Ann. 1573. The Letters of the Privy Councill to the Church of London, containing these words.

Non ignoramus variis Ecclesiis, varios & diversos jam ab initio Christiana Religionis semper fuisse ritus ac ceremonias, dum hi stantes, illi in genua procidentes, alii proni procumbentes adorant & precantur, & tamen eadem pietas est ac religio, si verè & ad verum Deum oratio tendat, absitque impietas ac superstitio &c. Non contemnimus ritus vestros, neque vos ad nostros cogimus, probamusque ceremonias vestras, ut vobis, & vestrae reipublice unde orti estis, aptas & convenientes.

Ann. 1574 The Order of the Privy Councill the 29 of June.

If others would joyne themselves to the said Churches, that such Persons shall be counselled to betake themselves to some other parts of this Kingdome where they may be commodiously received: If they doe this, we will willingly call in our former Commandement.

Ann. 1603. The Answer of King James to the French and Dutch Ministers the 21 of May.

Je vous protegeray ainsi qu'il convient a un bon Prince de maintenir & deffendre tous ceux qui ont abandone leur Patrie Pour la religion. Mon desir est de vous deffendre comme a fait la Reyne ma Soeur, qui vous a receu en son Royaume, & pour laquelle vous avez prie Dieu. Que si aucun vous trouble ou moleste, pleignez vous en amoy, & Je vous maintiendray.

Ann. 1612. The perpetuity granted to the Dutch at Colchester *Ann. 16.* Jacobi the 17 of October.

As also their Orders in their Church and Assemblies there, tending to the good Government of the said Congregations, in as free, large, and ample manner in all respects, and to all intents, constructions and purposes, as heretofore they have used, and hath been tolerated and allowed unto them, according to the true intent of this our present Ordinance: any Provision or Jurisdiction to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

Ann. 1613. The Order of the Privy Councill for the French Church of Canterbury, the second of May.

That the said Congregation within the City of Canterbury, shall according to his Majesties gracious pleasure, peaceably and freely enjoy all such Priviledges, Liberties, and Immunities, and be permitted to use their Assemblies and Congregations in as ample manner as heretofore hath been allowed to them in the time of Queen Elizabeth, or since.

Ann. 1616. The Order of King James under his signet the 13 of June.

These are therefore to will and command all our Courts of Justice, and other our loving Subjects, to permit and suffer the said strangers, members

members of the Out-landish Churches, and their children, to enjoy the continuance of our favours before declared in this behalfe. Considering the loving kindenesse and good entertainment which our Subjects and their children doe receive and finde beyond the Seas.

*The Order of the Privy Councell for the Walloones of
Norwich the 10 of October.*

Ann. 1623.

Those of *Norwich*, although borne in the Kingdome, shall continue to be of the said Church and Society, and shall be subject to such Discipline as hath been by all the time of fifty five yeares practised among them: And if any shall be refractory, they shall be bound to appeare at this Board.

*The gracious Answer of King Charles to the Deputies of the
Forraigne Churches the 30 of April.*

Ann. 1625.

I thank you for this; and I assure you that I will continue unto you the same favour which the King my father did shew unto you. And I hope that my marriage shall not be any dammage unto you, but rather an occasion of much good to your Countrey-men.

The Order of King Charles for all strangers the 13 of Novemb.

Ann. 1626.

We will and command our Iudges &c. to permit and suffer the said strangers, members of the Out-landish Churches, and their children, quietly to enjoy all and singular such Priviledges and Immunities, as have been formerly granted unto them, without any troubles, arrests, or proceedings by way of information or otherwise; considering the faire usage and good entertainment which our Subjects and their children doe receive beyond the Seas.

*The Order of the Privy Councell for the Dutch of Nor-
wich the 7 of Ianuary.*

Ann. 1630.

That all those that are now, or hereafter shall be, members of the Dutch Congregation, although borne within this Kingdome, shall continue to be of the said Church and Society so long as his Majesty shall be pleased, without any prejudice to their Priviledges and Birth-right; and shall be subject to all such Discipline as hath beene all the time aforesaid usually practised amongst them, and from time to time contribute to the maintenance of the Ministry and poore, and the defraying of all other necessities charges of the same Congregation, as they shall be assessed, and occasion shall in that behalfe require.

By vertue of this Patent, Orders, Grants, the Dutch and French Churches in *London* and other Diocesse enjoyed the free exercise of their Religion, Discipline, exempt from all Archiepiscopall and Episcopall Iurisdiction from *Edward* the sixths time till *Ann. 1634.* without any interruption. But no sooner was this Prelate warine in his Archiepiscopall chaire, but he begins to disturb their peace, and threaten their totall subversion throughout his Province, as in *Canterbury, Sandwich, Maidstone, Norwich, Colchester, London, Southampton,* and likewise in *Torkeshire, Axholme,* and elsewhere, which he had formerly projected in this manner.

On March 22. *Ann.* 1632. this Bishop upon his own motion procured a reference to himselfe from the Lords of the Councell, concerning the English living in forraigne parts, and the forraigne Protestant Churches in *England*; concerning which he drew up and presented two severall Papers to the Lords found in his study, under Mr. Dells hand, thus endorsed with his owne, *Concerning the Dutch and French Churches in England &c.* here necessary to be inserted, though not read at large.

VHereas I was commanded by your Lordships upon Friday, March 22. 1632. First to represent to His Gracious Majesty the great and Honourable care you had to preserve the unity and Government of the Church of *England* as it stands now established by Law; Which care was very great and pious, and according to my duty, in the Name of the Church, I humbly thank your Lordships for it: And have in pursuance of your Commands faithfully acquainted His Majesty with as many particulars as I could carry away safe in my memory.

Secondly, I was commanded by your Lordships to take into farther consideration such Heads as might best conduce to the rectifying of such his Majesties Subjects as reside at *Hamborough*, or elsewhere beyond the Seas, but especially in the Low-Countreys, either in Merchandize, or in use and exercise of Armes under the Colonells there. As also what might be thought fit to be done concerning the French and Dutch Churches, as they now stand, and are used at this present within this Realme; but at such time as your Lordships in your wisdom shall best approve.

Concerning the first of these, viz. the English living in Forraigne parts, I humbly recommend to your Lordships wise dome, as followeth.

1. Whether it be not fit (I had almost said necessary) that the severall Colonells in the Low-Countreys should entertaine no Minister as Preacher to their Regiments, but such as shall conforme in all things to the Church of *England* established: And be commended unto them from your Lordships by advise of the Lords Archbishops of *Canterbury* or *York* for the time being.

2. That the Company of Merchants residing there, or in any other Forraigne Parts, shall admit no Minister as Preacher to them, but such as are so qualified and so commended as aforesaid.

3. That if any Minister having by feigned carriage gotten to be so recommended, either to any of the severall Colonells, or to the Deputy Governour and Body of the Merchants there, shall after be found unconformable, and will not mend upon warning given him by the Colonell or Deputy Governour of the Merchants, shall within three months after such warning given, and refused, be dismissed from his service, that a more orderly and peaceable man may be sent unto them.

4. That

4. That every Minister or Preacher with any Regiment of souldiers that are his Majesties borne Subjects, or with the Company of Merchants there or elsewhere, shall read Divine Service, Christen children, Administer the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, marry, instruct the younger or more ignorant sort in the Catechisme, visit the sick, bury the Dead, and doe all other Duties according as they are prescribed in the Book of Common-Prayer maintained in the Church of *England*, and not otherwise. And that he which will not conforme himselfe so to doe, shall not continue Preacher either to any Regiment of English, or Scottish, or to the Merchants.

5. That if any Minister or Preacher, being the Kings Subject, shall with any bitter words or writings in print or otherwise, defame the Government of the Church of *England* established, His Majesties Ambassador or Agent in those parts for the time being, is to be informed of it, and upon notice given from him to the State, he or they so offending shall be commanded over by Privy Seale or otherwise, to answer their censure or offences here.

6. That no Colonell of any severall Regiment, or Deputy Governour of the Merchants, shall give way that their Minister or Preacher shall bring any other Minister to preach for him in time of his sicknesse, absence, or other necessary employment, but such as for whose Conformity to the Church and Government here, he will be answerable.

7. That if any Minister being a Subject of the Kings, in the Low-Countrys, or any other place beyond the Seas, shall in any other Auditory, as well as before the Regiments or the Merchants, preach or publish, or in any other way by publike Speech, Writing, or Printing, divulge any thing derogatory to the Doctrine or Discipline established in the Church of *England*, or otherwise prejudiciall to the Temporall State and Government, His Majesties Agent there shall use the best meanes he can to discover him or them so offending, and having found them, shall presently certifie the State here, that so they may be recalled by Privy Seale to answer it. And if they then refuse to come, that the Law in that case passe upon them.

8. That no man shall be chosen or sent over by the Merchants here, either to *Delf*, or any other place of their residence beyond the Seas, (whensoever any such place or places shall become voyd) but such a man as is conformable to the Church of *England* both in Doctrine and Discipline, and such as will be carefull to see that they which are under his Government shall observe all such Church Duties as are expressed and required in any the former Articles. And that some of the chiefe Merchant-Adventurers here be sent for to the Board, and be made acquainted with this Article. And farther, that at every time and times that they send a new Deputy Governour to any place of their Residence, they present the said Deputy to the Lords, and give them

them assurance of his finesse and sufficiency for that Charge. At which time the said Deputy may have such Directions given him by their Lordships as the present times and occasions require. And that there be like care taken for other good Officers there, as for the Deputy Governour himselfe.

9. That whensoever the Merchant-Adventurers shall become suitors to His Majesty to renew or confirme their Patent (as in most Kings times it is usuall so to doe) that then there be a Clause inserted into their Patent, to binde them to the observance of all, or so much of these Instructions, as shall bee thought fit by his Majesty and the Lords.

10. That the present Agent, as also all others that shall succeed in that employment, have these Instructions given them in Charge; and that once a yeare they be required to give the Board an Account what the Proceed of the businesse is. That so His Majesties Subjects aswell abroad as at home, may be kept in orderly obedience to the Honour of His Majesties Government, and the better uniting of the hearts of his People to God, His Majesty, and one to another. In which will consist the strength as well as the Honour of the Kingdom.

11. I conceive it no way fit, that the Ministers which are His Majesties Subjects in *Holland*, should have any Classicall Meetings allowed them (as it seemes they pretend some grant since the yeare 1622.) especially that they be not suffered to assume power of Ordination; for then it will be a perpetuall Seminary to breed and transplant men ill-affected to the Government into this Kingdom.

It is to be observed that the French and High Germane Congregations in the Low-Countreys doe all observe the Liturgy of their own Mother Churches; only the English observe neither their owne, nor any other uniformity.

Concerning the second, that is, the French and Dutch Churches, as they now stand in many parts of this Kingdom, I as humbly represent, first the Danger, then the probable Remedy.

For the Dangers I humbly submit, but conceive as followeth.

1. It was Honour and Piety in this State, when at the first way was given for those Churches both in *London* and some other parts of this Kingdome; Because at that time there was persecution upon them in their owne Countreys: And the Peace with which God then blessed this Kingdom, was their safety.

2. I conceive it was never the meaning and purpose of this State then, or at any other time, that they living and continuing here, marrying, and having wives and children, and many of them plentifull fortunes

tunes and Lands; And their children and childrens children being now Natives, and his Majesties borne Subjects, should live like an absolute divided Body from the Church of *England* established, which must needs work upon their affections, and alienate them from the State, or at least make them ready for any Innovation that may sort better with their humour.

3. It is likewise considerable what an entire and divided body they keep themselves. For few or none of them marry with any of us, but only one with another. Upon which it must needs follow, that as they encrease and multiply, they which are now a Church within a Church, will in time grow to be a kinde of another Common-wealth within this, and so ready for that which I hold not fit to expresse any farther.

4. It is likewise of great consequence, that these men living with their entire Families, divided from the present Government of Church and Common-wealth are many, and have got their Residence and settlement in all or most of the Haven Townes, especially such as lie fittest for *France* and the Low-Countreys. And were occasion offered, God knowes what advantage they may take to themselves, or make for others.

5. Their Example is of ill consequence (in Church affaires especially) to the Subject of *England*. For many are confirmed in their stubborne wayes of disobedience to the Church-Government, seeing them so freely suffered in this great and populous City.

6. Last of all, I think it very just not to suffer French or Dutch Church differing from us in Discipline, to be otherwise or longer tolerated in any part of this Realme, then the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England* shall among the Subjects of this Crowne be tolerated in those severall parts beyond the Seas, whither they have cause to resort and abide.

For the Remedies likewise I humbly submit, but conceive they may be these.

1. I think it fit their Number in all places of this Kingdome bee made knowne as fully as may be; that your Lordships may the better judge both of them, and the way to reduce them into one Body with this Kingdome in which they are borne Subjects.

2. I conceive the best way to know their Number, is by a Command from the State it selfe, and to have it avowedly taken in all places where they reside; with a Certificat either presently, or when your Lordships shall think fit, which are the men of Credit and Wealth
among

among them. And this may be done really for their good, and so sweetned as that they may apprehend it for a benefit, as indeed it is.

3. It is fit, if they will continue as a divided Body from both State and Church, that they be used as Strangers, and not as Natives. That is, that they may pay all double duties as Strangers use to doe, and have no more Immunities then Strangers have, till they will live and converse as other Subjects do. And this matter of losse or gaine is as likely to work upon them, especially the Merchants and richer men as any other thing, and perhaps more.

Note

4. When it shall be thought fit actually to reduce them to live as other Subjects doe, both in relation to Church and State, the way I conceive may be to have them fairely warned in an Ecclesiasticall way, for every man with his Household (if he be not a new comer, but a borne Subject) to repaire to his Parish Church here, to conforme himselfe to Prayers, Sacraments &c. And if any receive not according to Cannon and Law, then to excommunicate him or them. And by that time the Writ *de Excommunicato capiendo* hath been served upon some few, it may be the rest will yeeld themselves.

Note

5. If this doe not prevaile, I then conceive under favour, it will be hard to remedy, unlesse the State will publikely declare, That if they will be as Natives, and take the benefit of Subjects, they must conforme themselves to the Laws of the Kingdom aswell Ecclesiasticall as Temporall. Which Declaration, when it shall once be made publike, I think they will be well advised before they will resist or refuse it.

By these Papers it is apparent, That this Arch-Prelate was the Originall Contriver of all the proceedings against the Dutch and French Churches. In pursuance of these determinations of his, in his Metropolitickall Visitation *Ann.* 1634. & 1635. he summoned all the Ministers and Elders of these Churches to appeare before Sir Nathaniel Brent his Vicar Generall; as appeares by an *Abstract* of his Visitation endorsed with his owne hand, unto whom he prescribed these two following *Injunctions*.

1. That all the Natives of the Dutch and Walloon Congregations in his Graces Diocese, are to repaire to their severall Parish Churches of those severall Parishes where they inhabit, to heare Divine Service and Sermons, and performe all duties and payments required in that behalfe.

2. That the Ministers and all others of the Dutch and Walloon Congregations which are not Natives and borne Subjects to the Kings Majesty, or any other strangers that shall come over to them, while they remaine strangers, may have and use their owne Discipline as formerly they have done; yet it is thought fit, that the English Liturgy should be translated into French and Dutch, for the better settling of their children to the English Government.

These Injunctions were prescribed to the Forraign Churches at *Norwich*, *An.* 1634. and to these at *Canterbury*, *Maidstone*, and *Sandwich*, 13. *Aprilis* 1635. as appeares by sundry Copies of them found in the Archbishops study: and the like were imposed on all other Dutch and Walloon Churches within his Province. Yet not content herewith, he caused the Archbishop of *York* to impose harder conditions

ditions on the Forraigne Congregations within his Province; as appears by two Letters found in his study under the Archbishop of Yorks owne hand, the one dated Octob. 1. 1636. the other 22 Jan. 1637. Wherein he denies them the exercise of any Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction of their owne, injoynes them the use of the English Liturgie in the French Tongue, with obedience to all the Lawes and Ordinances of the Church of England, to receive the Sacrament once a yeare in the Parish Church wherein they dwell, and to performe all their Christnings, Marriages, and Burials there; else no Congregation of their owne would be permitted. Hereupon these Forraigners conceiving these Injunctions prejudiciall to their Ancient Rights, Liberties indulged them, and destructive to their Churches, opposed them all they could in an humble way.

Upon the publication of these Injunctions, the Dutch and Walloon Churches at Norwich presented this ensuing Remonstrance to the Bishop there, who sent it up to the Archbishop, who received it as appears by the endorsement Febr. 21. 1634.

TO THE
RIGHT REVEREND
FATHER IN GOD
RICHARD
LORD BISHOP
OF
NORWICH.

The humble Remonstrance and Petition of the two Congregations of Strangers in the City of Norwich.

IT hath pleased my Lords Grace of Canterbury to send forth lately two Injunctions to the three Congregations of Strangers, Canterbury, Sandwich, and Maidstone in his Graces Diocese, to this effect. 1. That their English Natives should separate from them, and resort to the English Parish Churches where they dwell. 2. That the Remainder of them, being strangers borne, should receive and use the English Liturgy, translated into their own language, upon the first day of March next. The which is generally conceived to be a leading case for all the Strangers Congregations that are in England.

Now forasmuch as the said Injunctions seeme to be opposite; not only to sundry Orders of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Councell heretofore upon severall occasions granted unto severall Congregations of the said Strangers; but chiefly

chiefly to all the gracious Liberties, and Priviledges granted unto them of old, and continued during the Reigne of three most famous Princes, King *Edward*, Queene *Elizabeth*, and King *James* of glorious memory; And confirmed by his now Majesties Regall word our gracious Sovereigne (whom God long preserve) which he was pleased graciously to give unto the Deputies of all the strangers Congregations in *England*, prostrate at his Majesties feet, the 30 of *April* 1625.

2 And also, that the observing of the said Injunctions will necessarily draw after it many great and unavoydable Inconveniences both common and personall; as namely that

1 The Parishes shall be needlessly charged with a great multitude of poore Strangers that are English Natives.

2 Many such Natives shall *ipso facto* lose the benefit of their Toleration in exercising their Manufactures, having not served their seven years Apprentiships, and be in danger of ruine or molestation.

3 Many such also that understand not well the English tongue, shall be little edified by the English Prayers and Sermons which they shall heare.

4 Their Families shall be divided, some going one way, some another to their appointed Assemblies; which may minister an unhappy opportunity of licentiousnesse to servants and children that are loosely minded.

5 The Alien strangers that shall remaine, being not the fourth part of the now standing Congregations (especially in this City) for want of competent ability to maintaine their Minister and poore, must needs be utterly dissolved and come to nothing.

6 So the ancient and much renowned *Asyla*, and places of refuge for the poore persecuted and other ignorant Christians beyond the Seas, shall be wanting; whereat *Rome* will rejoyce, and the Reformed Churches in all places will mourne.

7 Many Ministers (and those ancient) having no other meanes but their Congregations, which shall then faile them, shall be to seek for themselves and their destituted Families.

8 The

8 The Forraigne poore will be added to the Native poore, and encrease the charge and burden of their severall Parishes, who will be to them no welcome guests; or else be sent away beyond Sea, where they will open many mouthes against the authors of their misery.

9 The Common-wealth shall lose many skilfull workmen in sundry Manufactures, whom in times past the Land hath so much desired.

10 Many thousand English of the poorer sort shall misse their good masters that set them on work and paid them well, which will cause them to grieve at their departure, if not to murmur.

11 And say a handfull of Aliens should remaine to make up a poore Congregation, where shall they baptize their new-borne Infants? If in their Parish Churches, then shall the strangers lose one of their Sacraments; and if in the said strangers Congregation, then it would be known when they shall be sent away to be admitted as Natives in their English Parishes.

12 A greater difficulty will yet arise about the English Rites and Ceremonies enjoined to such Aliens as shall remaine. For though they mislike them not in the English Churches, unto the which upon occasion they do willingly resort; yet when this Innovation shall come upon them, it will bee so uncouth and strange, as it is doubtfull whether it, or the separation of the Natives from the Aliens, will bring the more trouble; And whether they will not both be followed (though not *aquis passibus*) with the utter dissolution of their Congregations.

13 And the rather, because it is not likely that upon their want of a Minister, any will be ready to come (though sent for) from beyond the Seas to serve them upon these two Conditions. The one, to be contented with so meane a stipend as they shall then be able to afford, and that uncertaine too. The other, to observe such Rites and Ceremonies as they were never acquainted withall, yea are offensive to some beyond the Seas, from whence they shall be called.

3 Lastly, forasmuch as we have given no occasion of offence
G g g that

that might deserve the taking away of our former Liberties, but have still demeaned our selves peaceably and respectfully toward the English Discipline; Neither do we harbour any factious English persons as members of our Congregations; And also that by two severall Orders of his Majesties most Honourable Privy Councill, your Lordship and your Successors have power to order the disordered in both the Congregations, if any shall happen.

Therefore we humbly entreat your good Lordship seriously to take the premises into your grave and judicious consideration; And as occasion shall serve, to acquaint his Grace of *Canterbury* with them if your Lordship think it so fitting. Vnto whose Grace we desire our humble duties to be presented; humbly beseeching his Grace that he will be pleased to be graciously and favourably inclined to us and the rest of the strangers; And (if it be possible) to stay the proceedings of his Graces Commissaries upon the laid three Congregations of his Graces Diocese; that so they and we all may yet continue under the shadow of His Majesties most gracious protection and Toleration, as before. And wee shall pray for his Graces and your Honours long life and prosperity.

These weighty motives not prevailing, they presented an humble Petition to the Archbishop himselfe *Ann. 26. 1635.* endorsed with his owne hand, and seised in his study by Mr *Prynne*, the same in substance with their Remonstrance to the Bishop of *Norwich*; beseeching his Grace to be pleased to take these their motives into his pious and charitable consideration, and to suffer them yet to enjoy the benefit of his Majesties and his Noble Predecessours grace of Toleration.

To this Petition after much sollicitation, meanes and friends made to the Archbishop, he returned a very peremptory Answer in a Letter of his to the Dutch and Walloone Congregations at *Norwich*, dated *August. 19. 1635.* the Copy whereof was found in his study; wherein all the favour he would grant to them (or any other forraigne Churches) was this; *That his Majesty was resolved, that his Injunctions shall hold, and that obedience shall be yeelded to them by all the Natives after the first descent, who might continue in their Congregations, to the end the Aliens might the better look to the education of their children; and that their severall Congregations might not be too much lessened at once; but that all of the second descent borne here in England, and so termed, should resort to their severall Parish Churches whereas they dwell; concluding his Letter in those words: And thus I have given you answer fairely in all your particulars, and doe expect all obedience and conformity to my Injunctions; which if you shall performe, the State will have occasion to see how ready you are to practise the obedience which you teach. And for my part, I doubt not but your selves, or your posterity at least, shall have cause to thank both the State and the Church, for this care taken of you; But if you refuse (as you have no cause to doe, and I hope you will not) I shall*

shall then proceed against the Natives according to the Lawes and Canons Ecclesiasticall. So hoping the best of your selves and your obedience, I leave you to the Grace of God, and rest

August. 19. 1635. Your loving Friend
W. Cant.

By these Injunctions these Churches were molested and disquieted some three or foure yeares space; some of them interdicted, suspended and shut up for a time, for refusing conformity; others of them dissolved, their Ministers deserting them rather then submitting to these Injunctions, all of them much diminished, discontented, the maintenance of their Ministers and poore Members much impaired almost to their utter desolation, notwithstanding all the great friends they could make to intercede in their behalfe; and they brought quite under that Episcopall Iurisdiction and Tyranny, from which they were formerly exempted. Hereupon many conscientious Aliens and their children deserted the Kingdom, who could not in conscience submit to the Ceremonies, Innovations in our Churches, and most of their Families were miserably distracted, as appears by a *Summary Relation* of the Archbishops proceedings herein, presented to the Parliament, and by a late printed Book, entituled, *A Relation of the Troubles of the three Forraigne Churches in Kent*, caused by the Injunctions of William Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, Anno Dom. 1634. (set forth by John Bulteel Minister of Gods Word to the Walloon Congregation of Canterbury, printed Anno 1645.) to which we shall referre the Reader for fuller satisfaction.

And as he thus endeavoured to subvert the Forraigne Dutch, French, and Walloon Churches at home, and to presse the English Liturgy upon them; so he attempted to disturbe our English Regiments and Congregations abroad in Forraigne parts and Plantations, by imposing the strict observance of the English Liturgy and Ceremonies on them not formerly used, by Orders from the Councell Table (especially by that of October 1. 1633. to the Merchant-Adventurers) which bred great disturbances among them, as appears by sundry Letters from Sir William Boswell, Mr Stephen Goffe, and others, found in the Archbishops Study, which we shall pretermitt for brevity sake; only we shall insert the Copy of his owne Letter to the Merchants at Delfe (found in his Study) dated June 17. 1634.

After our hearty Commendations &c. We are commanded by his Majesty to signifie unto you, that this Bearer Mr Beaumont, chosen by joynt consent of your Company to be your Preacher at Delfe, or where else you shall at any time reside, is a man learned, sober, and conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline established in the Church of England; And that you are to receive him with all decent and courteous usage fitting his Person and Calling, and to allow him the usuall ancient stipend which Mr Forbes lately, or any other before him hath received. And farther we are to let you know, that it is his Majesties expresse Command, that both you, the Deputy, and all and every other Merchant, that is, or shall bee residing in those parts beyond the Seas, doe conforme themselves to the Doctrine and Discipline settled in the Church of England: And that they frequent the Common Prayers with all religious Duty and Reverence at all times required, as well as they doe Sermons: And that out of your Company you doe yearly about Easter, as the Canons prescribe, name two Church Wardens, and two

two Sidesmen, which may look to the Orders of the Church, and give an Accompt according to their Office. And Mr *Beaumont* himselfe is hereby to take notice that his Majesties expresse pleasure and Command to him is, that he doe punctually keep and observe all the Orders of the Church of *England* as they are prescribed in the Canons and the Rubricks of the Liturgy. And that if any of your Company shall shew themselves refractory to this Ordinance of his Majesty (which we hope will not be) he is to certifie the name of any such Offender and his offence to the Lord Bishop of *London* for the time being, who is to take order and give remedy accordingly. And these Letters you are to register and keep by you, that they which come after may understand what care his Majesty hath taken for the well ordering of your Company in Church affaires. And you are likewise to deliver a Copy of these Letters to Mr *Beaumont*, and to every Successor of his respectively, that he and they may know what his Majesty expects from them, and be the more inexcusable if they disobey. Thus not doubting but that you will shew your selves very respectfull of these his Majesties Commands, we leave you to the Grace of God and rest.

Your very loving friend
W. Cant.

By all which premises compared with his forementioned judgement of the Forraign Churches, that they were no true Churches of Christ because they had no Bishops; their Ministers no Ministers, and their Religion not the same with ours; it is infallibly evident, that his designe was to suppress and subvert the Dutch and French Churches by degrees at home, and to embroyle them and our English Congregations abroad, for the better advancement of the Roman Catholike Church and Religion both at home and in Forraign parts. And so we have fully made good the twelfth Originall Article against him in all particulars.

Our eighth and last Evidence to prove his trayterous design to subvert the Protestant Religion and bring in Popery, is comprised in the 13 Originall Article; *That he hath trayterously and treacherously plotted and endeavoured to stirre up warre and enmity betwixt his Majesties two Kingdoms of England and Scotland, and to that purpose hath laboured to introduce into the Kingdom of Scotland divers Innovations both in Religion and Government, all or the most part of them tending to Popery and Superstition, to the great grievance and discontent of his Majesties Subjects of that Nation; and for their refusing to submit to these Innovations, he did trayterously advise his Majesty to subdue them by force of Arms &c.* Nay joyned in confederacy with the Papists, Priests, Iesuites, and employed Popish Captains and Commanders to make warre against them; all which we can abundantly prove by sundry Papers, under his own hand; by Originall Letters found in his study, and sundry Additions, Alterations in the New Scottish Liturgy * elsewhere recorded, the Originall Copy whereof we have ready to produce under his own hand. But because he hath pleaded the Act of Pacification and Oblivion made since his Impeachment in barre of this Article, and the Scottish Liturgy (which doubtlesse it extends not to) and thereby hath tacitely acknowledged the truth of this Article, of which he dares not abide the triall; we shall forbear to give any evidence thereon, till his plea be over-ruld; which the Commons did not presse the Lords to do, because they would avoyd expence of time, and conceived their forementioned evidence very full to convict him guilty of the first branch of his first generall Charge (abundantly proved by all the premises) *That he hath trayterously endeavoured to subvert Gods true Religion, by Law established in this Realm, and instead thereof to set up Popery, Superstition, and Idolatry.*

* See A Necessary Introduction to the Archbishops Triall, p. 148, to 196.



The second BRANCH of the first generall CHARGE
concerning the ARCH-BISHOPS endeavours to
reconcile the Church of *England* to the
Church of *ROME*.

WE shall now passe on to the second Branch of the Arch-bishops first generall impeachment touching Religion, thus expressed in the tenth originall Article.

That he hath traiterously and wickedly endeavoured to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome; and for the effecting thereof, hath confederated with divers popish Priests

and Jesuits, and hath kept secret intelligence with the Pope of Rome, and by himselfe, his Agents and Instruments, treated with such as have from thence received authority and instructions; he hath permitted and countenanced a popish Hierarchy, or Ecclesiastical government to be established in this Kingdome; by all which traiterous and malicious practises, the Church and Kingdome hath been exceedingly endangered, and hath been like to fall under the tyranny of the Roman Sea. Which is somewhat amplified in the seventh additionall Article, which we shall connex thereto.

To prove this Article, we shall lay downe and make good two ground-workes (which the precedent Evidence hath sufficiently cleared:) First, that this Arch-bishop hath beene generally reputed a Person popishly affected, and a Papist in heart: both whiles he was resident in the University of Oxford and ever since; and that he was beleaved, reported to be such a one by the popish party, both at Rome, and elsewhere beyond the Seas. No wonder therefore if he endeavoured to reconcile and reduce the Church of England to the Church of Rome.

To prove the Arch-bishop a reputed Papist whiles he was resident in Oxford, we shall produce two Witnesses of credit, who knew him very well there, and have had some neere relation to him since. The first is Doctor Daniel Featly, who deposed *viva voce* at the Barre, That the Arch-bishop whiles he was remaining in Oxford, was generally reputed to be popishly affected, and one addicted to the popish party; and that he meeting a Pupill of his at Paris in France (when he waited on Sir Thomas Edmonds as his Chaplaine there) which Pupill had turned a Papist; discoursing with him concerning this Arch-bishop (then resident in Saint John's Colledge in Oxford) he told him, that Doctor Land his Tutor was against the Popes supremacy, but did maintaine many Catholike points of their Religion. The second is Sir Nathaniel Brent, his owne Vicar-generall, who deposed at the Barre, that this Arch bishop while he continued in Oxford, was there generally reputed to be popish; that he and others conceived him so, not upon any fained but upon very probable grounds; one whereof, then generally taken notice of, was that when he did his exercise for Bachelour of Divinity, he tooke his supposition almost verbatim out of Bellarmine, which he remembers the better, because one Mr. Dale then Proctor his Opponent, who took exceptions at it, shewed him his supposition in Bellarmines Works, concerning the necessity of Baptisme, which was consonant to the tenent of Rome. Another ground of this opinion of him was, that he held acquaintance, and most familiarly conversed

NOTE.

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with

with those in the University who were most addicted to Popery, and reputed Papists, and had sundry differences, bickerings, disputes with many sound Divines about points in Religion; particularly, he had very intimate acquaintance with, and oft frequented the company of one Browne, reputed a Papist in his life, and found to be so after his death; there being a manuscript writ with his owne hand, and thought to be his owne, found in his Study, in defence of popery, and maintaining among other things,

NOTE.

that one might be a Minister, officiate, and actually remaine in the Church of England, and yet be actually reconciled to the Church of Rome. This book King James hearing of, sent for it; which being brought to him, when he had read this passage, he said, if this position of his were true, he could not now tell whom to trust; And that there was such a generall report of the Arch-bishop, then he thought himselfe would not deny, and for that he had seen that book of Browns, a petition of this Bishops in a great mans hands, to whom King James delivered them, wherein he alleaged, that he was traduced to be a Papist, but desired his Majesty not to think so of him.

NOTE.

To these testimonies we shall adde a notable passage in Doctor Abbot's Sermon at Saint Peters in Oxford, on Easter-day, Anno 1615. formerly touched on p. 155. on which you may reflect.

NOTE.

That some were partly ROMISH, partly English, as occasion served them, that a man might say unto them, Noster es an adversariorum? who under pretence of truth and preaching against the Puritan, strike at the heart and root of the faith and Religion now established among us, &c. That they cannot plead, they are ACCOUNTED PAPISTS, because they speak against the puritan; but because BEING INDEED PAPISTS, they speak nothing against them; If they doe at any time speak against the papists, they doe but beat a little about the Bush, and that but softly too, for fear of making and disquieting the birds that are in it; they speak nothing, but that wherein one Papist will speake against another; as against Equivocation, the Popes temporall authority, and the like; and perhaps some of their blasphemous speeches: But in the point of Freewill, Justification, Concupiscence being a sinne after Baptisme, inherent righteousness, and certainty of salvation, THE PAPISTS BEYOND THE SEAS

NOTE.

CAN SAY THEY ARE WHOLLY THEIRS, AND THE RECUSANTS AT HOME MAKE THEIR BRAGS OF THEM, AND IN ALL THINGS THEY KEEP THEMSELVES SO NEERE THE BRINK, THAT UPON ANY OCCASION THEY MAY STEP OVER TO THEM.

Now for this speech, that the Presbyterians are as bad as the Papists; there is a sting in the speech, which I wish had been left out; for there are many churches beyond the seas, which contend for the Religion established among us, which yet have approved and admitted the presbytery; and this is to make them as bad as the papists. Besides, there have lived among us many reverend and worthy men, which have not rejected the presbytery, taking it even for Lay-Elders: and among the rest Doctor Nowell, late Deane of Pauls, in his Larger Catechisme, pag. 29. & 71. affirmeth, that in every well-governed Church there was a Presbytery; and yet this Catechisme by the late reverend Arch-bishop of Canterbury, was commanded to be had in every Grammar Schoole; Which surely he would not have done, if the presbyterians were as dangerous or bad as the papists.

NOTE.

And now that I have cleared my selfe from this imputation of being for the presbytery, it will lye upon them to CLEAR THEMSELVES IF THEY CAN FROM THEIR SUSPITION OF POPERY: For as Saint Hierom speakes In crimine hæreseos patientem esse non decet: And for their speech of preferment, its not that I look for; I make account I have lived to the end of a Students life; and God forbid that now for the hope of a little preferment, I should betray the cause of Christ: I have been ever of this mind; if there be no preferment on earth there is enough in Heaven: And my desire is, while I live here, to walk in sincerity and truth: If I should doe otherwise, how should I look my Saviour in the face? might he not say unto me, what art thou? ROMISH or English? PAPIST or PROTESTANT? or what art thou?

thou? A MONGRELL OR COMPOUND OF BOTH? A Protestant by Ordination, A PAPIST in the point of Freewill, inherent Righteousnesse, and the like; A Protestant in receiving the Sacrament, A PAPIST in the Doctrine of the Sacrament? What doe you thinke, are there two Heavens? If there be, get you to the other and place your selves there, for into this where I am, yee shall not come.

NOTE.

These Notes of Doctor Abbots Sermon were found in this Arch-bishops Study, written with his owne hand (produced and attested by Master Pryne) inclosed in a copy of a Letter of his to the then Bishop of Lincolne, under his owne hand too, thus indorsed by him; April 18. 1615. The copy of a Letter which I sent to the Lord Bishop of Lincolne concerning a Sermon, in which Doctor Abbot HAD WRONGED ME IN THE UNIVERSITY: In which Letter he inclosed these Notes for his Lordship to peruse, complaining thus therein, I came time enough to be at the rehearfall of this Sermon: upon much perswasion I went to Church, where I was faine to sit patiently, and heare my selfe abused almost an hour together, yet I was pointed at as I sate; for this present abuse, I would have taken no notice of it, but that THE WHOLE UNIVERSITY APPLIES IT TO ME; and my owne friends tell me, I shall sink my credit, if I answer not Doctor Abbot in his own kind: Neverthelesse in a businesse of this kind, I will not be swayed from a patient course; Onely I desire your Lordship to vouchsafe me some direction what to doe, &c.

NOTE.

By which it is cleere, under his owne hand-writing, that Doctor Abbot and the whole University in the yeer 1615. reputed and accounted him a Papist; a Papist indeed, at leastwise, partly Romish, and partly English; or a mongrell and a compound of a Papist and Protestant; one ready upon all occasions to step over to the Papists: A Papist in the Doctrine of freewill, justification by works, inherent righteousness, concupiscence no sinne after Baptisme, certainly of salvation, and the Doctrine of the Sacrament; and that the papists beyond the seas could say, he was WHOLLY THEIRS, and the Recusants at home make their brags of him.

This his temper was the cause of Doctor Hals Letter to W. L. (William Laud as is generally conceived) long since printed, Anno 1608. in the third Decad of his Epistles; Epist. 5. page 55. (for which his works were lately threatned to be called in, or this Letter expunged out of them) wherein he thus expostulates with him for his unsettlednesse and newtrality in Religion, and inclining to the popish party: I would I knew where to find you, then I could tell how to take a direct ayme, whereas now I must rove and conjecture; to day YOU ARE IN THE TENTS OF THE ROMANISTS; to morrow in ours; the next day betweene both, against both: Our adversaries think you, ours; WEE, THEIRS. Your conscience finds you with both, and neither: I flatter you not; this of yours, is the worst of all tempers; how long will you walk in this indifferency? resolve one way, and know at last what you doe hold; that you should cast off either your wings, or your teeth: and loathing this Batlike nature, be either a bird or a beast, &c.

NOTE.]

We shall conclude this part of our Evidence with the deposition of Francis Harris, a converted Priest, examined upon oath before the Lords, who being in the Parliament Army, could not possibly be procured *viva voce* (of which oath was made) and thereupon his deposition was read as followeth.

The Examination of FRANCIS HARRIS of Christ-Church London, taken Jan. 9. 1643. before the Lords Committee, appointed to take the Examinations in the Cause of the Arch-bishop of Canterbury.

His Deponent saith, that he being at Paris in France, about 24. yeers since, meeting with one Ireland (who had formerly bin one of the chief School-Masters of Westminster School, and then a Priest) and discoursing familiarly with this Deponent

ment, the said Ireland told him, that the now Arch-bishop of Canterbury and he were intimate friends, and that he had discovered unto him, when they were in the University together, that the said Arch-bishops resolution was, to leave the Kingdome, and to reconcile himselfe to the Church of Rome, and that he knew him to be a Papist in his heart, and wondred why he staid so long behind, saying, that perchance honores mutant mores. And this Deponent further saith, That one Learder a Benedictine Fryar, and Doctor of the Chaire at Doway, by the common report of Papists and Priests both abroad and in England, was very familiar with the said Arch-bishop, and came over on purpose into England (where this Deponent since saw him) to negotiate with the said Arch-bishop about matters of Religion, to make a reconciliation between the Church of Rome and England: And this Deponent was bred up a Roman Catholike and a schooler, and a secular Priest and upon better advice, reconciling himselfe to the Church of England did often sollicite and petition the said Archbi. for some mean imployment in the Ministry, as having done very good service in discovering Priests and Jesuits to the Messengers appoin. ed to apprehend them, but the Archbishop never gave him any encouragement or countenance.

NOTE.

This Examination taken before Us,

Kent. Lincolne.

Francis Harris.

That he hath been reputed a Papist in heart, opinion and practise ever since he left the University, is so notoriously knowne to all, that we shall produce no witnesses, many having been publicly censured and privately questioned by his power, for calling and reporting him such a one and many publike papers being pasted up and scattered about the City and Court from time to time, proclaiming him such a one, of which we have at least a dozen, found among his owne and Secretary Windebarkes writings: and that our English popish priests and Roman Catholikes (as well as Protestants) boasted of him to be theirs, we have many instances which we could produce, did we need such evidence, and the testimony of two Priests to boot.

But we shall rather informe and prove to your Lordships, what repute the papists had of him in foraign parts, yea even in Rome it selfe since himselfe hath chalked us out the way, and furnished us with this kind of prooffe, by procuring Sir Henry Mildmay (a Member of the House of Commons) very unseasonably and unhappily to testifie for him in this kind, what a hard opinion they had of him, and how much he was hated in Rome by the Jesuits and others, more then any man breathing, the manner of enforcing whose testimony is very remarkable.

The Arch-bishop some few dayes before his tryall, petitioned the House of Commons, that Sir Henry Mildmay, of the Jewell House (one of their Members) might be examined in his behalfe, as a speciall witnesse for him, how much he was hated and spoken against above all men at Rome, for opposing the Popes and Papists designs in England. Which being granted, the Arch-bishop moved two or three times very unseasonably, that Sir Henry might be called to give in his testimony in this kind; who being then out of Town and not appearing, the Committee of Commons who managed the Evidence, promised to send for, and cause him to appeare the next day at the Lords Bar; which he did, to wit, on June 11. 1644 Whereupon the Arch-bishop desired him to acquaint the Lords, whether he had not been of late yeers at Rome, and what opinion they held of himself there? whether Sir Henry upon his return from thence, dining with him at Lambeth, did not tell him of his own accord, he was the most odious man of any at Rome? and therefore certainly the furthest of any from setting up popery, and endeavouring to reconcile us to Rome. Whereupon Sir Henry said; My Lords, it is true, I was some few yeers since at Rome not upon any message or designe at all, but being somewhat infirme in body, I was advised by my physicians to travell for a time into forraign parts to recover my health: Whereupon I first travailed into France, from thence into Italy, and being there, to satisfie my owne curiosity, and recover my health, I travelled to Rome. During my abode there, I was very in-

quisitive

inquisitive to know, what opinion they had of us in England, and of the great men there, especially of the Arch-bishop of Canterbury: and I observed there were some there that were against the Arch-bishop, and spake ill of him; others that spake very well of him, and so much I informed him at Lambeth upon my returne from thence; but I deny that ever I told him, he was the most odious man at Rome of any, or, of any that had fate in that Sea: The Arch-bishop then averred, that he used these speeches to him at dinner at Lambeth, at a time when Auditor Phillips was there; who demanded of Sir Henry, whether he saw the Pope when he was at Rome, and what manner of man he was? Who replied, that he saw him in his Gardein out of a window, riding a great horse in a morning, and that he was very like the Auditor; Sir Henry confessed this discourse with the Auditor, but absolutely denied he ever said, he was the most odious man at Rome of any, &c. and desired him to prove it: Whereupon the Archbishop asked of his Secretary Dell, whether he did not heare Sir Henry tell him so much at dinner? Who answered, that he did not heare him say so, but that his Grace told him after dinner that he said so; which Sir Henry peremptorily denied: After which Sir Henry being demanded by Master Serjeant Wild, who they were that spake against the Arch-bishop, who for him? and what he conceived to be the cause why some spake thus against him, others in his behalf? He answered, that there were two factions in Rome, one of the Jesuits; some of these disliked the Arch-bishop and spake against him, because they conceived he aimed at too great an Ecclesiasticall power in these Kingdomes, for himself: The other was of the Secular Priests who all spake very well of him and commended him, because he carried himselfe in such sort in the government of our Church, as to draw it neerer unto the Church of Rome, and shewed himselfe favourable to their party: Whereupon the Arch-bishop said, that Sir Henry never told him this before: Who answered, it was true; and the reason was, because he never demanded of him any such Question, but now he was demanded the Question upon his Oath, and therefore he must speak the truth. At which passage mozt of the Auditory smiled, and the Committee of Commons who managed the Evidence, thanked the Arch-bishop for this good testimony on his behalfe, desiring him to furnish them with some more such witnesses: Adding, that seeing Sir Henry was but a single witness in this case, and so perhaps the Arch-bishop would evade his testimony, though produced by himselfe; and since he had given them this occasion to examine what opinion the Priests and Jesuits had of him at Rome; they therefore humbly desired, that they might now produce the testimonies of some other Gentlemen of note, who had been at Rome as well as S. Hen & could give as good or better an account of his credit there, as he had done. Whereupon they produced Captain Anthony Mildmay (brother to Sir Henry) to testifie his knowledge in this particular: who deposed at the Bar upon oath; That he was at Rome at the time when Con the Popes Nuncio, was to come over into Eng. as Nuncio; who then enquired of him concerning the infirmities and age of Arch bishop Abbot, and thereupon said, Bishop Laud who is to succeed him, will be more favourable to us then he hath been: That there were two great factions in Rome one of the Jesuits, another of the Secular Priests; that the Jesuits faction did not like the Archb. because he usurped too much Ecclesiasticall power to himself and endeavoured to make himselfe a Patriarke over all his Maesties Kingdomes; but the Secular Priests and their faction loved and spake very well of him, because they said they knew him to be their friend, and that he had a designe to bring the Popish Religion into England: That Father Fitton and Father John told him, that there was a designe to reconcile England to the Church of Rome, that Bishop Laud was the chiefe instrument in it, that other English Bishops did joyne with him in the designe, and that he should find, that there should be none preferred in the Court, but such as were Papists, or affected to popery: That Father Fitton being the generall agent for the Secular Priests, had extraordinary good intelligence from England, and that Master Walter Mountague when he was at Rome, lay at his house; that Father John was the generall agent at Rome for the Benedictines; and that Father Talbot a Jesuit, had told him as much as these two had done concerning Bishop Laud; who yet spake somewhat ill of him, be-
cause

NOTE.

NOTE.

cause (said he) he intends to make himselfe a Patriark of all the Kings Dominions out of his pride, which (he said) would eclipse the Popes authority, and therefore he said he was condemned at Rome by their party (the Jesuits) for this particular, although otherwise he was a great favourer of their Religion.

(a) Malmesb.
De Gest. Pon-
tif. Angl. l. 1.
Relation of a
Conference
with Fisher.
pag. 271.

This testimony, even from Rome it selfe, is very full and p^{er}sonall to our purpose, that there was no difference at all between the Secular Priests and the Archbishop, nor yet between the Jesuits and him, but only this, that he out of his ambition would, like his Predecessor *Anselme*, be (a) *Papa alterius orbis*, the Pope or Patriark of our other world, and of the Kings Dominions (which the titles of *Sanctitatis Vestrae* & *Sanctissime Pater*, attributed to him by the University of Oxford and Master *Croxton*, made them jealous of) which the Jesuits could not well brook at Rome.

But to make this more cleer, we shall adde one witness more, who hath been often times at Rome, and spent divers yeers among papists in foraigne parts, and that is one Master *Thomas Challoner*, a Gentleman of quality, who thereupon being sworn gave in this following testimony, *viva voce* upon oath, which he set downe under his owne hand.

MY LORDS,

T^Ouching the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, I can say little in particular, but in generall thus:

First, that for these fourteen or fifteen yeers last past, it hath been my fortune divers and sundry times to be in *France*, *Flanders*, *Holland* and *Italy*, where very often happening into the company of Lawyers, priests, and men of the long Robe, I found them alwayes very forward in their discourse of England, and of the great hopes they had to see it suddenly reduced to the catholike faith: that they had many great persons in England who were secretly of their religion, and in particular, the Arch-bishop, whom they avowed to be wholly theirs, a good Roman Catholike, a politike propagator of the Roman faith, by minutes and degrees, wherein he used great subtilty and craft which they called wisdom; and that both he and others would openly declare themselves so to be in time convenient, beseeching God & the blessed *Virgin* to prosper his designs. And this is so notorious, as I beleieve no man of any experience in foraigne parts, who hath had an care to hear, or a tongue and heart to ipeak the truth, but hath heard the same often re-iterated and will attest it. Yet upon what foundation these opinions should be built, I am not precisely able to determine.

NOTE.

Secondly, that eleven or twelve yeers since I being at *Bruxels* in *Brabant*, and there discoursing with an English Gentleman, who had been an ancient traveller, touching the then late rooting out of sundry English able and orthodox Ministers, for not complying with the Bishops in divers new idolatrous ceremonies; this Gentleman assured me, that he had often heard of strange reports of matters likely to befall England, both from English and Irish papists, which he gave no heed unto, supposing them to speake rather as they would have it, then as it was in verity: But now that he had heard so much from me, he did much suspect that there was some plot in hand to change the Religion in Eng. wherof he would diligently enquire, assuring me that he had as good means to know it, as any man of our Nation that lived on that side of the Seas. At our next meeting, he told me that he had dived into the plot. That ere long, we must all of necessity be papists in Eng. that the best wits both in Eng. and on that side of the Seas were interested therein: That it was so politickly laid, that he did not see how in the judgment of man it could possibly be prevented: That the Archb. and some other Bishops were of the plot, and that the rest of the Bishops and Clergy, partly for feare of losing what they had, partly for hopes of getting more, would undoubtedly comply: That the refusers if they could not be corrupted, were to be turned out of their livings, banished, imprisoned, or forced to live in obscurity: That it was to be done by gradations, to bring in this point of Popery in one quarter of a yeer, and the rest in another; and if not direct popery, yet so neer thereunto, as the common people themselves would

NOTE:

would slide into it unawares: that nothing but the King of Sweden's prosperity did hinder the sudden effecting of it. Lastly, that if we resisted not, we should be cheated and cozened of our Religion; and if we resisted, we should be compelled thereto perforce.

I replied, that I thought the Papists in England were not of any considerable number to effect their ends by force, and that they were also dit-armed. He told me, the Papists were more in number, and better armed then I conceived them to be; many going now to Church, who would then declare themselves papists; besides a world of Newters, who for hopes of preferment, would be easily drawne to their party: that they were all united, and besides armed with authority: He affirming, that for many yeers we had wholly been governed by Papists; most men in highest authority being either wholly so, or at least, as serviceable unto them for private ends, as if they were so indeed.

I replied, that if we should be compelled to defend our Religion by force, their authority would not be regarded. He told me, the Irish would be brought in. I answered, that I had spent some yeers in Ireland, and knew them to want both courage and meanes to effect so great a businesse, so that unlesse they were backed by the King of Spaine in a better manner then I conceived he was able at that time to doe, they durst not undertake it. He told me, they should have a better back, and more encouragement then the King of Spaine could give them, and that both France and Spain should assist therein.

NOTE.

I replied, that I thought France and Spaine were likely to disagree, and therefore unfit for such a businesse. He told me, that since I would needs have it, the greatest introducers of popery should be the Protestants themselves: Whereat when I wondered, as seeming to me a paradox; he told me, that the war should be so disguised, under false notions and pretences, as the Protestants should ignorantly become the Jesuits servants, and by the effusion of their owne blood, set up popery by force.

NOTE.

Thirdly, that being in Rome seven or eight yeers since, one Father John of the Order of Saint Benet, was very inquisitive of me, to know, who bestowed the livings in England, and whether the Arch-bishop did not doe it? I answered, that the livings were in the donation of such as had the Advousons of them, whether it were the King Arch bishops, Bishops, Deanes and Chapters, Colledges, Corporations, Noble men, Gentlemen or others. He asked me, if the Arch-bishop did not bestow the Kings livings? I said no, but the Lord Keeper, if they were under such a value; if above, the King himselfe. He seemed very much agrieved that the Arch-bishop did not bestow them, and told me, that he did not despaire of seeing England to be very suddenly Catholike: And though he were, by reason of his Order, tyed more strictly to the Pope then others were, yet he was carefull to have both Kings and Kingdomes priviledges preserved, and more particularly, that the Benefices in England might not be bestowed upon Italians as formerly, but that the Arch-bishop should have the ordering thereof. All this I have oft related some yeers since, to divers persons of quality, for which I incurred some trouble by the Jesuits and this Arch-bishops meanes.

NOTE.

NOTE.

This Testimony is so home and punctuall, that we shall adde no more thereto: it informs us of a long since plotted and actuated confederacy between this Archbishop and other English Prelats, and the Popes Instruments at Rome and in other forraigne parts, to introduce popery, and reduce us back to Rome: It chalks out to us the manner and method of their proceedings in all particulars, and the politick contrivances of all sorts to effect their intended designe; all which we have by wofull experience seen punctually acted, pursued accordingly to this very moment, in which pursuit this Archbishop hath been the Archinstrument; since then we visibly behold these reports of theirs verified to the view of all the world; we must no longer look upon them as empty rumours or discourses, but as reall Evidences beyond all exceptions.

The second groundwork we shall lay and prove is this: That there hath been for many yeers

yeers last past, a dangerous damnable Plot, and serious endeavour of the Pope and his Instruments to reduce and reconcile the Church of England to the Church and Sea of Rome, and that this Arch-bishop was privy to, and had notice of it.

See A necessary Introduction to the Arch-bishops Triall, p. 1. to 50.

This Plot was first laid about the year 1617. when the Spanish Match was set on foot, and King Charles (then Prince of Wales) sent into Spaine, of purpose to reconcile him (and in him our Kingdomes) to the Church of Rome, the prime end the Pope and Catholikes intended in that Match and Treaty; as appeares by the severall Articles passages and proceedings in it, well knowne to this Prelate, by the Popes Letter to the Prince, whiles in Spaine, to reconcile him to Rome, and make him a dutifull Sonne of that Church, by the Popes Letter to his Nuncio, the Bishop of Conchen (when the Prince was in Spaine) to endeavour his conversion to their Church upon this occasion, by a Jesuits Oration, to induce his Highnesse to that Religion, and by the Articles of the Duke of Buckingham against the Lord Digby, and the Lord Digbys Articles of impeachment against him in Parliament, charging one another reciprocally with high treason, for endeavouring to withdraw the Prince (when in Spaine) from his Religion, and make him a Roman Catholike; of all which we find Authentick Copies endorsed with his owne and Windebanke (his creatures) hands, among both their seized papers (already published at large in print, where you may peruse them at leizure) and therefore he could not possibly be ignorant of this Plot: The rather because the sending of the King (when Prince) into Spaine, was the Duke of Buckingham's project, of purpose to seduce him in his Religion, for which there were

(a) Ibidem p. 31, 32, 33.

[a] Articles of high Treason exhibited against him by the Lord Digby in the House of Peers in Parliament, on the first of May, 1626. as appeares by the Lords Journall, and the Bishops owne Diary; to which Duke this Bishop was both a Confessor, and cabinet bosome Counfeller, as these clauses in his owne Diary manifest. June 9. 1622. My Lord Marquesse of Buckingham was pleased to enter upon a neerer respect to me, the particulars are not for paper: (therefore certainly some deep Mystery of iniquity fit to be concealed) June 15. I became C. (Confessor as himselfe expounded it) to my L. of Buckingham. Jan. 11. My Lord of Buckingham and I in the inner Chamber at York-house, &c. and Feb. 17. next following, The Prince and Marquesse Buckingham set forwards very secretly for Spaine.

That this Prelat was privy to the plot of sending the Prince thither, before he was sent, and to the Instructions given him here how to demean himself even toward the Pope and his instruments when he came thither, is most apparent by his owne Letter under his owne hand, sent to Bishop Hall, Jan. 14. 1639. wherein there is this notable passage, [b] formerly urged upon another occasion.

(b) Here p. 264.

The last (with which I durst not but acquaint the King) is about Antichrist, which Title in three or four places of your Book, you bestow upon the Pope positively and determinately; whereas King James of blessed memory, having brought strong prooffe in a work of his, as you well know, to prove the Pope to be Antichrist, and being afterwards CHALLENGED ABOUT IT, he made this Answer; WHEN THE KING THAT

NOTE.

NOW IS WENT INTO SPAINE, AND ACQUAINTED HIM WITH IT, that he wrote that, not concludingly, but by way of Argument onely, that the Pope and his adherents might see, there was as good and better Arguments to prove him Antichrist, then for the Pope to challenge temporall jurisdiction over Kings: THIS

NOTE.

WHOLE PASSAGE BEING KNOWNE TO ME, I could not but speake with the King about it, who commanded me to write unto you, that you might qualifie your expression in these particulars, and so not differ from the knowne judgement of his pious and learned Father, &c.

By this relation under his owne hand and Seale, it is as cleere as the noon-day Sunne, this Prelat was not onely privy to the Kings voyage into Spaine before he departed hence, but likewise to the private instructions for his carriage towards the Pope & his agents when he came there; and his zeal to have this title of Antichrist given to the Pope by Bishop Hall so lately, thus qualified, obliterated, and his complaint of it to the King at this time, plainly shewes that he bare a good affe-

ctio.

affection to the Pope and his designs both then and now, and politickly furnishes King James with this equivocating Answer, to please his Holinesse: and to put all out of question; that he was privy to this journey before it was undertaken, we shall prove it by his owne Diary; wherein thus he writes: Feb. 17. 1622. The Prince and the Marquesse Buckingham set forwards very secretly for Spaine: Feb. 21. I writ to my Lord of Buckingham into Spaine: March 31. 1623. I received Letters from my Lord of Buckingham out of Spaine: April 19. I received Letters from my Lord of Buckingham out of Spaine: June 13. I received Letters from the Duke of Buckingham out of Spaine: Aug. 17. I received Letters from the Duke of Buckingham out of Spaine. By which it is apparent, First, that he knew of the time of their secret departure to Spaine the very day they went: Secondly, that he knew whether they went; and writ Letters to the Duke into Spaine within foure dayes after their departure hence, before they were neere there, or knowne to be arrived there: Thirdly, that he held constant intelligence with the Duke all the time he was in Spaine, writing frequently to him, and received no lesse then four Letters from him from thence; therefore questionlesse he was privy to this perilous journey of the Prince into Spaine (one of the horridest treasons that ever was acted) thereby to pervert him in his Religion, and reconcile both him and our Kingdomes to the Sea of Rome; for this very act alone (which his profession, as a Bishop, ought to have engaged him against with all his might) he deserved to be impeached of high treason as well as the Duke of Buckingham and the Lord Digby, who impeached one another of * high treason for it in Parliament, anno 1626. In one word, this Bishop at the time of the Princes being in Spaine, was so farre in love with the Masse-book, and so studious of it, that he noted his Missale Romanum (neatly bound up & gilt, in folio) almost in every leaf with his own hand, by way of approbation, and every moneth in the Callender of it, by inserting into it with his own pen, the Feasts and Stories of divers Popish Saints, with the translations of their Reliques; and in the Moneth of September, the 13. day he writes this Memoriall of the Princes returne out of Spaine; Prince Charles this night took ship at Saint Andrews to come out of Spaine, but had no prayers in his ship that night, because so many Spaniards were aboard. To prove which, the Missal it selfe was produced: This his noting and studying of the Masse-book at that very time, doth, as we conceive, strongly intimate his approbation of it, his good hopes and assistance to introduce it by that Spanish Match, had it succeeded.

But that breaking off (to his grieve) soone after the Princes returne from Spaine, the next designe of the Duke and his popish confederates, to reconcile, reduce us to Rome, was the translation of their Scene from Spaine into France, and making up a popish Match there, between the King and our present Queen Mary (a zealous Roman Catholike & grand patriot of that party) whose powerfull mediation and solicitations, might (as they then writ) in time effect and accomplish this plot, as we have elsewhere cleerly demonstrated: And in this project likewise this Arch-bishop had a finger, if not a hand: For the Duke of Buckingham (with whom he was a Cabinet Counsellour) being sent into France to consummate that Match, and bring over the Queene from thence, we find this Arch-bishop posted Letters thither to him, immediatly after his departure hence, by these severall passages in his Diary. May 11. 1625. Die Mercurij primo mane Dux Buck. Versus mare se transtulit obviam iturus Reginae Mariae in Galliam: Dedi ad Ducem eod. die Literas, sed quae properantem sequerentur: Maij 19. Die Jovis Literas secundas misi ad Ducem Buck, tunc paulisper morantem Parisijs: Maij 29. Die Solis Literas tertias dedi in manus Episcopi Dunelmensis, qui cum Rege iturus, traderet eas Duci Buck. ad litus applicanti: Junij 5. Die Pentecostes mane instanter iturus ad sacra, Literas à Gallia à Duce Clariss. Buckinghamiae in manus meas se dedere. Responsum dedi Aurora proxima: Junij 12. Die Solis Regina Maria, maria pertransiens, ad Litus Nostrum appulit, circiter horam septimam Vespertinam: Det Deus ut Haespera sit * & felix Stella orbi nostro. These

* See A Necessary Introduction to the Arch-bishop of Canterburies Tryall, p. 31, 32, 33, 34.

See A Necessary Introduction, &c. p. 69 to 150.

* The very expression used by Nich. le Maître, a French Priest, in his Institutione Antiqui Episcoporum Principatus Parisijs 1633. p. 279. Quid in Angliā perfici, maxime ubi deservit calor ille persecutionum per magnam Rem, & Invictissimi Principis

is, deservescat forsitan aliquando tempestas, & agnoscat Generosus Princeps Christum eandem, sub quo Maiores suam gloriose triumpharunt.

severall Letters of his to and from the Duke upon this occasion (the Originals and Copies whereof could we have met with them; would doubtlesse have discovered many notable secrets) intimate, both his privity to, and concurrence in this popish French Match, as well as in the Spanish.

NOTE. This we shall further cleere by other passages in his owne Diary, discovering what a great favourite and instrument of the Queens he hath been, even since the Marriage. Aug. 30. 1634. Saturday at Oatlands, the Queen sent for me, and gave me thanks for a businesse with which shee trusted me; her promise then that she would be my friend, and that I should have immediate addresse to her when I had occasion. Here we have the Queen trusting the Arch-bishop with a private businesse; her thanks for his discharge of this trust, with a promise of future favour, and immediate addresse to her upon all occasions: May 18. & 24. 1635. Whitson Munday at Greenwich, my account to the Queen put off till Trinity Sunday, then given her by my selfe, and assurance of all that was desired by me, &c. A very suspitious passage: after which, five whole lines are so rased that they are not legible: April 3. 1639. Wednesday, before the Kings going, I settled with him a great businesse for the Queen, which I understood shee would never move for her selfe: the Queen gave me great thanks, and this day I waited purposely on her, to give her thanks for her gracious acceptance; shee was pleased to be very free with me, and to promise me freedome.

NOTE. This intimacy of the Arch-bishop with the Queene, these private services he did for her, and these speciall mementoes of her favours to, and freeness with him, could not be to convert her to the Protestant Religion (which he never attempted in any measure, for ought we ever heard) it being contrary to the tenth Article of her Marriage, which runs thus; Also the King of Great Britaine is by Oath bound NOT TO ENDEAVOUR BY ANY MEANS AT ALL to have his said Queen to renounce the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish Religion, nor compell her to do any thing whatsoever that is contrary to the same Religion. Now this Archb. was so farre from endeavouring her conversion to our Religion himselfe, that in his owne Metropolitickall visitation, he prohibited Ministers publikely to pray for the Queens conversion in their Pulpits, and questioned, censured some Ministers in the High Commission, for praying for her conversion from Popery to our Religion, as a grand unpardonable offence. To prove this, we shall first produce his owne Informations and Instructions to Sir Nathaniel Brent (endorsed, subscribed with his own hand) touching his Metropolitickall visitation in the Diocesse of London, in March 1636. Among which we find a paper thus endorsed; NOTE. Informations of divers abuses in the City of London: The second particular whereof is this; That some Preachers take great liberty to pray before and after their Sermons loosely and factiously, as FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE QUEEN: over against which, these two names are written in the margin; Master Walker of Saint Johns Evangelist, Master Burtons Curate, &c. Saint Matthew Friday-street: To which himselfe adds this subscription, directed to his Vicar generall that visited:

I require you, that besides my other Instructions, you give me an account of all particulars within named.

W. CANT.

NOTE. Hereupon Sir Nathaniel Brent in pursuance of this Order, in his open visitation prohibited the Ministers to pray for the Queenes conversion: for prooffe whereof, Master Hugh Ratcliffe of Martins Ludgate, testified upon oath, That at a visitation held at Bow Church in London by Sir Nathaniel Brent, Vicar generall to this Arch-bishop of Canterbury, in whose right he then visited, about Mar. 1636. the said Sir Nath. then and there in his publike charge to the Ministers, in his hearing used these words; Whereas divers of you in your Prayers before your Sermons, Use TO PRAY FOR THE QUEENS CONVERSION, YOU ARE TO DOE SO NO MORE. Adding, that the Queen did not doubt of her conversion; meaning, that shee doubted

doubted not but that shee was already in the right way : We could produce other witnesses of this, but the thing is so notorious, we shall need no more.

From this inhibition of his, we may certainly inferre these conclusions : First, that he who thus publickly inhibited other Ministers to pray for the Queens conversion, would never questionlesse himselfe endeavour by prayer, conference, or intimacy with her, to convert her to our Religion : Secondly, that he must verily beleve her popish Religion to be the true Religion, and ours the false ; else both himselfe and all other our Ministers were bound, in duty, conscience, most zealously and constantly to pray in speciall manner to God, for her Highnesse conversion from it, because Gods Word and christian charity required it ; the imminent danger that might and doth acrew thereby to her owne soule in particular, to his Majesty, his royall Issue, and this whole Church, State in generall, exacts it ; and the publike Liturgy of our Church (which this Prelate so much stickled for) both warrants and prescribes it ; not onely in the speciall Collects for the King and Queen, the Letany, the Prayer for the estate of the whole Church militant, but likewise in the Collect for Good-friday, which runs thus :

Mercifull God, who hast made all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted & live, have mercy upon all Jewes, Turkes, Infidels and Heretycks, and take from them all ignorance, hardnesse of heart and contempt of thy Word, and so fetch them home (blessed Lord) to thy flocke, that they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites, and be made one fold under one Shepheard, Jesus Christ our Lord, &c. May, yea must we then pray for all Jewes, Turkes, Hereticks in generall, that God would really convert and bring them to his fold, though we have no speciall relation to them; and must our Ministers yet be expressly prohibited to pray for the Queens conversion in particular, to whom we have so neere relation; the want of whose conversion hath brought so many mischiefs, wars on our Church and Kingdomes ? Certainly this was an Act of the greatest impiety that ever was committed by any christian Prelat, if he really beleaved the Queen to live in a false Religion ; and may justly brand him for an Atheist, being diametrically contrary to Gods precept, 1 Tim. 3. 1, 2. I exhort therefore, that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks be made FOR ALL MEN, for Kings and ALL THAT ARE IN AUTHORITY, that we may live a quiet and peaceable life in all godlinesse and honesty : Therefore he must needs beleve her popish Religion to be the true, ours the false ; else he would have encouraged rather then prohibited Ministers to pray for her conversion unto us and our Religion, whom it seems by this inhibition, he would have converted to her and hers. Thirdly, this inhibition manifests, at the least, that the Arch-bishop was a very cordiall friend, servant, not onely to her Majesties person but her popish Religion too; that he desired her un-interrupted continuance in it, without the least opposition, not onely by way of dispute, but prayers too : Fourthly, this publike prohibition in his own Metropolitickall visitation, was of it selfe a great encouragement to, a strong confirmation of her Majesty and all the popish party in their false Religion, giving them great advantages to seduce others to it, as the true, because this Injunction intimated it to be the true Religion, wherein they might safely persevere.

But did this Prelate stop here only, openly to inhibit men thus to pray for her Majesties conversion ? No verily ; for both before and after this, he imprisoned, questioned and censured some in the High Commission, for such prayers. Master Bernard (as we proved formerly) was questioned, censured in the High Commission as a grand offender for such a Prayer ; Master Hugh Peter was apprehended by a Pursevant, imprisoned for a time in the New-prison, silenced here from his Ministry, and forced into Holland by the Arch-bishop, onely for praying at Sepulchers Church for the Queen, in these words, That as shee came into a Goshen of safety, so the light of Goshen might shine into her soule, that shee might not perish in the day of Christ ; as himselfe and sundry others will depose : But we shall insist

Master Jones
Case:

onely on two other instances in the *High Commission*: The first is one Master *William Jones*, a *Gloucestershire* Minister, who (as Master *Prynne* attested upon oath) was brought into the *High Commission*, Anno 1636. and there prosecuted by the Arch-bishops meanes, for not reading the *Booke of Sports*, and for praying thus for the Queen in his Pulpit to God; *To shew unto the Queene the light of Godshen, and to bring her to his true worship*: What worship? said the Arch-bishop to him; as if her popish worship were Gods true worship.

Master John
Howes Case.

Nor did he onely persecute and trouble Ministers thus for praying for the Queens illumination and conversion to Gods true worship; but likewise for praying to God to keep the Prince from the infection of popery; witnesse the case of one Master *John How*, Minister of *Loughborough* in the County of *Leicester*, who on the sixth day of November 1634. (as was proved by the Register book of the *High Commission Court*, there produced and read) was censured in that Court (where the Arch-bishop was chiefe Judge and *Dominus fac totum*) attached, committed during his Majesties pleasure, suspended from the execution of his Ministry, and every part thereof, fined five hundred pounds to the Kings use, ordered to make a submission to the Court; and condemned in expences and costs of suit, onely for praying but once in the Pulpit, That the young Prince might not be brought up in Popery, whereof there was great cause to feare; for that (as was alleaged) these words did much derogate from his Majesties known, approved, Religious care in maintaining, propagating the true Religion here established, professed within this Realme, and caused a causelesse jealousy of the education of the young Prince his Sonne in the popish Religion. When as he onely intended it of the danger of his education in respect of the Queen his Mother, and those many seducing Priests, Papiests then about her, who by many policies, devices, endeavoured, as much in them lay, to draw him to, and educate him in the popish Religion: it being provided by the sixteenth Article of the Kings marriage with France; That the children which shall by reason of the said marriage be borne and live, shall be nurst and brought up N E E R THE SAID LADY AND QUEEN, from the time of their birth, untill they come to the age OF FOURTEEN YEER S. In respect whereof there was great cause to feare the Princes infection by, and seducement unto Popery, without Gods extraordinary mercy; and therefore great need of our frequent prayers to prevent it.

His rigorous proceedings therefore against these Ministers on the one hand, for praying for the Queens illumination with, and conversion to our Religion; and his severe censuring them on the other hand, for praying, That the young Prince might not be brought up in Popery, compared with his intimacy, favour with the Queen, his rediness to serve her Majesty upon all speciall services and commands, are a most pregnant evidence, not onely of his confusance of, but powerfull concurring assistance in promoting this grand dangerous designe, of introducing Popery, and reconciling us to the Church of Rome.

And that which may further satisfie your Lordships and the world herein, is, his extraordinary dignifying of Queen *Maries*, his depressing King *Edward* the sixth his Reigne, in his very Preface to the new Statutes, compiled by him for the University of Oxford; the Originall whereof was produced, and this clause read out of it: *Edwardo sexto ad clavem sedente, novo sudatum est molimine, &c. Prescribente Rege, & lenocinante NOVITATE, primo visum opus admitti, &c. Paulo post potente rerum Maria, sub Cardinalis Poli auspicijs idem recrudit labor. Novæ exinde datæ leges, sed pari cum prioribus angustia: Interim tamen, inter incerta vacillans Statuta, viguit Academia, colebantur studia, enituit Disciplina, & OPTANDA TEMPORUM FÆLICITATE Tabularum defectum resarcivit innatus Candor, & quicquid legibus deerat, Moribus suppletum est.* Decurrente temporum serie, & vitijs & legibus pariter laboratum est.

In which passage he brands King *Edwards* dayes of Reformation, with Flattering Novelty; applauds Queen *Maries*, under the government of Cardinal *Pool*, as those wherein the Univerlity of Oxford did most eminently flourish in learning, Discipline

cipline, manners; and magnifies the desirable felicity of those times (under another Qu. Mary of the same Religion) depressing Queen Elizabeths reign, and her successors, as more abounding with vice, and more defective of good laws and government (in our Oxford University at least) then Queene Maries. This passage is not only seconded by Doctor * Pocklington's forecited clause, who brands our Martyrs suffering in Queen Maries dayes, for Rebels; Traytors, Hereticks; but by Doctor Heylyn, in his *Moderate Answer to Master Burton* (penned and published by the Arch-bishops command,) who thus disparageth King Edwards, applauds Queene Maries lawes and actions: pag. 100. 101. 102. Now for King Edward the sixth, the case stands thus: King Edward being a Minor, about nine yeers old, at his first comming to the Crowne, there was much heaving at the Church by some great men that were about him, who purposed to enrich themselves with the spoyle thereof: For the effecting of which purpose, it was thought expedient to lessen the number of those Bishops which were then in place, and to make all those that were to come the more obedient to the Crowne: Upon this ground, there passed a Statute, 1. of this King, consisting of four principall Branches; whereof the first cut off all Elections and Writs of Conge dislier, formerly in use; the other did, if not take off, yet very much abate the edge of Ecclesiasticall censures: Then he recites the words of the Statute, and concludes; which Act with every branch and clause thereof was afterwards repealed, 1. of Queen Mary, c. 2. and hath stood so repealed to this very day, &c.

Here, 49.

This magnifying then of Queen Maries dayes, and depressing King Edwards, implies a grand designe in this Arch-prelate, to revive those Marian times, as happy and desirable.

From these few generally, we shall next descend to some more particular instances, to prove, that there was a serious designe and endeavour of the Pope and his Instruments in forraigne parts, to reduce us back to Rome; that the Arch-bishop had exact notice of it, and yet was so far from resisting, opposing this their designe, according to his place, trust, duty, that he complied with them to the utmost of his wit and power therein. It cannot be expected, that in a Plot of this nature, being a hidden work of darknesse, and abstruse mystery of iniquity carried on with all the artifice and cunning that Rome or Hell could suggest; disguised, concealed under divers characteristick Letters, which we cannot as yet unriddle, though we have some of them in our custody: sealed up under oaths, promises of secrecie, and acted by such Jesuiticall spirits, as will rather obstinately die, then disclose the secrets of their hellish conspiracies; which we cannot possibly manifest to the full, unlesse we had been so happy as to have seized the Arch-bishops most secret papers (which he conveyed away or burned before his closet, doores were sealed up) and the Popes Nuncios Cabinet, or might have liberty to search the Popes own Closet, or Cardi. Barbarino his secret papers and the private intelligences of the Roman Conclave; yet we presume we shall produce so many cleer demonstrations, and circumstantial proofs, as shall abundantly satisfy your Lordships judgements, consciences, and the world, both of the reality of this plot, and the Arch-bishops guiltinesse in concurring in it: We know it is usuall for Juries to convict, for Judges to condemne and execute Traitors, felons as well upon violent presumptions & circumstances, as upon eye witnesses and punctuall testimonies of the facts for which they are indicted: and we doubt not but our evidence in this kind will be so cleer, as it will surmount a violent presumption, yea amount to an infallible demonstration, conviction of his guiltinesse, if not severally considered, yet at least conjoynd.

The first particular Evidence to prove a designe at Rome, to reduce us to our ancient vassalage under it, is a very notable paper printed at Rome, *Superiorum permissu* (in two large folio sheets pasted together) An. 1636. In the first & uppermost sheet, there is a coper Peece, cut with Anticks, wherein there are two Scutchions; the one hanging just in the midst neere the upper end of the sheet, wherein the Popes and Cardinall Barbarino (his Nephewe's) Armes are engraven; the other hanging a little lower then the former, on the right side of the sheet, containing

the

the King of Englands Armes: The Author of this paper was an English Fryar, who stiles himselfe, *Frater Franciscus a Sancta Maria, Sacra Theologiae Lector Generalis, Primario Jubilato; ac Provinciae Sanctae Elizabethae Custos*: The substance of it he stiles, *Conclusiones Theologiae*; which are thirteen in number; but that which is most observable therein, is this dedication of it to Cardinall Barbarino.

NOTE.

Eminentissimo & Reverendissimo Principi Francisco Cardinali Barbarino, Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Vice-Cancellario R. R. ANGLIAE, SCOTIAE, necnon Seraphicae Religionis PROTECTORI VIGILANTISSIMO, Frater Ludovicus a Sancta Maria, Anglus, D.D.D. MAGNAE BRITANIAE PATRONO MAXIMO, ET BRITANICAE NATIONIS, & Minorum Familiae minimus, Theologiam devovet suam.

* See Romes
Master-piece

By this paper it is evident, that this Cardinall was publicly deputed and stiled, even in print at Rome, The most vigilant Protector of England, Scotland, and of the Seraphicall Religion there; the greatest Patron of great Brittain, designed to this charge, for this very purpose, to * reduce it againe to the bosome of the Roman Church, the onely use, end of this his office and Title. Of this designe this Arch-bishop had most certaine intelligence from Master Middleton, Chaplaine to the English Agent at Venice, to whom this paper was sent from Rome, and by him conveyed to the Arch-bishop, who thus indorsed it with his owne hand-writing. 1636. *Fra. Ludovici a Sa. Maria Angli Theses, &c.* and reserved it in his Study at Lambeth, where Master Prynne attested it was seized. This Fryar's right

* See A Necessary
Introduction, p. 145.

name (as appears by a paper under * Secretary Windebanks owne hand) was Kerton, alias Morton, who soon after repaired into England, to help reduce it; Where he lived so wickedly, in drawing Maids, Women and others to sinne carnally, and committed such horrible acts in prosecuting his lusts, that he was enforced to returne to Paris in France: Secretary Windebank giving his son Tom, speciall instructions (when he went over thither to negotiate the Palsgraves release) To advise those of his Order there, to prevent his returne hither, because he would be assuredly publicly punished according to the laws, to the great scandall of his Religion: which manifests a correspondency in Windebank and his sonne (this Arch-bishops creatures) even with the Franciscan Fryars, beyond the seas, and a care in them to prevent this Fryars, with his Religions publike disgrace and scandall.

II.
* See Romes
Master-piece.

The second Evidence (which backs the former) is, a discovery of a most desperate * Plot of this Cardinall Barbarino, and his four sorts of English and Scottish Jesuits, residing in and about Drury-lane and Long-acre, where they had built a Colledge, and had their constant meeting; of which society, this Cardinall was the immediate head next under the Pope, to whom they had their immediate addressees, and directed their weekly intelligence: The plot was, to subvert the Protestant Religion, set up Popery, and reconcile us unto Rome, by engaging the King in a bloody warre against the Scots, and working him to their party; and in case they could not doe it, then to give him a poisoned figge (as his Father was poisoned) and seize upon the Prince, whom they would educate in the Romish Religion. This Plot was discovered, meerly out of remorse of conscience, by one who was a chiefe actor in it, sent from Rome to assist Con, the Popes Legat in his Negotiations in England, to one Andreas ab Habernfield (Physitian to the Queen of Bohemia) who disclosed it to Sir William Boswell, the Kings Leager at the Hague, who from thence by sundry Letters, revealed it to this Arch-bishop, in whose chamber at the Tower, the whole plot and originall Letters concerning it, were seized on by Master Prynne (who attested and produced them at the Barre) and published them at large to the world by order of Parliament, in Romes Master-piece, where the principall Agents in this plot, and their proceedings therein are particularly related; many of them (as *Secr. Windebank*, the Earle and Countesse of Arundell, Mr. Porter of the Bed-chamber, and Sir Toby Matthew) being the Arch-bishops intimate friends and familiars. Of this Plot the Arch-bishop took such speciall notice, that he acquainted the King himselfe with it, as appears by his owne Letter to the King, and his Majesties Answer to it, with his

his owne royall hand to it in the margin, sent from York to Lambeth: Yet for all this, he was so far from crossing this their Jesuiticall designe, that he confederated and joyned with the Jesuits and popish party in fomenting, maintaining the war against the Scots, and revived it when it was ceased, by perswading the King to break the first pacification, and denounce a second war against them.

The third particular we shall produce, to prove an endeavour of the Pope and Cardinall Barbarino at Rome, to reconcile, reduce us back to them, and that this Arch-bishop had notice of it, is a Letter (found in his Study, attested by Master Prynne) written to him by one Master John Greaves, from Ligorne, March 3. 1639. indorsed with his owne hand thus, Rece. Mar. 27. 1640. Fastidius printed at Rome: Wherein Master Greaves hath this clause: I humbly beseech your Grace to pardon my presumptions, and this other Information which I shall give your Grace: They have printed at Rome a Book of Fastidius, a Britaine Bishop, De Vita Christiana, WHICH THE CARDINALL FRANCISCO BARBARINO INTENDS TO DEDICATE TO HIS SACRED MAJESTY; a Book of singular devotion and piety, and of great Antiquity; the Author being a Bishop in England, about three hundred yeers after our Saviour. Lucas Holstenius, a very learned man, hath the care of the Edition, but hath not I thinke, as yet finished the Annotations upon it: For the Text, he and I compared the Manuscript (which was also very ancient) with the printed Copy, and I find it exactly to agree.

See A Necessary Introduction to the Arch-bishops Tryall, p. 170. to 200.

NOTE.

Now what other meaning could there be for this Cardinall to print this book at Rome, to dedicate it publikely to our King, and to use Master Greaves himselfe in comparing the printed Copy with the Manuscript, but to insinuate himself into the Kings affections, thereby to reduce both him and his Dominions unto the bosome of the Church of Rome, which the forementioned discovery of this and the Jesuits Plot, by Andreas ab Habernsfield, more largely demonstrates? this Cardinall sending over sundry Statues, Pictures, Antiquities, and other vanities from Rome to his Majesty, to incline him to the Roman party, as we have* elsewhere manifested,

* See Romes Master-Piece, p. 16. and A necessary Introduction, &c. p. 146.

The fourth particular Evidence we shall insist on, which addes luster and vigor to all the former, is the Book intituled *Deus, Natura & Gratia: Ubi ad trutinam Fidei Catholicae examinatur Confessio Anglicana, & ad singula puncta, quid teneat, qualiter differat executur: Accessit Paraphrastica Expositio reliquorum Articulorum Confessionis Anglicanae, per Fr. Franciscum à Sancta Clara, olim apud Duacenses in Collegio B. Bonaventurae, Provinciae ANGLIAE F. F. Minorum, S. Theolog. Lectorem primum: Printed Lugduni, 1634. Cum Privilegio Regis, & approbatione Doctorum.*

This Book was dedicated to our King Charles, with a Dedicatory Epistle, to seduce his Majesty in his Religion, and induce him to establish the Romish Religion amongst us by his Royall authority; as this close of the Epistle manifests: *Periculosum nobis admodum, atque etiam miserabile est, tot nunc fides existere quot voluntates, &c. Contremiscunt ossa mea dum hoc recogito: Morbus, ubi spiritus vitales opprimuntur, nempe ut fides radix vitae corrumpitur, difficilime sanatur: Hic morbus noster: Remedium tamen, & illud efficax, à Samaritano nostro designatum reperimus, nec aliud nisi illud, DIC ECCLESIAE. Dico: Ecclesiae definitiones Majestati Vestrae propono; Sanctorum Patrum & Venerabilium Doctorum expositiones, Novorum ineptijs propono; quas dum modestè retego, in Christo tego; sanien, non scalpendo, sed suaviter lambendo; lavo ut abluam: SACRO VESTRO IMPERIO OPUS, QUIPPE UT EXECUTIONI MANDETUR, quod ab Ecclesia & Sanctis Patribus sancitum est, secundum illud Justiniani. Constit. 42. Hæc decrevimus Sanctorum Patrum canones secuti: HOC TUA MAJESTATE DIGNUM; hoc dignitati causæ consonum, HOC SALUTI ANIMARUM PRORSUS NECESSARIUM; ET OMNIS POPULUS, DICET AMEN.*

Sacra sua Majestatis
Devotissimus Subditus
Fr. Fran. à S. Clara.

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The scope of the whole Book in the composing and publishing, was to reconcile, reduce both our King, Church, and the Articles of our Religion, which he comments upon, to the Church of Rome. This we shall evidence,

NOTE.

First by the Authors owne expresse confession, pag. 338. *In studi (ut vides) pie Lector RECONCILIARE Articulos Confessionis Anglicæ, DETERMINATIONIBUS ECCLESIAE CATHOLICÆ: NON ECCLESIAM IPSIS, ex quâ collatæ sunt; SED IPSO SECLESIAE, in qua (Dei opitulante Gratia) salvandi sunt, DUCENDOS CENSUI.* Corticem verborum subinde censurâ graviore dignum censebis; sensum vero latitantem, quem elicui, non adeo veritati dissonum, nisi alio detorquere malint, recte judicabis: his tamen verborum Novitatibus, Christum lacerum inspexi, tunicam inconsutilem diffutam, dissectam reperi: quis non condoleret? quis non REDINTEGRATIONEM SUADERET? omnibus modis, si posset, PERSUADERET? HIC UNICUS SCOPUS MEUS, &c. Omnia Ecclesiæ & ejus sub Christo capiti [the Pope] quâ debeo reverentiâ submitto: Ultro, obtestor Deum & Sanctos ejus, me in hoc qualicunque Opello nostro animarum salutem, PER FIDEI REDINTIGATIONEM intendere: Quod Deus per viscera Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, ad intercessionem omnium beatorum opportunè efficiat; ET SERENISSIMUM REGEM NOSTRUM, PRO OMNIUM CATHOLICORUM VOTIS, AD UTRAMQUE FÆLICITATEM PERDVCAT.

NOTE:

Secondly, by the censures and judgements of the Doctors and Divines (who are twelve in number) prefixed, by way of approbation thereunto: James Dreux a Sorbon Doctor, Londini pridie Calend. Augusti. gives this testimony of this Book: Fateor me, &c. sed & laudasse consilium & propositum tuum, quod in Ecclesiæ utilitatem cessurum auguror, ad CONCILIANDOS ERRANTIUM ANIMOS, si Deus Opt. Max. captis tuis annuat, QUOD SPERO PRECORQUE. Thomas Blaclo, Professor of Divinity, 5. Julij 1633. gives this verdict of it: Libellum qui sic inscribitur, Articuli confessionis Anglicanæ paraphrastice exponuntur, &c. ex zelo Fidei & animarum scriptus, omnibus CONCORDIÆ ET PACIS CHRISTIANÆ AMICIS, non potest non esse acceptus, cum Catholico & animo & calamo scriptus sit, & errantibus, UT AD CHRISTI CAULAM REDITUM INVENIANT, faciem Catholicæ veritatis, quasi ex propinquo ad alliciendos pusillanimos ostendet: William Tomson, Doctor of Divinity, writes of it, 20. Aprilis, Dignum prælo censuit, sperans INTER PROTESTANTES, saltem moderatores, fructui futurum. T. P. a Papist, professor of Divinity, 16. April 1633. gives this approbation of it, Tractatum hunc perlegi, &c. & verè secundum calculum meum, publicatio operis PROTESTANTIBUS MODERATIONIBUS ARRIDEBIT (omnibus placere difficilimum) ET AD READVNATIONEM CUM ECCLESIA ROMANA, DUM OPPORTUNUM FUERIT, DISPONET: & interim reverentiorum ejus estimationem inuret; præsertim reliquos Confessionis Anglicæ Articulos (quod optarem) eadem moderatione exponere vellet, & ad calcem hujus operis (si pro voto succederit) Lectorem spe ceterorum foveres: All which are attested to agree with the Originals, by D. David, Monachus & Decanus Congregationis Casinensis, olim Romæ Sereniss. D.N. Urbani Papæ Octavi Penetentiarius, NOTORIUS APOSTOLICUS. The designe therefore of this Booke, by the testimony of all these popish Doctors, and of the Popes owne Notary, was, to reconcile, reunite us and our Articles to the Church and Doctrine of Rome.

NOTE.

Thirdly, this we shall make evident by notable passages in the Booke it selfe, wherein the Author proclaims our reconciliation in sundry points of doctrine, as Bishop Mountague, Bi. Andrewes, with some other of our popish Doctors expounded both our Articles, Homilies and positions: In his 22. Problem. concerning the great controversie about Justification, he thus publisheth our agreement and consent, page 157, 158, 159. *Hæc Doctrina eorum & nostra; nec plus dant fidei quam*

NOTE.

Thirdly, this we shall make evident by notable passages in the Booke it selfe, wherein the Author proclaims our reconciliation in sundry points of doctrine, as Bishop Mountague, Bi. Andrewes, with some other of our popish Doctors expounded both our Articles, Homilies and positions: In his 22. Problem. concerning the great controversie about Justification, he thus publisheth our agreement and consent, page 157, 158, 159. *Hæc Doctrina eorum & nostra; nec plus dant fidei quam*

quam Concilium Trid. quoad justificationem, si cautè exponantur, &c. Hic ergo facilima pax ineunda; sic enim D. Montacutius Articulum de Fide rectè explicat, &c. Nulla igitur differentia quoad hoc punctum. Ecce igitur PLANE ET PLENE CONVENIMUS: Et binc ut patebit questione sequenti doctiores, Protestantes tribuunt justificationem nostram intrinsecam habitui Justitiæ: non ergo fidei. Imo hæc nostra positio solenniter Cantabrigiæ in Comitijis anniversarijs pro actu Doctorali hæc anno corrente mense Julio, agitata & probata est. Which he thus seconds, page 181. Quibus omnibus benè pensatis, sanè nulla hodiè reperietur differentia in Confessione Anglicana, & Sanctissima diffinitione Trid. nihil enim in Articulis Hamptonienfibus in oppositum ordinatur: Ut patet Artic. 9. De Justificatione: Unde Montacutius in suo Appello Cæsarem, ca. 6. expresse probat, doctrinam nostram, saltem secundum gradum hujus latitudinis, ab ipsis teneri, & ibidem rectè adducit Doctorem White, asserentem, in Justificatione peccatoris, duas esse actiones Dei; unam, quæ remittit peccatum; alteram, quæ potestatem dat homini resistendi peccatis; quæ potestas est ipsa charitas infusa in cordibus nostris, per illam secundam actionem Dei, quæ est ipsissima doctrina nostra. HIC Igitur PAX.

NOTE.

So in the point of falling from grace, in his 30. Problem, An Justus potest finaliter peccare? page 209, 210, 211. he brings in our 16. Article, and the Booke of Homilies, just as they are cited by Mountague in his Appeale, to prove, that a justified person may fall from grace, and sinne finally; concluding thus, Et certè omnes confessiones aliarum Nationum ferè conspirant, cum Ovarello in Collatione Hamptonienfi; Montacutius in sua Appellatione; Causabono, in Epistola ad Bertium, cum reliquis omnibus melioris Notæ.

NOTE.

In his 36. Problem, concerning Supererogation, misconstruing the fourteenth Article of our Church, point blank against the words and sense, he concludes thus, page 253. Interim à nobis stant Confessio Anglicana, & ejus Genuini sequaces; HIC ERGO PAX, & utinam Pax illa, non quam mundus dat, quæ singulis horis novitate opinionum violatur, sed quam Christus suis Apostolis legavit, &c.

In the 37. Problem concerning the Invocation of Saints, and its lawfulness, he writes thus, page 265. Montacutius de hoc subjecto agens, momentis rationum, & monumentis autoritatum oppressus, à veritate stat, & alij frequenter: De re agitur non solum inter nos concordia, sed ni fallor inter celebriores ex adversarijs, ut postea melius patebit: Which he prosecutes, page 273, 274, 275, 276. where he records, Quoad Reliquiarum & Crucis Christi Venerationem, proficitur D. Andrerros, in Respons. ad cap. 18. Peronij. Causabonus in Exercitationibus Baronij, ad An. 34. Cultus etiam seu venerationem quandam honoratiorem Sacram imaginum, cum Chrysostomo in sua Liturgia, id est, inclinationem religiosam ad Imaginem, astruit post alios D. Montacutius, in Responsoria ad Heighamum, & in Appello Cæsarem cap. 22. Then he concludes, page 277. Hic igitur cum Confessione Anglicana erit PAX OMNIMODE, modo non ex affectu partium, sed veritatis, omnia pro dignitate perpendent. Closing up his Deus Natura & Gratia thus; In quibus si omnia rectè perpenderit Lector eruditus, MAGNUM FUTURÆ READUNATIONIS SPECIMEN PERSPICIET.

NOTE.

After this, pag. 278. he paraphraseth all our 39. Articles, endeavouring to reconcile them, and us in them, to the Tenets of the Church of Rome: pag. 316, 317. on the 31. Article (against the sacrifice of the Masse) he glosseth thus; Nulla prorsus hic erit difficultas cum doctioribus Protestantibus, qui planè hoc totum fatentur: Ut videre est apud D. Andrerros, contra Perroniam, & D. Montacutium, contra Heighamum & alios frequenter: Denique nec hic Articalus, ultatenus adversatur: Cum enim ipsi fateantur, in Ecclesia esse Sacerdotes, esse etiam Sacrificia propitiatoria, fateantur necesse est. Nam in Heb. 5. Omnis Sacerdos constituitur, ut offerat dona, & sacrificia pro peccatis; HIC Igitur NECESSARIO PAX: Ad pacem varò hæc aliis stabililandam, examinemus naturam sacrificij, &c. Est igitur sacrificium, sed cum termino illo restrictivo à Patribus usurpato, incurventum, quod non negant. And pag. 334. Et eo plus quo video celebriores Protestantium Doctores Sacerdotes & sacrificia agnoscere. In the

NOTE.

25. Article concerning Homilies, pag. 321. he thus shakes off our Homilies, in our Bishops owne tearmes: *Nec tenentur Protestantes, ob hæc verba in Articulo statim in singula verba vel sententias Homiliarum jurare, &c. Prudenter igitur quæ sanam Doctrinam sapiunt, populo legenda; alia, neglectui habenda.*

NOTE.

Pape 332. in the 37. Article, concerning the power of the civill Magistrates, against the Popes Jurisdiction, he writes thus; D. Montacutius, contr. Heigham & alij eorum doctissimi, quibuscum de hoc egi, nullam utique Jurisdictionem spiritualem Regibus nostris concedunt; sed gubernium civile & temporale, indirectè & per accidens, ob pacem Reipubl. in personas & causas Ecclesiasticas extensum. Gavilus sum etiam valde de illo quod etiam his diebus factum est Cantabrigiæ, in Comitijs pro actu Doctoroli, ubi SUMMO PONTIFICI UT MAXIMO PATRI (sic enim eum appellabant) designata est cura spiritualium, Regi temporalium, licet sub fine subjieciatur, Regum esse omnes regere; quod intelligi debet civiliter, non spiritualiter, modo à nobis explicato. After which, pag. 334, 335, 336. he handles these three Questions: First, Whether any have power to withdraw themselves from subjection and obedience to the Sea and Church of Rome upon any occasion? Secondly, Whether we of this Realme had sufficient causes to doe it? Thirdly, Whether we did well in it, and did not exceed measure therein? And he resolves the two latter thus.

NOTE.

Utraque questio sine dubio, gravissima est, & maximam meretur discussionem. Quod si causa sufficiens non fuerit, vel terminus justæ subtractionis exceßerint, quanta pericula in tam diuturno scismate? Hinc utique omnia quantacunque mala sunt, originaliter ebullierunt. Catholici veriori & tutiori parti adherere volentes, cum insufficientiam causæ, quam moderaminis excessum agnoverunt ponderant utique gravissimum illud Augustini; præcedendæ unitatis nulla est justa necessitas, Lib. 2. cont. Epist. Parm. Utinam DENVOTIA & AUTHORITY PUBLICA pro dignitate (PURITANIS NON INTERMIXTIS) EX AFFECTU READUNITIONIS PERPENDERETUR & ad hoc singuli evoluant Augustinum contra Donatum. Scio illos hoc abhorre-re de quibus dicit Cassander, (licet haud satis affectus Romanæ Ecclesiæ;) Plerique ex eis qui sibi ab Evangelio nomen sumpserunt, cum partem quæ vetus Catholicorum, & Ecclesiæ Romanæ nomen retinet, prorsus aspernantur, omnemque ejus communionem defugiant, nec ut membra ejusdem corporis, amore & misericordia prosequantur (quod nos a Puritanis hic experimur) sed ut Satana & Antichristi corpus abominatur. Scio id equidem & doleo, & qui ejusmodi sunt, quomodo à schismatis (rectius dixisset Hæreseos) nota eximi possunt, non video.

From all these remarkable passages of this book, it is most evident, that it was purposely penned, published, dedicated and presented to the King, to reconcile him, and reunite our Church and Articles to the Church of Rome; that this union and accommodation was already accomplished by Bishop Andrewes, Bishop Mountague, and others of our most eminent moderate Divines, in many points of greatest moment, and would soon be effected in the residue, by a public Assembly or Synod of our Prelates and divines, if no Puritans were intermixed among them.

But you will object; What is all this, or this Book to the Archbishop? Did he know any thing of this Plot, Book, or had any hand therein? Yes verily: First, he knew of this book before it was published, Doctor Lindsey his great favourite (whom he advanced to a Deanary and two Bishopricks, as we have formerly proved) acquainting him therewith, and bringing the Author of it to his Grace, who had recourse to him severall times after: This we shall prove by a paper written with his own hand, by way of extenuation of this charge even since his commitment to the Tower, and there seized on by Master Pryme, which was read as followeth.

MY Intelligence with the Pope by S. Clara. I never saw that Franciscan Fryar in my life, to the utmost of my memory, above four times, or five at most.

He was first brought to me by Doctor Linsey, it was when he was setting out his booke about the Articles of the Church of England; and I then told Doctor Linsey, I did feare he would never expound them, so as the Church of England might have cause to thanke him for it.

NOTE.

He never came to me after, till he was almost ready to print another booke, to prove, that Episcopacy was authorized in the Church by divine right; and these was after this unhappy stirres began: His desire was, to have this book printed here; but at his severall addressees to me for this, I still gave him this answer: That I did not like the way which the Church of Rome went concerning Episcopacy: And howsoever, I would never give way that any such book from the pen of any Romanist, should be printed here: And the Bishops of England are very well able to defend their owne cause and calling, without calling in any ayd from Rome, and would so doe when they saw cause; And this is all the conference that ever I had with him.

This excuse of his (though partiall) acknowledgeth, that he was acquainted with the book and Author before its printing, and that Doctor Linsey his favourite, was a great promoter of it, privy to the plot of Reconciliation, and very intimate with the Fryar that compiled it.

Secondly, when the book was printed, this Author presented not onely the King, but Archbishop himself with one of them, bound up in Vellam, with the Kings Armes on the cover, and blew silk strings, which he thus endorsed with his owne hand, *Fr. à Sanctâ Clara, Problemata 37. Expositio paraphrastica Confessionis Anglicanæ*: Which book he reserved in his Study at Lambeth, where Master Fryme seized, and produced it at the Barre.

Thirdly, he not onely received, but permitted it to be publikely sold and dispersed amongst us, without any seizure or restraint, and to be twice or thrice reprinted in London, notwithstanding many exceptions and complaints against it, when as he most strictly suppressed orthodox books.

Fourthly, if Fryar Saint Giles were the true Author of this book (as he was reputed by the Fryars in forraigne parts) the Archbishop not onely knew, but maintained him in the Univerſity of Oxford (to seduce, poyson the Schollers there, and reconcile them to Rome) and gave him an annuall pension of one hundred Markes; the blame of which action for his owne excuse, he would transferre upon the King (without any prooffe at all, but onely this surreptitious warrant, without any date at all, writ with his owne hand, not by any Secretary of State) which will no wayes extenuate, but aggravate his crime, the warrant being no doubt fraudulently procured, to serve a turne at a dead list, since his troubles.

Charles R.

Canterbury, Master Saint Giles by serving Us and this State, hath lost all his hopes in France, and desires to spend his time here at his private studies; I would have you think upon some way for his maintainance, and to place him in Oxford, that he may have use of that Library, which he much desires: And he may so order it, that his profession in Religion may doe no harme.

What the service was that this Fryar had done for the King and State, for which he lost his hopes in France, we could never learne, unlesse it were the penning and publishing of this book, which some Jesuits and their faction onely, disliked. What it was that this Archbishop did for him (upon this warrant,

as he pretends) is thus exprest, in a paper written with his own hand, by way of excuse, seized by Master Prynne in the Tower, and by him produced at the Lords Barre, where it was read as followeth.

NOTE: **M**After Saint Giles was a man well reputed of in France, and placed about the Queens Majesty, at her Majesties first comming hither: After upon some services (and those in a very faire way) done to this State, he lost ground in France, and when some other French men were sent away from the Queens service, he durst not goe thither, but chose to live here in a very low condition for safeties sake, rather then adventure thither. All this while the man was unknowne to me, but comming one day to wait upon his Majesty at Saint James, his Majesty was pleased to ask me, Whether I knew Master Saint Giles? I answered, I did not: Hereupon his Majesty tooke occasion to tell me the condition of the man, and his wants, and withall, told me which way he conceived some reliefe might be given to his necessities; and prescribed me a way how to order it, that he might receive for his maintenance a hundred Marks a yeere. This in obedience to his Majesty, I did: (and I have his Majesties Warrant for it) But I never allowed or gave him one penny of my owne.

NOTE. Not long after this, partly that the poore man, being a stranger, might live the cheaper, and partly that he might have the use of the publike Library, resolving (as he pretended) to follow metaphisicall learning, and not engage himselfe in the controversies of the times; His Majesty moved me againe, that he might live in Oxford, and in some Colledge or Hall there. In this I humbly besought his Majesty to pardon me, because it would be dangerous to the youth bred in that Colledge, and scandalous to his Majesty, this Church, and the University, and bring danger upon my selfe, being Chancellour there: After much importunity used by me, his Majesty was graciously pleased to be satisfied, that he should not be admitted to live in any Colledge or Hall among the Students, but required me not to hinder his going to Oxford, and the making use of the Library, provided, that he kept no company with any young Schollers; that he lived privately in some Towne-house; and that he did not presume to exercise his Priestly function, or doe any thing against the lawes: This he undertook to performe, and I could never find (by any the spies which I put upon him) that he brake this in any particular, but lived there without offence given to any.

In all times of his recourse to me for his pension, I never spent one houre with him, nor had I ever any discourse with him at all, but once onely, and that was about a dangerous opinion of Pompanatius: At that time he told me, he had a desire to labour in that Argument, and to confute him: I told him, I could not approve any meddling with that question in these times, for that I thought few would be able to understand the subtilty of that dispute, and that the stirring of it in these times would doe a great deale of mischief; and this is all that ever past between him and me all my life.

NOTE. This Saint Giles by this Prelats meanes, continued in the University of Oxford sundry yeers, and had the use of the Libraries there, where he did much mischief; Master Broad of Oxford deposed, that Saint Giles continued in Oxford foure yeers or more, that he was a very dangerous insinuating person, that Doctor Turner, Doctor Johnson, and others of the University, usually resorted to him, and familiarly conversed with him, though he were there knowne to be a popish Priest; that when Master Prynne, Master Burton, and Doctor Bastwick suffered at Westminster on the Pillory, this Saint Giles speaking of their sufferings, told this Deponent (in whose Kinswomans house he lay) that though the Archbishop and other Bishops WERE CORDIALLE FOR THE ROMISH RELIGION, yet he doubted their cruelty would rather hurt then further their cause, because it lost them much in the affections of the people. Now what a capitall offence it was for this Archprelat to harbour such a dangerous seducing Priest, (reputed one of the greatest Schollers among the Papists) in this famous University to seduce the Students there (and as the Queens Apothecary, a great Papist, reported, of purpose to instruct the Doctors there, as Master Godfrey, a quondam converted popish Priest averred) and to lay the blame of it thus wholly on his Majesty to excuse himselfe, we humbly submit to your Lordships consideration. To

To prove this Saint Giles (now Priest to the Venetian Ambassadour, resident in London, where he doth much mischief) the Author of *Deus, Natura & Gratia*, &c. what repute it had among Papists abroad, how the Archbishops Agents applauded, made use of it, and certified him from time to time, how it was entertained by Papists in forraigne parts, what they thought of him and other great persons in England, & how they stood affected to popery, we shall produce two Originall Letters from Master William Middleton (then Chaplaine to the Lord Fielding, Ambassadour at Venice) sent thence to the Archbishop, in whose Study they were found by Master Prynne, endorsed by Master Dell and the Archbishop: the first of them beares date in Septemb. 1635. and was received by the Archbishop Octob. 9. wherein he thus writes:

Right Honourable and most Reverend,

I Thought it no little happinesse, I had performed that duty of writing it pleased your grace to lay upon me, &c. While I was writing, there came a Franciscan Fryar to my selfe, his businesse was this; A mind, he told me, he had, to leave these parts, and with them the Religion here in use; that I should doe him a great favour, would I procure him a passage to England, either by Sea or Land; that there he had formerly bene, and was in love with place, persons and Church, as there ordered and established. Upon which words, how I dealt with him, I will relate to your Grace: I asked him how long he had been of this resolution, and what moved him to it? He answered, the time since he had taken this resolution, was two monethes and a halfe, the motives the same that first moved us at the first to leave Rome. I answered him, it could not be (resolve I did, that I might the more deeply dive into the sincerity of his intentions, as strongly as my poore ability would suffer me, to plead for Rome) because she had reformed Missals, Monasteries, sundry Corruptions in conferring of Orders and Benefices; that all had not received the Councell of Trent; that of those who had, some did mitigate harder expressions, and were upon courses of Conciliation of both parts, as appeared by a Booke of Franc. à Sancta Clara, &c. I fell then to question him, Whether and when he had been at Rome? He told me, in June and July last: I askt him how the affaires went there? He told me, their opinion of us was, that his Majesty was favourable to the Catholikes; that some great ones about him were so too, or in heart were: * ONE HE * The Arch-NAME D, concerning whom as at home, so abroad (as of old, of the best of men) there was bishop him-much murmuring among the people; for some said he was a good man, others said, nay, he deceiveth the people: Now if some might interpose their judgements, they would pronounce, a good man he is, because he deceiveth both here and there, but both to their own good. Concerning the Fryars, he told me, some were very good, but most otherwise, and that in excessse, especially for Sinnes of uncleannesse, which generally raigne in Italy. Three severall times I had discourse with him; in the last of which, falling into discourse of Franc. à Sancta Clara, he told me, he was HOMO NEQUISSIMUS, by whose meanes yeerly, there was sent to the Catholikes in Flanders, ten thousand pounds: The Author of that Booke, which goes under his name, was Father Giles, PADRE ÆGIDIO, who lives at the Venetian Ambassadours, &c. Since I came to Venice, I have procured the acquaintance of Padre Fulgentio, who is, Teologo de Stato, called by the Colledge to Counsell, when there is any businesse between them and the Pope, &c. I sent to him Franc. à Sancta Clara; after discoursing with him; he told me, it was impossible to concile Trent and England, and yet men sooner then Articles: He likt his intention in the generall, his judgement and temper in most of the Problems before he came to the Articles. There is, as I am informed by a discreet Gentleman at Florence, a Jesuit lately returned from England to Rome, who pretends to have made a strict discovery of the state of England, as it stands for Religion; how King is disposed, how Queene, what Lords are of the Puritan faction, what not; but by name, his Honour of Dorset and Pembroke are strong for Precilians: He sayes, That the Puritans are shrewd fellows, but those that are counted good Protestants, are faire conditioned honest men, and think they may be saved in any Religion. I am promised the

NOTE.

the Relation written; if it come to my hands, and there be any thing in it worthy your Graces view, I shall hereafter humbly present it to you, as now my selfe.

Your Graces most humble
and most obedient servant,

WILL. MIDDLETON.

The second Letter is dated December 21. 1635. in which there are these observable clauses:

Right Honourable and most Reverend, &c.

When I was in France, I fell acquainted with one Father Talbot a Jesuit, with whom I had many discourses, but among others this, about the Book of *Franciscus à Sancta Clara*. I askt his judgement of it, and the rest of the Catholiks: He answered, it relisht not with them: I fell presently into a comendation partly of the book, but more of the intention of him who writ it: He seconded what I said; but withall told me, there was a certaine Consultation held, what they should doe with it; some, *extrema suadebant*, and cried *ad ignem*; but himselve talking with the Popes Nuncio at Paris, thought the best course was, to let it dye of it selfe; to which the Nuncio a very moderate man (so he told him) was very inclinable: From which (I did gather) that (though they did pretend a dislike) the Booke was not disallowed by them above; which collection of mine then, is now confirmed; for this very day I received a Letter dated from Rome, Decemb. 11. and it is in these words: Father Francis his book upon the exposition of the Articles, contrary to what I have told you, is licensed here in Rome, and I have it. Sent it was from one Master House, lodging in the house of one Master Fitton, a kind of Agent from the English Priests: In Rome there is great talk of an English Cardinall; and the man, who is already Roman Catholike, must be the man, Master Mountague. Your Lordship I know will smile, if not at this, yet at that I shall now write: A Catholike discoursing with me, let a word fall, and this it was: That within this twelve moneth the Pope did wish, that his Sacred Majesty of England were, as once, his trusty Sonne, for then he would not be so used as he is, either by French or Spaniard. The same party did not ask the question but onely thus; I wonder whether my Lord of Canterbury have any hand in sending S. Major Bret to Rome? I answered, because, I saw he was fishing, Surely no; because as you know it is written, he comes from the Queen, and in her name. ROME IS VERY KIND TO OUR ENGLISH GENTLEMEN; I humbly entreat your Graces pardon, if in a desire to let nothing, I hear, scape your knowledge; I most lowly offer unto you such things as will make you lose so much time, as you shall read the Letter: But though your Lordship lose a little time, yet not me, I beseech you, lose that good opinion which I hope you have conceived of

NOTE.

NOTE.

Your Graces most really devored

December 21. 1635.
and obedient servant,

WILL. MIDDLETON.

By these Letters it is most apparent, that Saint Giles was the Author of *Sancta Clara's* book; that though the Jesuits seemed to dislike it, yet it was at last authorized and printed at Rome, where they had a good opinion not onely of the Kings favour to the Roman Catholikes, but of the Archbishops inclination to their party, their Religion, and conceived he had a hand in sending Major Bret to

to Rome, to negotiate with the Popes &c. This last Letter is thus endorsed with Mr. Dels hand, *Recep. Jan. 10. 1635. from Venice, from Master Middleton, The allowance of Saint Clara his Book at Rome: to which the Archbishop himselfe addes with his owne hand; This is not so; (therefore it seems he had better intelligence here from Rome, then Master Middleton had at Venice;) The English Cardinall, The English Agent.*

How farre this Book was approved, countenanced here in England by the King and Archbishop, will appeare by these Instructions under Secretary Windebankes owne hand, to his Sonne, when he was at Paris to sollicite the Palsgraves enlargement, found among his sequestred papers, and attested by Master Pryne.

IF you heare Fa. Francis his Booke, or person touched, let them know, that we understand assuredly that it proceeds from the Jesuits, (most likely also by this last Letter of Mr. Middleton to the Archbishop) who imploy others in it, as they did against Father Leander till it cost him his life; and if that upon their informations, they proceed against such persons, who **THOUGH IN ALL THINGS CATHOLIKE yet are more discreet and temperate, and not intermeddling in matters of State, THE KING WILL BE MUCH OFFENDED.** **NOTE.**

Thus much for this Book of Sancta Clara, and the Author of it.

The fifth Evidence we shall pitch upon, to prove a designe to reconcile and reduce us back to Rome, is the Popes and his Agents promises, tenders of Cardinals Caps and Places to some prime English men, and to this Archbishop himselfe in particular; the end whereof could be no other, but to enthrall us againe to the superstitious jurisdiction of the Papall See.

The first proffer we find of a Cardinals Cap made to any English Prelat since the Reformation, was to this Archbishop, who thus records the time and manner thereof with his owne hand in his Diary.

Aug. 4. 1633. Sunday, news came to Court of the Lord Archbishop of Canterburies death, and the King **RESOLVED PRESENTLY to give it me, which he did.** Aug. 6. That very morning at Greenwich, there came one to me seriously, and **THAT A VOWED ABILITY TO PERFORME IT, AND OFFERED ME TO BE A CARDINAL.** I went presently to the King and acquainted him both with the thing and person. **NOTE.**

It is very considerable that Master Anthony Mildmay deposed, that Con the Popes Nuncio, told him at Rome before Archbishop Abbots death, that Bishop Laud should succeed him, and that he would be more favourable to the Catholikes then Abbot. By which it appeares, that Bishop Laud was long before Abbots death designed to the place, if not at the solicitation, yet at least by the approbation of the Roman party: No sooner comes newes to Court of Archbishop Abbots death, but the King presently resolves, that Bishop Laud should succeed him; and no sooner is this known at Court, but that very morning (as himselfe records) he is thus seriously offered to be a Cardinall, by one who avowed ability to performe it; and that at Greenwich in the Kings own Court. Who it was that made this offer, were worth the discovery, but this mystery he conceales; The Plot against the King, discovered to him by Habernfield, informes us, * That Con the Popes Nuncio had a command to offer **A CARDINALS CAP TO THE ARCHBISHOP**, in the name of the Pope of Rome, and that he should allure him also, with greater promises; but this first offer was before Con's arrivall here.

Were the person an English Subject, of what rank soever, this proffer of his to revive this popish dignity of a Cardinall among us, and to receive it from the Popes exploded forraigne power (which drew a Cardinall Woolsey into a Premunire, if not under the guilt of high Treason, though this honour was procured him, not only by King Henry the 8th his assent, but solicitation) deserved the severest exemplary punishment, especially since it tended to engage the Primate and Metropolitan of

* See Romes Master-Piece, page, 116.

a Master Fox his Acts and Monuments, old Edition, p. 741. Sir Ed. Cooks 4. Inst. p. 89, 90, &c.

all

all England, most obliged by his place and office, against all Popish power, offices, superstitious doctrines, to submit unto them, and become the Popes sworne vassall: If the Popes owne Nuncio [*Parzani*] which is probable, or any other forraigne Agent, the affront had been so great both to the Archbishops person, place (had he been cordial to our Church, our Religion, being both a Privy Counsellour, the Kings grand favorite, and he who steard our Churches helm) to the honour of our Church, Religion, of the King himselfe and his Royall Court, that it could not patiently be put up or pretermitted without some eminent satisfaction: But be the person one or other, certaine it is, he was never once questioned or molested by the Archbishop for this proffer, who took it so well at the parties hands, or rejected it so coldly, that on the 17. day of the same Moneth, he had a second serious offer made to him of the selfe-same dignity, (most probably by the same person) which himselfe thus Registred in his Diary.

NOTE: Aug. 17. 1633. Saturday, I had A SERIOUS OFFER MADE ME AGAIN TO BE A CARDINALL: I was then from Court, but so soon as I came thither, (which was August 21) I acquainted his Majesty with it: But my answer againe was, that somewhat dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome were other then it is.

What it was that dwelt within him (which made him not absolutely, but for the present only, to refuse this offer till Rome was other then it is) we may learn from Sir Hen. Mildmay's, Mr. Anth. Mildmay's, & Mr. Challoner's depositions forementioned, and his owne Reply to Fisher, pag. 171. to wit, an ambitious, Papall spirit; he would (like his worthy Predecessor, Saint ^b Anselme, so he styles him) be both in Title and Jurisdiction, Papa alterius Orbis, Pope of our British world, and Universal Patriarch of all the Churches within his Majesties Realmes and Dominions; which Rome, as it then was, and the Jesuiticall party there (as these witnesses have deposed) disliked and would not suffer; and for this cause onely he refused this dignity, which would have more enthralled him to the Popes and Romes jurisdiction (not to their Religion) then his ambitious spirit could well brook.

Here p. 412. to 416.

^b Guil. Malm. de Gestis Pont. Ang. l. 1. p. 223 Eadmerus, Capgrave. Antiquitates Ecclesie Brit. and Godwin in his Life.

This double, serious proffer of a Romish Cardinallship to the Archbishop, is an infallible Argument; First, that the Pope and his Conclave at Rome, had an extraordinary good opinion of his favour, his good affection to Popery and their Antichristian Church, else they would not have profered him such a dignity, incompatible to any Protestant English Prelat: Secondly, that they deemed him the aptest, activest Instrument to reconcile and re-unite us to Rome of all other, in respect of his favour at Court, power with the King, and inclination to Popery (as Sir Henry Mildmay, Master Anthony Mildmay, Master Challoner have attested;) therefore they would honour him with a Cardinals Hat, to the end, that as his Predecessor Cardinall Poole, Archbishop of Canterbury (the last English Cardinall of any of our Prelats) reconciled our revolted Kingdom to Rome in Queen Maries dayes, as appeareth at large by the Statute of 1. & 2. Phil. & Mary, ch. 8. So he invested with the same Papall dignity, and sitting in the selfe-same See, might once more as easily reduce us to the bosome of the Roman Church in the dayes of this Queen Mary, (as Popish as the former) as he did then.

^c See A Necessary Introduction, &c. p. 143. 253, 254 ^d See Romes Master-Piece, p. 24.

As this Archbishop, so Master Walter Mountague, not long after, had good hopes given him at Rome to be made a Cardinal, as the Archbishop himself was informed by Mr. Middleton's forecited Letter; which dignity he should have lately received thence, had he not been imprisoned (if Sir ^c Kenelme Digbys Letter may be credited) to help on this work of our reducement to Rome; yea, the discovery of ^d Andreas ab Habernfeld to the Archbishop, informes both him and us, That one of Endimion Porters Sonnes of the Bed-chamber (now in armes against the Parliament) was promised a Cardinals Hat, if this designe succeeded well, and that Sir Kenelme Digby, Master Walter Mountague, and other active Instruments who promoted that designe among us, attended the sixteen Cardinals Caps that were vacant, which were therefore detained vacant for some yeeres, to impose a vaine hope on those who expected

ected them; And Master *Widford* in his Letters from Rome to Secretary *Windebank* Novemb. 10. 1640. informes him, that Master *Sommerfet* and Master *Brudenell* were come to Florence, aiming at our English Cardinals Caps, which then, by reason of the Popes Catarre, were like to be disposed of. All which particulars are a most cleere demonstration of the Pope and his Conclaves endeavours to reduce us back to Rome, and of this Archbishops privity to, if not assistance in it.

The sixth Evidence we shall mention to prove the Archbishops, not onely intelligence of, but compliance with the Popes and his Instruments Plots and proceedings to usher in Popery, and reduce our Kingdomes to the Antichristian Religion and Church of Rome, is his conusance and furtherance of this their design in Ireland, which we shall thus demonstrate. The House of Commons June 11. 1628. presented a Remonstrance to the King, concerning the extraordinary encrease and growth of Popery, of Papists both in England and Ireland, and the extraordinary favour which they found from some great persons in his Court; wherein they had this notable clause concerning Ireland.

IT doth not a little also encrease our dangers and feares this way, to understand the miserable condition of your Kingdome of Ireland, where without controule the Popish Religion is openly professed and practised in every part thereof, Popish jurisdiction being generally exercised and avowed; Monasteries, Nunneries, and other superstitious houses newly erected, re-edified, replenished with men and women of severall Orders, and in a plentifull manner maintained in Dublin, and most of the great Townes, and divers other places of that Kingdome: Which (of what ill consequence it may prove) if not seasonably repressed, we leave to your Majesties wisdom to judge: But most heartily beseech you (as we assure our selves you doe) to lay the serious consideration thereof to your Royall, pious heart, AND THAT SOME TIMELY COURSE MAY BE TAKEN FOR REDRESSE HEREIN.

NOTE.

NOTE.

Had this pious, prudent, timely advice been then harkned to, and followed to purpose, it might no doubt (through Gods concurrence with it) have prevented that horrid Rebellion, those bloody Massacres of some hundred thousands of poor English Protestants in, and devastation of that distressed Kingdom, which have broken forth and been perpetrated there of late, almost to the utter extirpation of the English and Irish Protestants, the ruine of that Kingdome, and infinite losse, yea eminent danger of this our Realme to boot.

But this Popish Prelate, though he then certainly knew this Remonstrance to be most true, out of an inveterate hatred to the Parliament, and a desire to promote the Catholikes designs there, instead of perswading his Majesty to hearken to this true information and wholesome advice of his faithfull Commons, drew up a most pernicious malepert Answer, with his owne hand, in his Majesties name, against this Remonstrance, which he presented to his Majesty; wherein he incensed him against the Commons, charging them not onely with misinforming, but traducing his Majesties government by this clause concerning Ireland, in this dishonourable language, produced and read under his owne hand out of the Originall draught, attested by Master *Prynne*.

FOR Ireland, We think in case of Religion, 'tis not worse then Queen Elizabeth left it, and for other affaires, 'tis as good as we found it, nay perhaps better; and We take it a great disparagement of Our government that it should be urged, that new Monasteries, Nunneries, and other superstitious houses are erected and replenished in Dublin, and other great Townes in this Our Kingdome; for we assure Our Selves, Our Deputy and Our Counsell there will not suffer God and Our government so to be dishonoured, but We should have had some account of it from them; and We may not endure thus to have Our good People misled with shewes.

NOTE.

Which in plaine tearmes is but a giving the House of Commons the Lye, and a flandering of them as false Informers, both to the King and people: By which wicked practice, their Remonstrance was rejected as a slanderous Libell, and their Councell not pursued; the dolefull effects whereof, we now experimentally feele and rue. That this Prelate when he made this Answer, certainly knew of the grand encrease of the Papists in *Ireland*, and that they had then upon the matter obtained a publike toleration, will appeare by a paper found in his Study, (produced at the Barre,) thus endorsed with this Archbishops own hand, 1626. *The Bishops of Ireland about a Toleration feared.*

*The Judgement of the Arch-bishops and Bishops of
Ireland, concerning toleration of the Popish Religion,
by publike Protestation.*

NOTE.

THE Religion of Papists is Superstitious and Idolatrous, their Faith and Doctrine erroneous and hereticall, their Church (in respect of both) Apostaticall; to give them therefore a toleration of Religion, or to consent that they may freely exercise their Religion, and professe their Faith and Doctrine, is a grievous sinne, and that in two respects: First, it is to make our selves accessary to their superstitious Idolatries, Heresies, and in a word, to all the abominations of popery; but also (which is a consequent of the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the Catholike Apostacy. Secondly, to grant them a toleration in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set Religion to sale, and with it the soules of the people whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood: And as it is a great sinne, so it is a matter of most dangerous consequence, the consideration whereof we leave to the wise and judicious, beseeching the zealous God of truth to make those who are in authority zealous of Gods glory, and of the advancement of true Religion, zealous, resolute and courageous against all Popery, Superstition and Idolatry.

There were likely to be granted to the Papists in *Ireland* many priviledges, and withall, a toleration for their Religion, in the consideration of the payment of a great summe of mony. This Easter tearme 1626. there was a great meeting of all the chiefeft of the whole Kingdome, and the Archbishops and Bishops, &c. and it was likely to be concluded: Doctor *Dowan* Bishop of *London-Derry* April 11. preached at *Dublin* before the Lord Deputy and the State; his Text was *Luke 1.* at the 79. In the midst of his Sermon he openly read this Protestation above written, subscribed by the Archbishops and Bishops of *Ireland*, and at the end, he boldly said, *And let all the people say, Amen.* And suddenly all the whole Church almost shook with the sound that their loud *Amen* made, &c. The Lord Deputy called from the Bishop of *Derry* a Copy both of his Sermon and Protestation to send to the King: The learned and courageous Bishop gave this Answer, that there was nothing he either spake or read, in the Pulpit, but he would willingly justifie it before his Majesty, and feared not who read or saw it: So now by Gods mercy nothing may yet be done, or will be, till the Lord Deputy heare from the King.

That this information of the Commons to his Majesty, was then most true, reall, and that this Bishop knew it to be so in every particular, we shall manifest by this printed Proclamation, found in his Study, thus endorsed with his owne hand, not long after his Answer to the Commons Remonstrance: April 1. 1629. *A Proclamation concerning the growth of Popery in Ireland, &c. which was read as followeth:*

By

By the LORD DEPUTY and COUNSELL.

Henry Falkland:

FORasmuch as We cannot but take notice, that the late intermission of legal proceedings against popish pretended or titular Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Deanes, Vicars generall, Jesuits, Fryars, and others of that sort, that derive their pretended Authority and Orders from the See of Rome, hath bred such an extraordinary insolence and presumption in them, as that they have dared here of late, not onely to assemble themselves in publike places, to celebrate their superstitious services in all parts of this Kingdome, but also have erected houses and buildings called publike Oratories, Colledges, Masse-houses, and convents of Fryars, Monks and Nunnes, in the eye and open view of the State and elsewhere, and doe frequently exercise jurisdiction against his Majesties Subjects, by authority derived from the See of Rome, and (by colour of teaching and keeping Schooles in their pretended Monasteries and Colledges) doe train up the youth of this Kingdome in their superstitious Religion, to the great derogation and contempt of his Majesties regall power and authority, and great offence of many of his Majesties good Subjects, contrary to the Lawes, and Ecclesiasticall government of this Kingdome, and the impoverishment of his Majesties Subjects in the same.

NOTE.

These are therefore to will and require, and in his Majesties name, straightly to charge and command all, and all manner such pretended or titular Archbishops, Bishops, Deanes, Vicars generall, Arch-deacons and others, deriving any pretended authority, power or jurisdiction from the See of Rome, that they and every of them forbear from henceforth to exercise any such power, jurisdiction or authority within this Kingdome, and that all such Abbots, Pryors, Jesuits, Fryars, Munks, Nunnes, and others of that sort, as aforesaid, doe forthwith break up their Convents in all houses of Fryars, Colledges, Monasteries, and other places wheresoever they are, or shall be conventually or collegiatly assembled together within this Kingdome, and to relinquish the same, and to disperse and separate themselves.

And that all and every of the Orders before named, and other Priests whatsoever, doe from henceforth forbear to preach, teach or celebrate their Service in any Church, Chappell, or other publike Oratory, or publike place, or to teach any School in any place or places whatsoever within this Kingdome.

And We doe further straightly charge and command all and singular the owners of such houses of Fryars, Colledges, Monasteries, Schooles, Oratories, Masse-houses and Nunneries, that they and every of them respectively in default of the persons before named, their voluntary relinquishing of the said houses of Fryars, Colledges, Monasteries, Schooles, Oratories, Masse-houses and Nunneries, doe forthwith expell and thrust forth all and singular such Fryars, Jesuits and other Monasticall persons out of the same, and to convert the same to other more lawfull uses, upon paine to have their said houses seized to his Majesties use, and both the one and the other to be proceeded against for their unlawfull assemblies, and maintainance of such unlawfull Conventicles and corrupt nurture of children, in the severest manner that by the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdome and Ecclesiasticall government of the same may be had or extended, whereof they and every of them are to take notice, and to yeeld due obedience thereunto, as they and every of them will avoid his Majesties high indignation, and the consequence thereof.

Given at his Majesties Castle of Dublin, the first day of April, 1629.

Adam Loftus Canc.	Ja. Armachanus.	Hen. Valentia.	Moore.
T. Baltinglasse.	R. Dillon.	Ant. Midensis.	Hen. Docwra.
Wil. Parsons.	Rich. Bolton.	Dud. Norton.	Ad. Loftus.

Here we have a *confitentem*, *reum* the Bi. himself under his own handwriting endorsed on this Proclamation, justifying the Parlia. Remonstrance to be true, and his Answer to it a malicious slander, to advance the Papists designs: After which he had further intelligence from time to time, by severall Letters and Papers out of Ireland (^e elsew here published at large) of the dangerous growth, increase and insolencies of the Papists there, notwithstanding this Proclamation, and that there was a popish Hierarchy there exercised and University erected without controule: We shall instance onely in two remarkable Letters, written to him from Doctor Beadle, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, found in his Study, endorsed with his owne hand, and read at the Lords Barre.

^e A Necessary
Introduction,
&c. p. 100. to
119.

The first of them he thus endorseth, April 1. 1630. From Doctor Beadle, Lord Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, about the state of the Church in his Diocesse, and the Papists in Ireland: Who writes thus thereof:

Right Reverend Father, my Honourable good Lord:

Since my comming to this place, which was a little before Michaelmas (till which time the settling of the State of the Colledge, and my Lord Primates visitation deferred my consecration) I have not been unmindful of your Lordships commands, to advertise you, as my experience should informe, of the state of this Church; which I shall now the better doe, because I have been about my Diocesses, and can set downe out of my knowledge and view, what I shall relate, and shortly, to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is very miserable: The Cathedrall Church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland; and said to be built by Saint Patrick, together with the Bishop's house there, downe to the ground: the Church here built, but without Bell or Steeple, Font or Chalice; The Parish Churches all in a manner ruined or unroofed and unrepaired; the people, saving a few British planters here and there (which are not the tenth part of the remnant) obstinate Recusants; a Popish Clergy more numerous by farre then we, and in the full exercise of all jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall, by their Vicars. generall and Officials; who are so confident, as they excommunicate those that come to our Courts, even in Matrimoniall causes, which affront hath been offered my selfe by the popish Primates Vicar. generall, for which I have begun a processe against him; the Primate himselfe lives in my Parish, within two mile of my house, the Bishop in another part of my Diocesse farther off: every Parish hath his Priest, and some two or three apiece, and so their Masse-houses also; in some places Masse is said in the Churches; Fryars there are in divers places, who goe about, though not in their habit, and by their importunate begging empoverish the people: Who indeed are generally very poore, as from that cause, so from their paying double Tithes to their owne Clergy and ours, from the dearth of Corne, and the death of their Cattle these late yeers, which the contributions to their souldiers and their agents, and which they forget not to reckon among other causes, the oppression of the Court Ecclesiasticall; which in very truth my Lord I cannot excuse, and doe seek to reforme.

NOTE.

For our owne, there are some seven or eight Ministers in each Diocesse, of good sufficiency, and (which is no small cause of the continuance of the people in popery still) English which have not the tongue of the people, nor can performe any divine offices, or converse with them, and which hold many of them two, three, foure, or more Vicarages apiece; even the Clerkships themselves are in like manner conferred upon the English, and sometimes two or three or more upon one man, and ordinarily bought and sold, or let to farme, &c. His Majesty is now with the greatest part of this Country, as to their hearts, consciences, King, but at the Popes discretion, &c.

NOTE.

Your Lordships most obliged servant
in Christ Jesu,

Kilmore the 1. of
April 1630.

WILL. KILMORE and ARDHEEN

His second Letter to the Lord Deputy of Ireland about the maintainance of the Army

Army and the Cavan Petition, which he sent inclosed in another Letter to the Arch-bishop, is somewhat more full and observable, wherein there is this memorable passage concerning the encrease and insolencies of the Papists in Ireland; which Letter he received thence Decemb. 4. 1633.

Right Honourable my good Lord, &c.

IN the midst of these thoughts, I have been advertised from an honourable friend in England, that I am accused to his Majesty, to have opposed his service, and that my hand, with two other Bishops onely, was to a writing, touching the monies to be levied on the Papists here, for maintainance of the men of warre, &c. Indeed if I should have had such an intention, this had been not onely to oppose the service of his Majesty, but to expose with the publike peace, mine own neck to the steans of the Romish Cut-throats: I that know that in this Kingdome of his Majesty, the Pope hath another Kingdome farre greater in number, and as I have heretofore signified to the Lords Justices and Counsell (which is also since justified by themselves in print) constantly guided and directed by the Order of the new Congregation, de propaganda fide, lately erected at Rome; transmitted by the meanes of the Popes Nuncios residing at Bruxels or Paris, that the Pope hath here a Clergie, if I may guesse by my owne Diocesse, double in number to us, the heads whereof are by corporall Oath bound to him, to maintaine him and his Regalities, contra omnem hominem, and to execute his Mandates to the utmost of their forces, which accordingly they doe, stiling themselves in print, Ego N. Dei, &c. Apostolicæ Sedis gratia Episcopus Fermien, & Ossorien, &c. I that know there is in this Kingdome, for the moulding of the people to the Popes obedience, a rabble of irregular Regulars, commonly younger Brothers of good houses, who are growne to that insolency, as to advance themselves to be Members of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie, in better ranke then Priests, in so much as the censure of the Sorbon is faine to be implored to curbe them, which yet is called in againe, so tender is the Pope of his owne Creatures: I that know that his Holinesse hath erected a new University at Dublin, to confront his Majesties Colledge there, and to breed up the youth of this Kingdome to his devotion; of which University one Paul Harris, the Author of that infamous Libell which was put forth in print against the Lord Armatys Wansted Sermon, stileth himselfe in print to be Deane: I that know and have given advertisement to the State, that these Regulars dare erect new Fryeries in the Country, since the dissolving of those in the City, that they have brought the people to such a sottish senselesnesse, as they care not to learne the Commandements, as God himselfe spake and writ them, but they flock in great numbers to the preaching of new superstitious and detestable doctrines, such as their owne Priests are ashamed of, and at these they levy collections, three, four, five, six pound at a Sermon: Shortly, I that know that these Regulars and this Clergie have at a generall meeting, like to a Synod, as themselves stile it, holden at Drogheda, decreed, that it is not lawfull to take the Oath of Allegiance, and if they be constant to their own doctrine, doe account his Majesty in their hearts to be King, but at the Popes discretion. In this estate of this Kingdome, to think the bridle of the Army may be taken away, it should be the thought, not of a brain-sick, but brainlesse man, &c.

NOTE:

NOTE.

NOTE.

The day of our deliverance from
the popish Powder-plot.

Your Lordships in all duty,
WILLIAM KILMORE.

By these two Letters, it is most apparent, that this Arch-Prelat was from time to time acquainted with the extraordinary encrease and insufferable insolencies of the Papists in Ireland, as likewise of their popish Arch-bishops and Bishops audacious proceedings in that Kingdome, which he was more fully informed of by two printed papers, (sent to him by Archbishop Usher) the one in Latin, the other in English, found in his Study, endorsed thus with his Secretary Dels hand, May 3. 1632. *Protestations of the Secular Priests in Ireland, against Thomas Flemming Arch-bishop of Dublin; one whereof was read at the Lords Barre.*

To

To all the most Illustrious Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, but more particularly to those of the Province of Dublin, their honourable Lords, David Bishop of Ossory, John of Fernes, Rosse of Kildare, and Matthew Vicar Apostolicall of Laghlem.

MO S T Illustrious Lords and Reverend Bishops, the Priests of Dublin make their complaint before you, that the most Illustrious Arch-bishop of Dublin, Thomas Flemming, of the Order of Saint Francis, without alleaging any cause against them, onely for his will and at his pleasure, useth to exile and banish Priests out of his Diocesse; and they protest that in so doing, he exerciseth a tyranny over the Clergie, contrary to the Canons of holy Church, and the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdome.

Most Illustrious Lords and Reverend Fathers in Christ, the aforesaid Priests doe make their complaints, that the same most Illustrious Arch-bishop of Dublin, Thomas Flemming, of the Order of Saint Francis, though humbly sought unto, and desired, doth refuse to doe them justice in their causes, neither yet will he permit the Clergie to follow their actions meerly civil before the Magistrate, contrary to the received customs of this kingdom, from the first conversion of this Nation; they protest that in so doing, he exerciseth a tyranny over the Clergie, contrary unto the Canons of the Church, and the Lawes and Statutes of this Kingdome, &c.

Most Illustrious Lords and Reverend Fathers in Christ, the aforesaid Priests doe complain, that the Illustrious Arch-bishop of Dublin, Thomas Flemming, of the Order of Saint Francis, is accustomed to answer the Clergy, complaining of their grievances to him, If I doe you wrong, you may goe to Rome to complaine: In the meane time, reporting himselfe so powerfull in the Court of Rome, that he feares no adversary: And of this that reverend Priest, Father Patrick Cahill, Doctor of Divinity, had experience, who for a yeere treating of his injuries and grievances done unto him by the Arch-bishop of Dublin, could by no meanes prevaile once to be admitted to the presence and audience of the most eminent Cardinal Ludovisius, Vice-Chancellor of Rome; which Cardinal notwithstanding is given by his Holinesse unto the Irish, as the only Patron and Protector of the Irish Nation: These things we may remember with griefe, but amend them we cannot; but we professe before Almighty God, his Holinesse, and all faithfull people, that this is nothing else but to tyrannize over the Clergie, to the dishonour of the Church, and no small contempt to the See Apostolick.

NOTE.

For which and other causes besides to be alleaged, and in their due time and place to be proved against the above named Thomas Flemming, of the Order of Saint Francis, we the aforesaid Priests, and hereafter to be named, doe set before your eyes, most Illustrious and reverend Lords, these our grievances, as meet and honourable witnesses of this our deed, writing and publike instrument, and as far as is possible and lawfull for us by the Canons of holy Church, declining the jurisdiction of our aforesaid Ordinary by this our present writing, and from this time forth we appeale unto the See Apostolicke, from all Ecclesiasticall censures hereafter to be inflicted upon us by the same Illustrious Arch-bishop, Thomas Flemming, of the Order of Saint Francis; and in the meane time, providing for our innocency and safety, (according to the example of Saint Paul, and Saint Athanasius) we doe invoke the ayde of the secular arme for our present remedy, against the aforesaid Illustrious Arch-bishop Thomas Flemming, of the Order of Saint Francis, and all Regulars of what Order soever, as well Monks as begging Fryars, Abettors, Counsellours and Participants with him in the premises, as violators and contemners of all Lawes divine and humane, and men by the Law excommunicate. Humbly beseeching your Lordships in the bowels of the Crucified, that you would be pleased to intimate with as much speed as may be, this our Protestation and Appeale unto the See Apostolick: and the God of peace and love, long preserve your Reverend Lordships in safety.

Dated at Dublin, May the third, in the yeer of our Lord 1632.

Peter Caddell, Doctor of Divinity.

Paul Harris pr. Deacon of the University of Dublin.

From which Protestation, we may observe these considerable particulars:

First, that the Papists in Ireland had their owne popish Archbishops, Bishops and a Vicar Apostolicall residing then amongst them, as the title and body of this Protestation manifests.

Secondly,

Secondly, that their Archbishop *Flemming* had a popish Clergy under him, in his Province, and did exceedingly tyrannize over them, usurping jurisdiction even in temporall causes, and over the Kings own Courts among the Catholics of Ireland.

Thirdly, that the popish Bishops in Ireland, did usually conferre Orders, and exercise all Episcopall jurisdiction there.

Fourthly, that they had a speciall Cardinall at Rome [*Ludovisius*] given by the Pope unto the Irish, as the onely Patron and Protector of the Irish Nation. NOTE.

Fifthly, that they were grown extraordinary bold and insolent there, so as they openly published this their Protestation and Appeal in print, both in Latin and English, to all the world, and avowed it under their hands, subscribed to it.

Sixthly, that they had then erected a popish University in Dublin it self, of which *Paul Harris* professeth himself Deacon (or Dean, as Bishop *Beadle* styles him. even in print.

This Prelat, though he knew all this, yet for ought we find, he never took any severe course at all to prevent the encrease and insolencies of the popish Prelats, Priests, Fryars, Papists there, but rather to foment them: For first, he promoted and sent over divers superstitious popish Clergy-men thither, as young Mr. *Croxton*, Doctor *Bramhall* (his principall Agent and Informer, Chaplain to the Lord Deputy) Master *Chapple*, and others, who set up sundry popish innovations, and broched popish Doctrines there, to the great encouragement of the Papists: Secondly, he sent over the Lord *Wentworth* (his grand instrument and confederate) to be Lord Deputy of that Kingdome, who extraordinarily favoured the popish party there, and at last proceeded so far, as to make use of them even in Parliament, to ballance the Protestants, the better to conquer and enslave that Kingdome, even by Parliaments; witnesse this remarkable clause in A Duplicate of a Dispatch of this Lord Deputies to his Majesty Jan. 22. 1633. with this subscription: For my Lords Grace of Canterbury; found in his private Study at Lambeth, thus endorsed with his own hand, Ree. Mar. 2. 1633. *Comp. Ang.* Reasons for the present calling of a Parliament in Ireland: Where thus he writes concerning the Parliament then intended to be there called.

I shall endeavour that the lower House may be so composed, as that neither the Recusants, nor yet the Protestants shall appear considerably more one then the other, holding them as much as may be, upon an equall ballance, for they will prove thus easier to govern, then if either party were absolute. Then would I in private discourse shew the Recusant, That the contribution ending in December next, if your Majesties Army were not imployed some other way before, the twelve pence a Sunday must of necessity be exacted upon them: Shew the Protestant, that your Majesty must not let goe the 20000^{li}. contribution; nor yet discontent the other in matter of Religion, till the Army were some way else certainly provided for, and convince them both, that the present quarterly payments are not so burthen some as they pretended them to be: And that by the graces they have had already more benefit then their money came to: Thus poising one by the other, which single might perchance prove more unhappy to deal with.

With this Machiavillian policy, he then acquainted this Archbishop, and accordingly pursued it; which what desperate effects it hath of late produced in that Kingdom, by making the Irish Papists able to over-master, and almost extirpate the English-Irish Protestants and their Religion there, we now experimentally feel to our greatest grief and danger.

Neither did the Archbishop only approve this hellish policy of the Lord Deputy, but likewise in the late Scottish troubles, they both most desperately persuaded his Majesty (without the privy of the other Lords) to raise an Army among the Papists in Ireland, to subdue the Scots by force, because they durst not trust the English, in regard the puritan party was so great, and held correspondency with the Scots, which advice was held most dangerous and pernicious by our States-men, as two Jesuits NOTE.
A Necessary Introduction
to c. p. 176,
C. T. 174, 170.

G. T. (Talbot the Jesuit) and William Howill, writ to their Father Superiour at Paris June 28. 1631. as appears by their intercepted Letters, found among Secretary Windebanks sequestred papers.

If any should object, that this Archbishop had no power or charge at all in Ireland to suppress the Papists there: We answer, it appears by hundreds of papers, Letters found in his Study, sent from thence to him; that nothing at all was there acted concerning any Church affairs, but by his direction, who swayed all things, disposed of all Church preferments there at his pleasure, and likewise did what he pleased there in most state businesses by reason of his power with the King, and interest in the Deputy, insomuch, that the very naming of him at the Counsell Table there, was like a Gorgons head, to amaze all opposites, and strike them mute, or into a shaking fit, as the Primate of Armagh informed him in two severall Letters from thence: Wherefore we cannot but from all the premises conclude this very Archbishop guilty of being not only privy, but aiding to the re-establishing of popery in Ireland, and reuniting it to the Church of Rome; which Realm being farthest out of sight, was thought the meetest Theater for the Pope and his Instruments to act their designs and parts upon, with most advantage, security, and least opposition.

The seventh particular, which most evidently manifests the Pope's with his Agents designs and studious endeavour to reconcile us to Rome, and our domestick compliance therewith, is the Popes sending of divers Nuncios successively from Rome into England (a thing never formerly heard of since the Reformation) who kept their residence, and were entertained as Nuncios to him in London, Westminster, had frequent access to Court, and held correspondence with divers of our Nobility; more especially with Secret. Windebank and Bishop Mountague, this Archbishops chief Creatures, seconded with our avowed entertainment of popish Agents at Rome, of purpose to reduce and reconcile us to it.

See A Necessary Introduction, &c. pag. 141, 142, 143, to 146. 209. to 218. The Popes Nuncio. Romes Master-Piece. The Popes Breve.

The first of these Nuncios was Gregorio Panzani, who arrived at London Decemb. 25. 1634. where he was received, welcomed, treated with both by King and Queen; who continuing here till the year 1636. and then returning, Seignior Georgio Con, a Scot, (who departed from Rome towards England May 20. 1636.) arrived here about the end of that moneth, bringing a great Breve, and many Reliques of Saints, Meddals, and pieces of gold and silver, with the Popes picture stamped on them, who was courteously entertained by the King and Queen at Homby in Northamptonshire, where he found them, and afterwards kept his residence in Westminster near the New Exchange. He after three yeers and two moneths stay here in England, aspiring to a Cardinals Cap, returned towards Rome, laden with great store of Jewels and gifts worth many thousand pounds. After him Count Rossetti, a Noble man of Ferrara, was sent over hither as Nuncio, who continued his Negotiation here, and found great respect at Court, till he was driven hence by this Parliament, wherein were many complaints against him, about July 1641. as we have elsewhere manifested: And as the Pope had his Nuncio's here, so had we our reciprocall Agents at Rome: The first of them was Master Walter Mountague, who arrived there about August 1633. to whom succeeded Serj. Major Bret, who arrived at Rome about Decemb. 1635. After him succeeded Sir William Hamilton, a Scot, dangerous Papist, who came to Rome about the end of May 1636. and continued Agent there till this present Parliament: Of all which this Archbishop had exact intelligence, as appears by Master Middleton's Letters to him, and Habernfields Discovery; found among his owne papers, endorsed by himself.

The eighth particular, is the Popes and his Congregations, *de Propaganda fide*, at Rome, sending over infinite swarms of Seminary Priests, Jesuits, Fryars of all sorts into England, to seduce us; their erecting of a popish Hierachy, societies of Jesuits, Monasteries of Monks, Nuns, and other popish Locusts secretly among us, and holding a generall Counsell at London, whereof Con the Popes Nuncio

was President ; to raise arms, forces, monies against the Scots, to advance the Catholikes cause ; all which we have elsewhere related, proved at large, and was very well known to this Prelat, by the manifold Remonstrances, Petitions of the Parliament, against this dangerous encrease of Papists, Priests, Jesuits, Popery, which Petitions he still opposed.

These five particulars thus proved, premised, infallibly demonstrating a dangerous design and prosecution of it in the Pope and his Instruments to reduce, subject us to the Church of Rome, of which this Archbishop was most fully informed, and wherewith in a great measure he complied with them ; we shall now proceed to demonstrate, that instead of counterworking, opposing, resisting this known design and practice of theirs, according to his trust and duty, he did most traiterously and wickedly combine, confederate with them to the utmost of his wit and power, to advance, accomplish this their design and project by sundry Jesuiticall practises ; some whereof we have formerly proved, pressed at large, and therefore shall only recapitulate now, to re-fresh your memories, and then proceed to further evidence.

First of all, he began to usher into our Cathedrals, Churches, Chappels, Universities, by inches and degrees, one after another, Altars, Images, Crucifixes, Tapers, Copes, consecrated Basons, Alter-cloths, bowing to Altars, Popish consecrations of Churches, Chappels, Church-yards, Flagons, Vestments, Credentiaes, Corporals, turning and railing in Communion Tables Altarwise, kneeling at the new Rails, standing up at *Gloria Patri*, praying toward the east, reading second service at the Altar, with other popish innovations formerly mentioned ; at first he introduced them only as things tolerable, or indifferent, at last enjoyed them as expedient and necessary.

Secondly, he proceeded to introduce divers Arminian Tenents as a bridge to popery ; first, in Pulpits, discourses ; then in printed authorized books, prohibiting, suppressing, all preaching, printing, and books against them under severe penalties.

Thirdly, he next went on to countenance, authorize maintain, confirm, both in Pulpit and Presse, divers erroneous positions, contrary to the general straine and tenent of our own and forraign Protestant Writers of chiefeest note, tending towards a reconciliation between us and Rome : We shall instance in these few particulars, maintained by himself, both in his speeches and writings : First, that the Church of Rome is a true Church : Secondly, that she never erred in fundaments in the worst times, but only *circa fundamentalia*, both which he publickly maintained in the High Commission at Doctor Bastwick's censure, as Master Burton and Master Lane a Minister deposed : Thirdly, that the Religion of Papists and Protestants is one and the same : Fourthly, that men may be saved in the Church of Rome and Romish Religion, & therefore we need not pray for any Papists conversion, no not for the Queens, which he specially prohibited, and questioned those who thus prayed for her : Fifthly, that the Pope is not Antichrist, nor ought to have this title given him, which he expunged both out of the public Books of our Church, and private mens impressions : Sixthly, that the Pope is supream head of the Church, the first and greatest Patriarch ; and to make this doctrine passe more current, he suffered the Popes own Titles of, *Sanctitatis Patris Sanctissime Pater, Spiritus Sancti effusissime plenus ; Optimus Maximusque interis : Ille quo rector non stat Regula, quo Prior est corrigenda Religio* ; to be attributed to him successively in sundry Letters from the University of Oxford, Master Croxton and others without controll ; and proclaims himself a Patriarch, in his own book against Fisher, pag. 171. Seventhly, his own Chaplain Doctor Bray, by his speciall direction, in two Books of Doctor Pocklington, severally printed, and reprinted with authority, proclaimed, that he derived his lineall succession and Episcopacy from Pope Gregory and Saint Peters Chair at Rome, and that our Church was miserable if he could not doe so ; which Doctor Heylen, by his spe-

ciall command, seconded in print; which Bishop Mountagne thus trebles in his *Originum Ecclesiasticarum; Tomi Prioris, pars posterior, pag. 465. In Pontificali, seu libro quam vocamus Ordinationum, Episcopus, (AB AUGUSTINO LEGITIME DERIVATA SUCCESSIONE; ET GREGORIO ROMANO DEDUCTUS) Sacros Ordines secundum veteris Ecclesie Canones conferens, Ordinandum Sacerdotem, sic affatur, Accipe Spiritum Sanctum, &c.* Deriving not only this Archbishop, but all our other Bishops successions and Episcopacy from *Augustine* the Monk, and Pope Gregory of Rome; a goodly Romish pedigree to be much insisted on directly reducing us back to Rome, from whence it was derived, as to our Mother Church.

Fourthly, he with his Instruments and Chaplains, vented, authorized not only in the Pulpit, but Presse, all manner of popish erroneous doctrines, never heard amongst us in former yeers, comprizing the whole body of Papistry, of purpose to reduce us back to Rome; the particulars whereof you have heard, refusing, suppressing orthodox Books, written against popish errors, and purging the chiefest passages against the Church, Pope, Priests, Jesuits and errors of Rome out of all old reprinted and new licensed books, before they could passe the Presse, as we have abundantly proved, inserting popish pictures, and a popish Index into our very Bibles, the more easily to seduce men to Popery.

Fifthly, he advanced the most corrupt, popish, superstitious persons of all sorts, to Bishopricks, Deaneries, Prebendaries, Headships of houses in the University, Chaplains to the King and Prince, and the greatest Benefices; suppressed, silenced, deprived, censured, banished the most zealous preaching orthodox Ministers in all places, and kept them from preferment, the better to facilitate and effect this design.

Sixthly, he caused sundry books tending to Reconciliation of us to Rome, to be printed and published, especially Bishop Mountagne's *Appeal*, and other Books since, of which *Sancta Clara* took speciall notice, and made bold to proclaim a peace and reconciliation in most points between us.

Seventhly, he suppressed all Lectures and after-noon Sermons on the Lord's day in most places, that the people through ignorance might be more easily seduced; and instead of strict sanctification of the Lords day, the principall means of encreasing piety, knowledge, and keeping men off from popery and prophaneffe, he caused a new Declaration to be printed and published in his Majesties name, for the use of prophane sports and pastimes even on Gods own day, and under pretext thereof, caused hundreds of our most consciencious Ministers, (whom otherwise he could not tax or quarrell,) to be silenced, suspended, imprisoned, yea, driven out of the Realm to forreign Countries and Plantations, that so these grand obstructions of our reconciliation with Rome being removed we might without any great difficulty or opposition be reduced, reconciled to her; and least any impediment should arise to crosse this Unity from the Dutch, French, or Walloon Churches in our Realms, not any ways poysoned with his popish drugs and Romish innovations, he attempted their extirpation too, and had almost effected it: All which particulars we have already proved.

We shall now proceed to some further evidence, manifesting his compliancy, intelligence and concurrence with the Pope and his Instruments in this hellish plot; what evidence of this kind, common fame and report, both at home, at Rome, and elsewhere hath given in against him, Sir Henry Mildmay, Master Anthony Mildmay, Master Challoner and others have already attested: what reall evidence we have yet remaining, to make good this fame, we shall now produce.

It had been too grosse, too palpable an oversight in such a politician as this Archbishop was reputed, and very prejudiciall to his designs, considering the place he sustained, his pretended profession of the Protestant Religion, his dislike of Rome, and the many vigilant eyes that were continually fixed on his actions, to have held any open or immediate intelligence with the Pope, or his

his known Agents here, and therefore it can not reasonably be expected from us to produce direct proofs of any such grosse intelligence; what then he could not act publikely and immediatly in person, he contrived to effect more courtly and mediately by fitting instruments, who held strict correspondence with the Roman Pontife and his Negotiators. The two trustiest persons he could cull out for such a purpose, were Master Francis Windebank, a lay man, and Richard Mountague a Divine, who had other associates joyned with them to accomplish this reducement: To enable them the better to carry on this work with more advantage to the Catholike cause, he procured Mountague (in despite of severall Parliaments opposition) to be made a Bishop, heaped sundry preferments on him in our Church (of which he so ill deserved) as we have already proved, and shall not here insist on: As for Windebank, he advanced him to one of the greatest places of trust and secrecy in the Kingdom, making him a principall Secretary of State to his Majesty, which he thus expresseth with his own hand in his Diary: June 15. 1632. Master Francis Windebank, MY OLD FRIEND, was sworn Secretary of State, WHICH PLACE I OBTAINED FOR HIM of my gracious Master King CHARLES; so that he was a creature of his own advancing. No sooner was he settled in this place of honour and trust, but he presently falls to his designed work; he protects, releaseth popish Priests, Jesuits, Fryars, and held familiar correspondency with them, entertaining them in his house, Study, Coach, Garden, and feasting them at his Table; imprisons, molests, reviles the Messengers who by office, duty, were bound to apprehend them; suspends the execution of all penall laws against them and popish Recusants, by his Letters and Warrants of protection under the privy Signet; held familiar intelligence with Cardinal Barbarino and Panzani, Con, Rossetti, the Popes Nuncios, during their abode in England; sends two of his sons to Rome in their travels, where this Cardinall entertains them with all curtesie and respect for their Fathers sake, and sends sundry Letters to Con from Rome in one of their Trunks; all which being largely proved and published to the world in b other Impressions, we shall but point at here.

First, For Windebank's release of Priests and Jesuits, for which he was impeached by the Parliament, and fled the Kingdom, we have elsewhere given you a Catalogue of 27. Priests discharged by him out of prison, the Original Warrants for whose discharge we have ready to produce under his hand, and printed the Copies of them; we shall mention only one or two Warrants wherein this Archbishop concurred with Windebank in the release of two popish Priests from their prisons, though we never heard of such a favour extended by him to any Puritan or Zealot against Papists, whom he shut up close prisoners even in foreign parts, from Wives, Children, Friends, and all humane comforts.

The first is a Warrant for the release of one Robert Hais, a Priest (so proved upon Oath by Master Thomas Mayo, a Pursevant) dated 13. Decemb. 1633. the Original whereof under Seal was read:

At Whitehall the 18. of December 1633. present.

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.
Archbishop of York, &c.

Lord Cottington, &c.
Master Secretary Windebank.

Whereas a Petition was this day presented to the Board, by Robert Hais, prisoner in the New-prison, shewing, that the Petitioner is much impoverished in his estate by his long imprisonment, and is now grown so weak through infirmities, that unlesse by their Lordships favour he may enjoy the benefit of fresh ayre for the recovery of his health, his life is in great danger; and therefore made humble suit to be discharged from prison (for preservation of his life aforesaid) upon good security, to attend the Board within ten days after notice in that behalfe; Forasmuch as his Petition was recommended to the Board BY THE QUEENS MAJESTY; their Lordships doe think fit, and order, that the said

M m m 2

Hais

His old, ancientest and most loving friend, as he tearms him in his Diary. Novemb. 24. 1625. Aug. 1629. June 16 1632.

b Romes Master-Piece. The Popish Royal Favourite: A necessary Introduction to the Archbishops tryal. A necessary Introduction, p. 123, 124. the Royal popish Favourite, p. 18. to 33.

Hair (first giving good security, to attend the Board within ten dayes after notice given, as aforesaid) shall be discharged from his imprisonment, and enjoy his liberty, without molestation or trouble of any Messengers, or other his Majesties Officers whatsoever; whereof the Keeper of the said prison, and all other whom it may concern, are to take notice.

Ex. WIL. BECHER.

The second, is a Warrant for the enlarging of *William Walgrave* (deposed to be a dangerous seducing Priest, by Master *Francis Newton*) subscribed with the Archbishops own hand, and others; the Original whereof was produced.

These are to will and command you to set at full liberty the person of *William Walgrave* formerly committed to your custody; and for your so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant. Dated at Star-chamber the last of January 1633.

Wil. Cant. R. Ebor, &c.

Secondly, for Letters of grace and protection, granted by *Windebank*, under the Privy Signet, for the stay of all proceedings against Recusants, and suspension of penall Laws against them; there are multitudes of them printed by Authority of Parliament, in the *Popish Royall Favourite*, to which we shall remit the Reader.

Thirdly, for his holding intelligence with the Popes Nuncioes, Cardinal *Barbarino*, Jesuits, Priests, and dangerous Papists, with his sons resort to, and entertainment at Rome; we shall evidence it by these ensuing Letters, the Originals whereof under hand and seal, endorsed with Secretary *Windebanks* own hand, were produced and read at the Lords Bar.

The first is a letter written from Rome it selfe from *Gregorio Panzani* (the Popes first Nuncio sent thence into England,) dated May 31. 1637. wherein he returns hartly thanks to this Secretary, for the many favours he daily received from him whiles he was Nuncio in England, in behalfe of the poore Catholicks; makes mention of his Sonnes being entertainment at Rome, and Cardinall *Barbarino* his extraordinary commendations of them; the Originall whereof was shewed, written in *Italian*, and a true translated copy thereof (attested upon oath by one Master *Godfrey*) read in these ensuing words.

Most Excellent Sir, Patron most honoured,

I Would have contained my selfe from writing to your most illustrious Lordship, for feare of being some impediment, I knowing your many occupations; but I having heard from many persons, in particular by letters of *Signior Francisco*, sometimes my Secretary, the honourable mention that otherwhiles your most illustrious Lordship is wont to make of any person; and having also oftentimes understood from your most famous *Signior Cavaliere Hamilton*, and from Father *John the Benedictin*, how much your most illustrious Lordship straineth your selfe in favouring of me; I have been forced to commit this rude civility, taking in hand my Pen to give you trouble; I assure your most famous Lordship, that I live so much obliged to you, that I shall never be able to pretend to satisfie one and the least partick of that which I owe, seeing that during my abode in London, most rare were those dayes in which I did not receive from your most illustrious Lordship some grace in the bealfe and favour of the poore Catholicks. I must also congratulate my selfe with your most famous Lordship, concerning the most noble manners and behaviours of your Lordships Sonnes, the which with their singular modesty, and other most laudable vertues, have gained such an opinion, amongst them that have knowne them in this Court,

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that

that I could never be able to expresse it, and the Lord Cardinall Barbarino, in particular cannot satiate himselfe in praising them; It grieves me not to have had the fortune to meet with them in this Citie, because willingly I would have attested my devotion towards your most famous Lordship; to the which, and to all your most illustrious Family, I rest, desiring eternall felicity from heaven; in the meane while I humbly intreat you to favour me with some Commandement, and I kisse your hands

From Rome the 31. of

May, 1637.

Your most illustrious Lordships most devoted and most obliged Servant,

GREG: PANZANI.

This Letter is most full and punctuall, to prove Secretary Windebanks intelligence and correspondence with Rome, the Pope and his Agents.

The second is a Letter from Father Joseph (then a kind of Confessor to the French King, by whose special command it was, writ Confessor afterwards to our Queen, and one of the Capucines in Somerset-House) written from Paris in Italian to Secretary Windebank; the translation whereof into English by Master Godfrey (who attested the truth of it upon oath) was read as followeth:

Most excellent Sir, My Patron most worshipfull:

I Should be too much wanting in my duty, if I did not render my most humble thanks to your Excellency, having after so many other favours conferred upon our Mission, received for a compleat height the singular proof of your affection, in the delivery of our Fathers; I knowing with what love and care you were pleased to comply your self in this work, the which besides the merit of charity, hath been most gratefull to his most Christian Majesty, who in this doth with great satisfaction acknowledge the good will of his Majesty of great Brittain, in the person of his Minister in these Occurrences, which he well polisheth: If in any occasion I can serve your Excellence, you shall find me most ready to render you proofs of my devotion and observance, beseeching you to continue the favourable effects of your benignity towards our Fathers: And with this I end, auguring unto you all compleat felicity.

NOTE

From Paris the 23. of

Novemb. 1634.

Your Excellencies most devout, and most humble Servant in Christ

Fryar Joseph of Paris, Capucine.

By this Letter it is evident, what a Professed Patron this Secretary was of popish Priests and Fryars, and what correspondency he held with them.

The third, is a Letter to Secretary Windebank from Father Phillips (the Queens Confessor) to inform him of Sir William Hamiltons departure from Paris towards Rome, where he resides as Our Agent to the Pope; and of Con the Popes Nuncios departure from Rome towards England; a pregnant evidence of his privity and compliancy with this Negotiation.

Right Honourable,

Y^ester night after your Honours departing from Hampton-Court, I received this inclosed: The Gentleman who sent it to me from Paris, writeth, that Sir William Hamilton departed from thence the third of June, that is our 24. of May, so that now he must be neer unto Rome. He writeth also, that Seignior George Conco, whom the Pope doth send to the Queen, was to depart from Rome about the twentieth of May; if he have heard of Sir Williams hasty going, it may be he will

will stay till his arrivall, which I could wish, because he both can and would help him better at the beginning then any other I know: I rest ever

From Hampton-Court the
9. of June 1636.

Your Honours most humble
and devoted Servant,

R. PHILLIPS.

The fourth, is a Letter of Master Thomas Windebank, writ to the Secretary his Father from Rome, thus endorsed with his own hand, 6. Septemb. 1626. Tom from Rome, recei. 22. our stile.

S I R,

MY most humble duty remembred, &c. In my last, of the sixt of this present, I have given an account of my arrivall at Rome, and of the favour Sir William Hamilton was pleased to doe me, to invite me to his house; this note, that he did it with so much earnestnesse, that I could not avoid the receiving of that honour: I have been to visit the Cardinal Barbarino, who having had notice of my arrivall here, sent to visit me first: He is so obliging and courteous to all our Nation, that I the lesse wonder at the honour he doth me, to take notice of me, but I hope his favour will stay there; I see no reason I should think otherwise, &c.

NOTE.

Rome Sept. 10. stilo
novo 1636.

Your most obedient Son

THO. WINDEBANK.

The fift, is a Letter from his Son Tom from Rome, thus endorsed by the Secretary, Tom from Rom, Rec. 30. Sept. our stile. Wherein thus he writes:

S I R,

MY most humble duty remembred, &c. Sir William Hamilton hath been pleased to put so great an Obligation upon me, as to invite me to his house for the time that I am in Rome; I would very willingly have avoided the putting him to such an inconvenience, but he pressed it so far, that I could not refuse the receiving of that favour; the Cardinal Barbarino I understand HATH LONG EXPECTED ME HERE, having had notice of my being in Italy, and I am afraid, THAT OUT OF RESPECT TO YOU, he will put some honour upon me, but I will avoid all engagements, as much as with civility I may.

NOTE.

Rome Sept. 6. stilo
novo 1636.

Your most obedient Son

THO. WINDEBANK.

These two Letters cleerly manifest his Son's being, respect, and great entertainment at Rome, both by Sir William Hamilton, our popish Agent there, and Cardinal Barbarino.

The sixt, is a Letter of his said Son, from Padoa, thus endorsed by Master Secretary, 16. March 1637. Tom from Padoa, Rec. 8. April our stile.

S I R,

I Gave advice in some of my former, of a Trunk I sent from Livorno, into England unto Master Richant, to be delivered unto you, but have not as yet received any news of the arrivall of it: I sent not the keys, as not desirous it should be opened untill my comming home, because few of the things in it are mine, but

but the CARDINAL BARBARINES TO MASTER CON, he told me there was no haste in the delivery of them, so that I might doe it my self.

Padua 26. March
stilo no. 1637.

Your most obedient Son,

THO. WINDEBANK.

Here his Son becomes an Instrument to convey popish Trinkets from Cardinal Barbarino at Rome, to Con the Popes Nuncio then in England.

The seventh is a Letter from the Lord Scudamore, to Secretary Windebank from Paris, informing him of a Statue sent from Cardinal Barbarino from Rome, to be transported to him into England.

Right Honourable,

Here is come to Paris one Master Chambers, with the Statue from Cardinal Barbarine; another, the servant of him that made the Statue, coming along in company to take it forth, but no where upon any terms, till it be in England: Upon Munday next, Master Chambers intends to set forwards for Deepe, &c.

Your Honours to command,

JOHN SCUDAMORE.

Paris June 16.
1637.

The eighth is a Letter written to him from his Son Christopher Windebank from Rome, informing this Secretary, how many Friends and Servants he had there, who much respected and honoured him for his sake; among others Panzani, who had been here a Nuncio, and Father John, (agent to the English Benedictines in Rome,) which he thus endorfed, Kit from Rome.

Most dear Father,

I Salute you &c. especially not being in any place my self, where I am not looked upon by all those who professe themselves SERVANTS of your most Illustrious Honour: HERE IN ROME your most Illustrious Lordship hath many; amongst the which, Sir William Hamilton, Seignior Gregorio Panzani, and Father John kisse your hands, &c.

NOTE.

Your most obedient Son,

CHRIST. WINDEBANK.

From Rome the 15. of
April 1639.

If we compare these Letters with the fote mentioned Instructions of this Secretary to his Son Thomas at Paris, concerning Ludozicus à Sancta Maria, Franciscus de Sancta Clara his Book, and Father Leander, it is past all controversie; that he held most strict and constant intelligence with the Pope, Cardinal Barbarino, the Popes Nuncio's, Priests, Jesuits, and contributed all possible assistance to them in their confederacy of reducing us back to Rome.

The reallity whereof, and this Archbishop's cognizance of it, was thus attested to the Archbishop himself, by Andreas ab Habernfield, and Sir William Bosel, in the Plot they sent him from the Hague, found in his chamber in the Tower, endorfed with his own hand.

Secretary Windebank, a most fierce Papist, is the most unfaithfull to the King of all men, who not only betrays and reveals even the Kings greateest secrets, but likewise communicates Counsels, by which the designe may be best advanced: He at least thrice every week converseth with the Legat in nocturnall Conventicles, and reveals those things which he thinks fit to be known, for which end he hired a house neer to the Legats house, whom he often resorts

to through the Gaudew door, for by this vicinity, the meeting is facilitated; the said Secretary is bribed with gifts to the party of that conjured society, by whom he is sustained, that he may the more seriously execute his Office: He sent his Son to Rome, to innumerate himself into the Roman Pontiffe.

For his committing Messengers to prison, untill they should enter into bond never to persecute Priests or Jesuits more (an extraordinary good service of a pretended Protestant Secretary of State) you shall hear thereof anon, when we produce our Witnesses.

By all these particulars, it is most evident, that this Secretary, (the Archbishop's old, and most intimate loving friend,) was advanced by him to this place of trust, to be a most pestilent treacherous instrument of protecting, enlarging, securing popish Priests, Jesuits, Fryars, Papiſts, to hold familiar intelligence with the Popes Cardinals, Nuncio's, Agents, to promote their dangerous designs upon us, and reduce us back to Rome; that the Archbishop knew he was such an one, and yet continued his intimacy and correspondence with him to promote the same designs.

We shall now proceed a little further, and clearly evidence to your Lordships and the world, that the Archbishop held, not only remote & mediate correspondence with the Pope and his Agents by Bishop Mountague, Windebank, and others of his Instruments, but even with most desperate popish Priests, Jesuits and Papiſts themselves; Not to instance in the Earl of Arundel and his Countesse, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Winter, and other lay-papiſts, who were very active strenuous promoters of this Romish plot, at Habernfield's Discovery informs both the Archbishop himself and us, we shall nominate some professed Priests and Jesuits of note, with whom he had intelligence.

Sancta Clara, as we have proved formerly under his own hand, was brought to him by Doctor Lindsey, who acquainted him with his Book of Reconciliation, before it was printed, and was with him afterwards some five or six times more, proffering him his Service to maintain Episcopacy to be *Jure Divino*.

Monsieur Saint Giles, a most dangerous seducing Priest, though known to him to be such a one, was maintained by him sundry yeers together in the University of Oxford, where he had the free use of the Library, to instruct and seduce both the Doctors and Students there, & reduce them back to Rome, who were running too fast thither without such a spur to post them forwards, or Postilion to direct them in the way: This we have proved under his own hand, by the testimony of Master Brode, and if need be, we have Master Nixon, Master Godfrey, and one Father Cox a Benedictine Priest, to attest it further on their Oaths.

Sir Toby Matthew, a most dangerous seducing active Priest and Jesuit, was frequent with him at Lambeth, White-Hall, and other places, eating oft with him at his Table, riding sometimes very familiarly with him in his Coach, and going with him in his Barge.

Father Flud alias Smith, a most desperate seducing Priest and Jesuit, who had a hand in the Gun-powder-plot, was very familiar with his Creature Windebank, and oft frequented the Arch-bishop at Lambeth House.

Father Leander, a Benedictine Monk (his ancient Chamber-fellow and acquaintance in Oxford, sent over into Engl. about the yeer 1536. as was generally reported among the Benedictines and Papiſts, of purpose to reconcile us to Rome, by his interest in this Archbishop, and great learning, was very intimate with his Grace and Windebank: So was Father Price, general of the English Benedictines (who procured the Searchers place at Dover, and put Papiſts into it, for the more secure passing of Priests, Jesuits & popish Agents the easier into England, conveying Englishmen and women to forraign Monasteries, and intelligence to and from Rome, and other parts, by the assistance of Windebank, Canterbury, and others:) yea, the popish Bishop of Calcedon too, Dr. Smith, held firm correspondence with him.

Neither

Neither was he thus only familiar and held correspondency with these Priests and Jesuits, but protected them all he might, not prosecuting them at all, but onely in shew to delude the people, and then very coldly, securing them in by prisons where they had the best chambers, great resort, liberty to goe in and out at pleasure without a Keeper, never sending them to the common Goales, to be indicted, executed, and at last releasing them out of prison, whenas he persecuted, close imprisoned, banished into forraigne Countries, dungeons, cut off the ears, slit the noses, branded the cheeks of some, and utterly ruined other Protestant Ministers and zealous Gentlemen, for oppposing popery and popish Innovations. Nay, he imprisoned one Gray, a great discoverer of Priests, only for apprehending Priests, calling him a Priest-catching knave, commanded the Pursevents not to keep company with him, for if they did he would displace them, and pull their Messengers coats over their ears; denied to imploy others as Messengers to apprehend Priests and Jesuits, because, he said, they were too hot and zealous in that service; yea, he suffered all manner of popish Books to be imported, to seduce his Majesties Subjects, restored them to their owners, when seized by the searchers, contrary to an expresse Statute, concealed some of their most desperate plots, treasons, discouraging, menacing the Witnesses that revealed them: To evidence all this, we shall produce our witnesses, who testified upon oath as followeth:

James Waddesworth Gent. of Saint Dunstons parish in the west, London, deposed both in writing and *viva voce* at the Lords Bar, That one Henry Smith, alias Loyd, a dangerous Priest and Jesuit, before the beginning of the Scottish Warres, did tell him in Norfolk (where he met him) That the popish Religion was not to be brought in here by disputing or Books of controversie, but with an Army and with fire and sword; that he hath often times since met the said Smith, going (as he told him) to see the Archbishop of Canterbury, who (as he said) was a good man, and loved them well; that himself was about eight yeers since, imprisoned above three yeers space in severall prisons; only for calling a Priest Traitor, and for apprehending Priests: During which time of his imprisonment, the said Smith came three or four times to visit him, in the name of the Archbishop, the Lord Cottington, and Secretary Windebanke, and told him, That if he would abjure the Realme, and never prosecute Priests more, he should have a Warrant under the Kings hand to release him, which he refusing at that time, he was afterward released out of prison, but upon this promise, never to prosecute priests again. And when he was thus enlarged, one Davis brought him four pound in money from the said Archbishop (as he told him) towards the payment of his fees. And he further deposed, that he hath often met Father Price a Priest, Superiour of the English Benedictines, and Father Leander a Benedictine Monk and Priest, going (as themselves said and confessed) to Lambeth to the Archbishop, to see and speak with him, which they oft times spake in a vaning manner; and that Leander was commonly reported to have been the Archbishops Chamber-fellow in Oxford: That Smith, alias Loyd the Jesuit, did usually meet at the Lord Cottingtons house in Breadstreet, at a Juncto every Friday night; where were usually present, the said Lord, Sir Toby Matthew, the Spanish Embassadour, Sir Arthur Hopton, Endimion Porter, James Hammond a great Papist, and Secretary Windebank: Which Juncto sometimes met at Sir Arthur Hoptons house in the Pallace-Yard at Westminster.

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NOTE.

Francis Newton of Saint Giles Creplegate London, Gent. deposed both in writing and by word of mouth at the Lords Bar, that he by vertue of a generall Warrant from the Lords of the Counsell for the apprehending of Jesuits and popish Priests (among others, apprehended one Henry Morfe, a grand Jesuit, and great seducer of his Majesties Subjects, who had perverted 500. persons in and about London, as appeared by certificats at his Triall, who being like to be discharged before his Triall, this Deponent by the appointment of Secretary Cooke, the Lord Keeper Coventry, and Lord Privy-Seale, repaired to Lambeth to the Archbishop, to desire him to give this Deponent order, that the said Morfe might not be discharged, they saying, it is now time to look about us, so many being seduced by one

person : Whereupon he repairing to *Lambeth*, desired Master *Dell*, the Archbishops Secretary, to help him to speak with the Archbishop from these Lords, about the Priests discharge : Master *Dell* answered, that the Archbishop was busie with Sir *Toby Matthews*, (commonly reputed a Jesuit, and an arch-intelligencer of Rome) in the Garden, and this Deponent being earnest with Master *Dell* to have an answer from the Archbishop to return to the Lords, he brought answer from him, That the Deponent should bring him the next day before the Councell-board, and sent *Dell* the next morning to Master Secretary *Cooke*, to know, whether he had sent the Deponent to him or no. After which the said Priest being sent to *Newgate*, and arraigned upon two Bills found against him, was by Order from the King, put by his judgement, and soone after released. He further deposed, that one *Henry Loyd*, alias *Francis Smith*, alias *Rivers*, alias *Simons*; (Provinciall of the Jesuites, and a chiefe actor in the Gunpowder-treason, as this deponent was informed by one *Stukely* a Priest, who bid this deponent remember him of 5. die Novembris, meaning the Gunpowder-plot) was by the Deponent and one *Tix: Mayo*, Indited and Out-lawd of High-treason; and afterwards being protected by Secretary *Windebank* from the arrests of Messengers, this Deponent oftentimes meeting of him in the streets on horsback, and telling him, that a sledg and three horses were fitter for him then one horse to ride on; he replied some two or three times, when the Deponent used these speeches, holding up his finger; well *Newton*, you rogue, I have done your arrand to my Lords grace of *Cant.* already, and shall do it to *Secr. Windebank* also. And he deposed, that he hath seen the said Jesuit once at *Lambeth-house*, and there entertained by Mr *Del* the Archb. Secretary, in a room neer the Archbishops Study, where being in familiar conference with the said Mr *Del*, he did whisper to him, & often cast an eye toward this Deponent as if he were speaking of him. He likewise further deposed, that he hath oft times seen the said *Smith* the Jesuit at *Secr. Windebanks* house, talking very familiarly with him; and clapping him on the back, & that he met divers times sundry of the imprisoned popish Priests, freely walking without a keeper in *Grays-Inne* walks, and in other places; and that they lay abroad out of prison in Towne and in the Country many weeks together, & he hath gone into the *Newprison* & *Clinck* where there were about 20 Priests imprisoned, and found not above one or two there.

Richard Deuxel Gent. deposed upon oath, that he being a prisoner in the *Newprison* some yeers since, the Priests and Jesuits committed thither by the Archb. had the best rooms in the prison, a Cook, Steward and comon table, at wch they dieted al together, Masse said in their chambers, divers Ladies & Gentlemē in coaches frequently visiting them without restraint, and great store of Venison sent them in its season, when as Mr *Huntly* and other godly Ministers there imprisoned by the Archb. were thrust into the worst lodgings, denied liberty to diet together, and were not suffered to goe out of prison upon any occasion, but with a costly keeper attending on them, though they had given bond for their true imprisonment, neither had their friends free access to them, but were many times questioned and restrained.

Thomas Mayo a Messenger, of *Saint Andrewes Holborne*, testified upon Oath, That about nine yeers since, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, having committed one *John Evans* a Minister to the Gate-house, for printing of Bills, setting forth the use of the Antimonial Cup, he did thereupon repaire with a Petition in his behalfe, to the Archbishops house at *Lambeth*, where he then saw Master *Henry Moore*, and *Henry Loyd*, alias *Smith*, two dangerous Jesuits, in the great Chamber above stairs, neer the Archbishops Study, waiting there, as he conceiveth, to speak with the said Archbishop, and very familiarly entertained in discourse by Master *Dell*, who carried himselfe very respectfully towards them, which he well remembreth, for that he then delivered an Antimoniall Cup to the said Master *Dell* to be delivered to the Archbishop from Master *Evans*: And he further deposed, that he hath often seen Sir *Toby Matthews* (whom this Deponent

nent hath seen in Saint Johns Colledge in Lovain in Brabant, who there was reputed a Jesuit) at Lambeth house, and there walking in a friendly manner with the said Archbishop, and at other times hath seen Sir Toby riding with him in his Coach (once in the Strand) and passing with him in his Barge from White-hall to Lambeth; that he often assisting other Messengers to discover and apprehend Priests, and finding some neglect in them in that service, did thereupon desire the said Archbishop, That he might have a Warrant for himselfe to apprehend Priests and Jesuits: To which the said Archbishop answered, You are too hot and nimble for that service, saying, He had Messengers enough already, and refused to grant his request: And withall by order from the said Archbishop, he was employed to attend popish Ambassadors houses, Denmark-house, and the Popes Nuncios Lodging, to view and returne unto him the number of popish Priests and Recusants which resorted thither to Masse; which accordingly he did every Munday, for the space of halfe a yeer and more, giving the Archbishop a Certificate of their number and quality; but he never received any order from him to apprehend any of them, nor saw any fruit or reformation thereof: That he having a speciall Warrant from the said Archbishop and others of the high Commission, to apprehend one Peter Wilford, a Priest, (condemned since the Parliament, and now in Newgate) and apprehending him by vertue thereof, he brought him before this Archbishop to his Chamber in White-hall, who sent this Deponent word by Sir John Lamb, that he would not meddle with him; and the said Wilford having a Protection from Secretary Windebank which he shewed the Deponent, was thereupon discharged by the said Archbishops direction, signified by Sir John Lamb.

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Elizabeth Gray of Saint Margarets Westminster, Widow, deposed, That her late husband, John Gray, being a Messenger to the Lords of the Counsell, and having a Warrant from them to apprehend Jesuits and Seminary Priests; the said Gray by vertue of that Warrant, apprehended one Fisher, alias Persey, a grand Jesuit, and acquainted Master Secretary Cook therewith, whereupon he was committed prisoner to the Gate-house, there to remaine untill he should put in security to depart the Realme, and never to returne againe: Soon after which, the said Gray and one John Cooke (as the Deponent was often informed by them) meeting the said Fisher walking in the streets, apprehended him; whereupon he shewed a Warrant of Secretary Windebanks, requiring that no Messenger should apprehend the said Fisher, nor search the house or houses where he should frequent; upon which Gray discharged him, and repairing to Secretary Cook acquainted him with the said Jesuits protection; who thereupon commanded Gray and Cook to repaire to this Archbishop of Canterbury, and acquaint him with the premises; who thereupon went to Lambeth, and desired Master Dell the Archbishops Secretary, to acquaint the Archbishop therewith, as from Master Secretary Cook, and to grant them a Warrant to apprehend the said Fisher: To which Master Dell replied, That he was an idle fellow, and bade him move the whole Board for it, For his Lord would grant no such Warrant: Whereupon Gray replied, Lord have mercy upon us all, I see how the game goes now, I hope to see better days.

For which words, the said Gray was sent for the next day before the Counsell, upon the complaint of the said Archbishop, and committed prisoner to the Fleet for the same: Whereupon this Deponent exhibited many Petitions to the said Archbishop, and the whole Board for her said husbands release, to which she could get no answer; and one day she presenting a Petition to the said Archbishop in the stone Gallery at Whitehall, for her Husbands enlargement, he looking upon the same, and seeing the said Grays name therein, flung it away in an angry manner, saying, he would have nothing to doe with a Priest-catching knave. By meanes whereof, her said Husband continued a prisoner in the Fleet for two and twenty weeks, and could not be

released (as Master Read Secretary Windebanks Secretary, told this Deponent) till such time as he should give Bond and Baile, never to apprehend Priests and Jesuits more.

The next day she going to Secretary Windebank for her Husbands release, Master Read (his Secretary) demanded, where his said Bond and Baile was? To which she answered, That some Gentlemen in the Fleet said, That in requiring such Bond and Baile, they incurred a Premunire: To which the said Master Read replied, That the said Gentlemen and the Deponent deserved to be sent to Newgate for these speeches: And Secretary Windebank himselfe taking exception at the said speeches, gave Order, after the said Gray had his Discharge, That he should stay in prison till every penny of his Fees were paid.

That a little before this her said Husbands trouble, upon his apprehending of a Priest or Jesuit, from whom he took good store of Books, to the value of an hundred pounds; the said Archbishop commended it for a good piece of service, and willed him to bring the said Books to his House at Lambeth, and he would well recompence him: But he receiving and keeping the Books, never gave him any recompence.

John Goldsmith deposed, that about four yeers since, he being in the High-Commission Court at Lambeth, the Archbishop before the Court sate, called all the Messengers of the Court to him, and charged them to take heed that they kept not company with one Gray, A PRIEST-CATCHER, against whom Secretary Windebank had made a complaint at the Counsell Table for discovering Priests; and told them, that if he heard that any of them had any more to doe with him, he would not onely LAY THEM BY THE HEELS, BUT LIKEWISE PULL THEIR COATS OFF FROM THEIR BACKS, AND TURNE THEM OUT OF THEIR PLACES. And he further deposed, that he did complaine and indite a Papist for saying, THAT OUR RELIGION WAS SPUED OUT OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH HIS CORDPIECE; whereupon the Papist prosecuted him in the High Commission for a defamation.

John Cook of Redcrosse-street, London, deposed, That John Gray a Messenger, had a Warrant from the Lords of the Counsell Table, for the apprehending of Priests and Jesuits: And that the said Gray and this Deponent by vertue thereof, did apprehend one Father Fisher, alias Piersey, a grand Jesuit, and brought him before Master Secretary Cooke, who wished us to bring him before the Counsell Table the next sitting, which we did accordingly in Anno 1634. And after his Examination there, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Secretary Cooke went to the King, to know his pleasure what should be done with him: Who returning to the Board, the Archbishop delivered the Kings pleasure to this effect:

Master Fisher kneele downe upon your knees every morning and every evening, and pray for the King for granting you your life: And to be short, Master Fisher, his Majesties pleasure is, that you shall be forthwith banished this Kingdome, and all other his Majesties Dominions; and you shall remaine prisoner in the Gate house, untill you put in good security before the Kings Attourney, Sir John Banks, never to returne again. Whereunto Fisher replied: If he had a hundred lives, he would come hither againe, or elsewhere, if his Superiour so commanded him; and utterly refused to put in any security.

Whereupon the Board sent him to the Gate-house, there to remaine untill he should put in such security as aforesaid.

Whereupon

Whereupon, about four moneths after, the said Gray and the Deponent met the said Fisher in Holborn, and demanding of him the reason of his going abroad; he replied, *We were Rogues, what was that to us*; and shewed us a Warrant under the hand of Secretary Windebank for his enlargement: Whereupon Gray and this Deponent went to Lambeth to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and endeavoured to acquaint him by Master Dell his Secretary, that Fisher had a Warrant from Master Secretary Windebank for his liberty, and desired to know the Archbishops pleasure therein: But Master Dell made answer, *That his Lord would not meddle with such trifling matters*: Whereupon Gray said, *He hoped to see better days, for he saw now how the game went*: The next day after, Gray was sent for by a Messenger to the Counsel Table, and then the Archbishop said at the Table, *This fellow railed on me, and bid them have him away*; whereupon Gray was committed to the Fleet, where he lay twelve weeks upon the Archbishops complaint, and after that, seven weeks more by Secretary Windebanks Warrant, who refused to release him, unless he would give bond and bail, never to prosecute Priests and Jesuits more. He further deposed, that in his hearing, one Loyd a dangerous Jesuit, desired Sir Kenelm Digby to tell the Bishop of Canterbury, that he could not that day dine with him, and bid him remember his love to the Archbishop, and desire him to be mindfull of the business that they and he had formerly speech about: And that he hath often seen the said Loyd, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Toby Matthews, and one Gray a great Papist, at Lambeth at the Archbishops house.

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Master Thomas Thacher of Barkin Parish, London, attested upon Oath, That he having a Warrant from the High Commissioners to apprehend popish Priests and Jesuits, did by vertue thereof apprehend Master Henry Morse a Jesuit, and one Gardiner a Priest, great seducers, who being committed to Newgate, were soon after discharged thence by Secretary Windebank's Warrant; to whom he repairing for his fees; the said Secretary demanding a sight of his Warrant, which he shewed, detained it from him, and would not restore the same: Whereupon he repaired to the Archbishop, and desired of him a new Warrant to apprehend Priests and Jesuits; who thereupon told him, *That Secretary Windebank had complained of this Deponent to the Queen, and demanded of him if he kept not company with one Gray, who gave him intelligence of the persons and lodgings of Priests and Jesuits, and wished him not to keep company with him any more, for if he did, he would lay him by the heels, and turn him out of his Place*. He further deposed, that he having a speciall Warrant from the Lords of the Counsel for the apprehending of Sir Toby Matthew, a dangerous Papist; and apprehending him accordingly, the late Lord Strafford Deputy of Ireland, sent for this Deponent to bring Sir Toby to him, which he did; who thereupon discharged Sir Toby by word of mouth, and promised to save the Deponent harmlesse, who thereupon repairing to the Archbishop, acquainted him therewith, the Archbishop said, *it is well, I shall speak with him anon*.

NOTE.

John Egerton of the Minorities, deposed, That he being at Lambeth-house upon occasion, did see Sir Toby Matthew there two severall times with the Archbishop; That he being one of the Searchers of the Custom-house in London, did on the 28. of December 1633. seize four hundred Popish books in English, written by one Lewes of Puente a Jesuit, with divers popish Primmers and Catechismes, brought over from beyond the Seas, to seduce his Majesties Subjects, contrary to the statute of 3 Jacobi, cap. 5. which gives the forfeiture of 40^s. for every Book so imported, against the Importers of them: Which Books he carried to the now Archbishop of Canterbury, who commanded him to deliver them to Master Mottershead, Register of the High Commission; which he did: and that about a fortnight after, he comming to the said Mottershead, to demand satisf-

NOTE. faction for his pains and charge in seizing the said Books, and demanding of him where the said Books were? he answered and affirmed to the Deponent, That he had delivered them to the owners of them by the Archbishops direction and command; and Motteshead appointed him only forty shillings for his pains, when the charge he had been at in carrying them from place to place, cost him five pounds: After which he was troubled in the High Commission for importing English Bibles, and there put from his Searchers place, imprisoned and fined two hundred pounds, when as the Importers of popish books were never questioned.

In the year 1640. May 16. upon the Letter of Doctor Thomas Weeks, Chaplain both to the Archbishop, and Bishop of London, there were eleven Cases of popish Books, belonging to one John Weld, a Popish Recusant and others, delivered out of the Custom-house, where they were seized, to the owners to be dispersed, to seduce his Majesties people, contrary to the statute, as Master Jones, Master Dent, and others of the Custom-house, attested under their hands: Viz. Holy Courts 456. Key of Paradise 603. Manuels 661. The life of Eleazar Count of Sabrin 259. The following of Christ 116. Popish Catechismes 344. dozens; Fronts for Altars 39. Ladies Psalters 24. The Mirrour of new Reformation 134. Offices of our Lady 558. Masse books 9. and two great ones more; The Devout heart 101. Vade Mecum 276. A Method to serve our Lady 570. Most of these were very richly bound up, and some of them delivered to Knight the Register of the High Commission, by the Archbishops order, and by him restored to the owners; when as on the contrary, he was very strict in seizing all puritanicall Books, and punishing the dispersers of them; witnesse this his subscription to the Petition of one Francis Wallis Gentleman, who complaining to him against one Thomas Abbis of London, for selling and transporting beyond the Seas, an Abstract of the Laws of New-England; The whole proceedings against Doctor Bastwick, Master Burton, and Master Prynne, and against the Bishop of Lincoln, the Archbishop subscribed it in this sort.

*I desire Sir John Lambe to be very carefull of this bus-
nesse, and that he imploy a trusty and discreet Messenger for
the apprehending of the party here complained of, and seizing
his Books, and let me have an account thereof.*

March 14. 1637.

W. CANT.

For the Archbishops intimacy with Doctor Smith the Bishop of Calcedon, we have no direct proof at hand, but two very suspicious passages in his own Diary, which seem to intimate it, wherein we read as followeth: Jan. 26. 1631. My neerer acquaintance began to settle with Do. S. I pray God blese us in it. June 25. 1632. Do. S. with me, &c. Cum Ma. Which Do. S. we conceive to signifie, either Smith the Arch-Jesuit, of whose familiarity with him the former witnesses have deposed; or Doctor Smith Bishop of Calcedon, with whom, if not this Archbishop, yet his Minion Secretary Windebank at least, held strict intelligence, as appeares by this Originall Letter to his Sonne at Paris, under his owne Hand and Seale, found among his sequestred Papers by MASTER PRYNNE.

TOm, &c. If you see Doctor Smith Bishop of Calcedon there, who is a great Confident of the Cardinals, he may be A FIT INSTRUMENT

INSTRUMENT TO MAKE SOME DISCOVERY OF THE INTELLIGENCE THE SCOTS HOLD THERE: *but this must be done with great caution.* NOTE.

Drury-Lane Decemb.
12. 1630.

Your very loving Father,

FRANCIS WINDEBANK.

The benefit of this intelligence being principally to redound to the Archbishop, the originall cause and grand fomenter of the Scottish Wars, it is most probable, this advice proceeded originally from him, and his interest in this popish Bishop.

Before we make any speciall application of the preceding testimonies and evidence, we shall only manifest what a most pernicious, seducing, dangerous Priest and Jesuit, this Sir Toby Matthew (with whom the Archbishop so familiarly conversed) was at that very time.

Andreas ab Habernsfeld's Discovery of the Plot of Treason against the King, sent from Sir William Boswel to the Archbishop himself, gives this true Character of him: *a Sir Toby Matthew a Priest and Jesuit, of the Order of Politicians, a most vigilant man, one of the primeest heads, to whom a bed was never so deare, that he would rest his head thereon, refreshing his body with sleep in a chaire for an hour or two, spareth his machinations neither day nor night; a man principally noxious, and the very plague of the King and Kingdome of England; a most impudent man, who flies to all Banquets and Feasts, called or uncalled, never quiet, alwayes in action and perpetuall motion, thrusting himself into all meetings of Superiours, urgeth conferences familiarly, that he may fish out the minds of men: whatever he observeth thence, that may bring any commodity or discommodity to the part of the Conspirators, he communicates to the Popes Legat, the more secret things he himselfe writes to the Pope, or to Cardinal Barbarino. In fine, he adjoynes himselfe to any Company; no word can be spoken that he will not lay hold on and accommodate to his party: In the meane time, what he hath fished out, he reduceth into a Catalogue, and in the Summer carries it to the generall Consistory of the Jesuits Politicks, which secretly meets together in the Province of Wales, where he is an acceptable Guest: There Counsels are secretly hammered, which are most meete for the convulsion of the Ecclesiasticke and Politicke State of both Kingdomes.*

a See Romes Master-Piece, pag. 19, 20.

Yea, this most sedulous promoter of the Popes designes, for his dexterity, experience and sedulity in manning his Holinesse affaires in England, was in such extraordinary favour with the Pope, that by a Speciall Bull he committed his last Nuncio, Count Rossetti (being but yong) to his tutelage and direction, as to his *Angle Gardian*; hoping, that his Nuncio assisted by his Counsels, would produce no small fruits to the Catholicke Church IN A SHORT TIME, SPACE, and through the help of the female Amazons there RESTORE THE AUTHORITY OF THE SEE APOSTOLICK IN THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND, which by occasion of one woman (Queen ELIZABETH) was there suppressed. The Copy whereof (found among Secretary Windebanks papers) being very materiall, was read at the Bar: In which Bull the Pope himselfe gives him this Title: A sufficient evidence that Sir Toby was both a Jesuit and Priest too.

NOTE.

Dilecto

*Dilecto Filio TOBIÆ MATHEO Societat. Jesu
Sacerdoti Urbanus Papa 8.*

NOTE.

^a See Romes
Master-peece,
p. 19, 20, 21.

Dilecte Fili salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Ardens animarum zelus quo jam a toi annis in vinea Domini laborando strenuum te militem exhibuisti, promeretur ut tue virtuti debitam laudem reddamus. Sane magnâ cum exultatione audivimus ^a labores quos sustines ut sedis Apostolicæ amplitudinem augeas, & quo caritatis zelo omnibus omnia fias, ut omnes lucrifacias. Decet certe te virum Apostolicum, magni Apostoli exemplo doctum, ut Judeis fias tanquam Judeus, & iis qui sunt sine lege, tanquam sis sine lege, dummodo Sedis Apostolicæ dignitatem promoveas. Ideo cum in magnam Britanniam mittere statuerimus dilectum filium Comitem Ros-

NOTE.

seti, nostrum & Sedis Apostolicæ cum potestate Legati a latere Nuntium, Juvenem zelo Dei accensum, Apostolicæ sollicitudini nostræ satisfactum credidimus, si eum tue curæ committeremus. Jussimus igitur ut tibi communicet Instructiones sibi datus, & a dilecto filio & Nepote nostro, Francisco Sanctæ Reverendis. Ecclesiæ Card. Barbarino subscriptas, teque ab eo quo pro sede Apostolica zelo ardes rogamus, & in quantum opus, est, tibi mandamus, ut prædictum filium & Nuntium nostrum, in omnibus dirigas moneas, instruas, lapsus & errores ejus, (qui per juventutem facile accidere possunt) corrigas (ut sedis Apostolicæ decor inviolatus permaneat) & ut denique in omnibus ei te

NOTE.

Angelum custodem prebeas. Magnam certe spem concepimus prædictum filium & Nuntium tuis consiliis adjutum, non parvos, in Ecclesia Catholica fructus producurum. Labora igitur, dilecte fili, opus fac Evangelistæ, Ministerium iuum imple, Catholicos zelo Dei accende, ipsos conforta, sed præcipue Amazones illas quæ (ut a dilecto filio Georgio Conneo audivimus,) die ac nocte strenuè decertant pro dignitate sedis

^b Q. Elizab.

Apostolicæ. Non diffidimus de Domino, neque de potentia ejus, quia sicut occasione ^b unius femine, autoritas sedis Apostolicæ in Regno Angliæ suppressa fuit, sic nunc per tot Hæroicas fæminas (illas imitantes quæ à Galileo sequebantur Dominum) societatem ejus assidue sequentes, B R E V I in eodem Regno restituenda sit. Adhortare igitur illas ut opus aggressum viriliter prosequantur, & de sede Apostolica (quæ devoti Feminii sexus peculiarem curam gerit) bene mereri pergant. Rogamus patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut tibi spiritum sanctum suum mittat, qui te in omnibus & per omnia custodiat. Apostolicam nostramque benedictionem, dilecte fili, iterum atque iterum tibi impartimur. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, pridie idus Maii.

NOTE:

By all these premised Testimonies and Evidences, it is most fully proved, as farre as is possible for us to goe, unlesse we had the very Popish Priests and Jesuites themselves here personally present to be examined (who would be very unwilling to discover any thing against their Arch-Patriot upon Oath.)

First, that this Archbishop held familiarity and correspondency with sundry notorious Priests and Jesuites forementioned, imployed as Agents by the Papists to reduce and reconcile us unto Rome; who were oft-times seene at Lambeth-house, neer his Study, and publicly boasted of their recourse to, and favour with him.

Secondly, that Sir Toby Matthew, the most dangerous seducing Priest and Jesuite of all others, was most intimately familiar with him, and oft-times seene with him both in his Coach, his Barge, his Garden, his House, and a frequent Guesse at his Table: and Saint Giles, a most pernicious Priest, maintained by him in the University of Oxford to seduce the Doctors and Students there to Popery.

Thirdly, that he was very cold in the prosecution of Priests and Jesuites; and if at any time he imprisoned them for a shew to gull the vulgar people, it was

was onely in the *Clinke* or *New Prison* (not *Newgate* or any County Goale) where they were protected, secured against all Legall prosecutions, had the best Lodgings, a common Steward, Cooke, Table, very good fare, great resort of all sorts of people, daily Masses, and free liberty to walke and stay abroad at pleasure without a Keeper, as freely as any man might walke out of his owne House. Yea, such was his indulgence towards them (though Arch-Traytors by our Lawes) that in his *Epistle Dedicatory to the King himselfe*, before his *Relation of a Conference with Fisher the Jesuite*, he makes this profession of it in Print, not onely to his Majesty, but to the whole world, in these words which were read at the Barre.

In which Speech give me leave to observe to your Sacred Majesty, how grievously you suffer him (Master Fisher) and his Fellowes to be persecuted for the Catho- like Faith, when your poore Subject and servant cannot set out, A true Copy of a Conference held with the Jesuite, Jussu Superiorum; but by and by this man is persecuted. GOD FORBID I SHOULD EVER OFFER TO PERSWADE A PERSECUTION IN ANY KINDE, OR PRACTICE IT IN THE LEAST: (to wit, against Popish Priests and Jesuits, of whom onely he there intended it:) For to my remembrance I HAVE NOT GIVEN HIM OR HIS SO MUCH AS COVRSE LANGVAGE.

Behold from his own pen what a most mild and favourable friend he was to Jesuits and Roman Priests! He never perswaded any persecution against them in any kind, or practised it in the least; adding an *absit*, God forbid that he should ever offer it: But yet on the contrary, did he not perswade a persecution in every kind, and practise it in the highest degree against the most zealous Protestant Ministers, Gentlemen who opposed his and their popish designs, by exciting his Majesty and the whole State against them, even in this very *Epistle*, yea, in his printed *Speech in Star-chamber*, at the censure of Master Prynne, Master Burton, and Doctor Bastwick, and in his *Epistle Dedicatory to the King*, thereto prefixed? all meer perswasions, excitements to persecution in the extreamest degree; Nay, did he not most cruelly practise the same in the severest manner upon sundry of them, by adjudging them to the Pillory, fining them beyond their estates, cutting off their ears, flitting their noses, branding their cheeks with hot irons, whipping them through the streets, shutting them up close prisoners in nasty dungeons, banishing them into remote Islands, there to be perpetually imprisoned al their lives, so strictly, that neither Wives, children, kinred, friends, must have the least access unto them, nor yet set footing in the Islands to visit or relieve them? yea, deprive them of Pen, Inke, Paper to write unto their friends for necessities, or Petition for release; intercept all Letters and reliefe sent to them, and deprive them of the use of all Books to passe their time, except the Bible, Common-Prayer-Booke, Doctor Cozens, and such like Books of private devotion? And did he not persecute hundreds of other godly Ministers, yea raise up a generall persecution against them throughout the Kingdome, and drive sundry of them, with many thousands of religious, godly people out of the Kingdome into forraigne Plantations among Savages and Indian heathens? Nay, did he not all this and more whiles he had any power, notwithstanding God himselfe did forbid it? And whereas he writes, *That to his remembrance he never gave this Jesuite, or any of his, so much as course language*: he was so far from using such civility to our godly Protestant Ministers, Gentlemen, & others who most opposed Popery and Popish Innovations; that his mouth was full of most bitter railing Invectives, Satyres, revilings against them, not onely in his private Chamber when ever convented before him, but even in his publick Speeches in the Star-chamber and High-Commission; witnesse his printed Speech in Star-chamber before mentioned, with his *Epistle* to it; nay, in this
very

very Epistle to the King, he thus railes upon them in down-right tearmes; *How I have been used by the scandalous and scurrilous penne of some bitter men, the world knows: little leasure and lesse encouragement given me, whiles I am under the Prophets affliction, Psal. 50. between the mouth that speaks wickednesse, and the tongue that sets forth deceit, and slander me as thick as if I were not their own mothers sonne. In the midst of these libellous outcries against me, &c. Factions people at home, &c.* And not content to rayle at them himselve in Speech and Print, he set his creatures every-where to revile and rayle most libellously against them in Presse and Pulpit; witnesse Doctor Heylins and Christopher Doves books against Master Burton, written and printed by this Archbishops command, Doctor Pocklintons and Bishop Mountagues Books forecited; Bishop Whites Epistle before his Discourse of the Sabbath, Doctor Heylins History of the Sabbath, and Antidotum Lincolnense, with infinite Sermons, full of gall, vinegar, and most libellous railings against Puritans, and the most zealous Protestants, without the least invective against Priests, Pope, or Jesuits; Therefore his grand affection, his favorable dealing with Priests and Jesuits on the one side, compared with his most harsh persecutions and libellous invectives against their Opposites, are most pregnant evidences for what party he stood, and whose designs he most cordially drove on.

NOTE.

Fourthly, that the Archbishop contrary to his Trust, Oath, Place and duty, both as an Archbishop, a Privy Counsellour and high Commissioner, did not onely favour Seminary Priests and Jesuits, though traitors by Law, but discourage, discountenance those Officers appointed by the State to apprehend them; telling Thomas Mayo, that he was too hot and nimble for that service; threatening Master Thatcher to lay him by the heels, and turne him out of his place, if he kept company with Gray, who gave him intelligence of the persons and lodgings of Priests and Jesuits; threatening all the Messengers of the high Commission openly in Court, that if they kept company with Gray (whom he called A PRIEST-CATCHER) he would not onely lay them by the heels, but likewise pull their Coats from off their backs, and turne them out of their places: That he caused Gray to be committed to the Fleet above twelve weeks for apprehending Priests, and the words forementioned, yea threw away his Petition, saying, He would have nothing to doe with that PRIEST-CATCHING KNAVE: nay, he and Master Waddesworth must not be released out of Prison till they would promise never to apprehend or prosecute Priests or Jesuits more. A most cleer demonstration, that he not onely had correspondency and intelligence with Priests and Jesuits, but likewise was their Arch-protector, their grand friend, insomuch that Smith the Jesuit openly threatned Master Newton in the streets, That he had done his errand to the Archbishop.

Cooks 4. Inst.
p. 94.

Now we appeale to all the world, whether ever any reall Protestant Prelat shewed himself such a Patriot of Priests and Jesuits in this kind as he? or whether the Pope himselve could have done more in their behalfe then he did, had he sate Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth-house. It was one chief Article of the Privy Counsels and Judges charge against Cardinall Woolsey, presented to King Henry the eighth: That he had been the impeacher and disturber of due and direct correction of Errours and Heresies, by reason whereof, they crept more abroad, and tooke greater place, being nighly to the danger and perill of the whole body, and good Christian people of this Realme: All which this Archbishop is guilty in an higher measure, in respect of Popery, Priests and Jesuits; then ever this Cardinall was, in regard of the Lutheran Sect and Opinions.

Fifthly, it is evident that the Archbishop had a hand in assisting the Papists Priests and Jesuits, in the dispersing of their popish Books, to seduce his Majesties Subjects, contrary to an expresse Statute; whereas he used all possible diligence to suppress the printing, dispersing, importing Orthodox Books (and those he stiled Puritannicall) both at home and beyond the Seas.

Finally,

Finally, the Archbishop complied with the Papists, Priests, Jesuits, in concealing their very treasonable plots and conspiracies against the King, Kingdome, Church, and all professors of the Protestant Religion; we shall instance but in two particulars. The first is in the case of *Mistresse Anne Hussey*, who deposed at the Lords Barre to this effect: That *William O Conner an Irish Priest*, servant to the *Queen Mother*, soon after Easter, in the year 1640. among other discourses, told her, at the house of one *Master Hill*, neer the Strand in *Westminster*, That there were many private houses about London, wherein they used to have Masse said, that there were 7000. men in private pay ready to ayde the *Catholicks*, and to cut the *Protestants* throats that should resist them.

NOTE.

After which, he comming to her in great haste, at *Mistresse Pinocks* house about the end of *July 1640*, told her, That he was then in great haste, for he had Letter from the *Queen Mother*, to be delivered to three *Embassadours*, the *Spanish*, the *Venetian*, the *French*, to send to the *Pope*, to know from himselfe or his *Legat*, when to begin the subduing of the *Protestants*; that the *Queen his Lady* was no foole, and that if the *King* joyned with the *Protestants*, they would cut him off, if not by the sword, yet by some other way; that if no other hand would doe it, his hand should kill the *King*; and that he would kill an *Heretick* at any time, for the advancement of the *Mother Church of Rome*, swearing by *Saint Francis* and *Saint Dominick*, that he would doe it. All which he spake to her in *Irish*, she counterfeiting her selfe to be a *Roman Catholick*, desirous to become a *Nunne*. He likewise confessed, That he had been a servant long to the *Queen Mother*, and imployed by her in businesse to all the *Princes of CHRISTENDOME*.

Whereupon she according to her duty and alleagiance, complained of this Priest, revealing this discourse and treason of his to the *Lords of the Privy Counsell*, attesting her information upon oath, and producing a Letter of this Priests to her under his owne hand, with some other witnesses to confirme her testimony in point of circumstance of time, place, and this Priests resort unto her; But the *Archbishop of Canterbury* to discourage and take her off from this discovery, reviled and gave her many ill words and threats, told her she was mad, and that she was hired by the *Londoners* to make this accusation; demanding, how she durst be so bold as to utter or discover ought which had any the least reflection upon the *Queen Mother*? threatening to have her punished, and caused her to be committed to one of the *Sheriffes* of *Londons* house; whereas the other *Lords* gave her good words, and committed the Priest to the *Gate-house*, and so the businesse was smothered, without further prosecution, till she revived it this *Parliament* in the *Commons House*, who released her of her restraint.

NOTE.

We shall close all with the most desperate plot of *Cardinall Barbarino*, the *Popes Nuncio*, the society of the *English and Scottish Jesuits*, with their confederates, to subvert the *Protestant Religion*, usher in *Popery*, raise a *Warre* between *England* and *Scotland*, subvert the government both of *Church* and *State*, yea, to poyson the *King* himselfe if he crossed this designe, and then to seize and traine up the *Prince* in the *Popish Religion*.

See Romes Master-Piece.

This plot being discovered at first only in generall, by a chief Actor in it, (sent from *Rome*) to *Andreas ab Habernfield*, & *Sir Wil. Boswell*, & by them by Letters from the *Hague* to the *Archbishop*; he conceiving it to be a plot only of the *Puritanes* to destroy the *King* and himselfe too, revealed it to the *King*, and prosecuted the further discovery with all earnestnesse, as appeares by sundry *Originall Letters* concerning it, felzed and attested by *Master Frynne*, produced at the Barre. But no sooner received he the large particular discovery of it, which fastned the treason onely upon *Cardinall Barbarino*, the *Popes Nuncio*, the *Jesuits* with their confederates, *Sir Toby Matthew*, *Sir Kenelme Digby*, *Sir John Winter*, *Endimion Porter*, *Secretary Windebanke*, *Master Walter Mountague*, the Countesse

Countesse of *Arundel*, and others; but he presently smothered it; yea though he received the full discovery of it, but on the 14. of *October* 1640. not many dayes before the beginning of this present Parliament; yet he never revealed it to both or either Houses of Parliament, or any members thereof for the preservation of our Religion, Church, State, King thereby, and the executing condigne punishment on these Arch-traitors and Conspirators, then present in *London* and *Westminster*, nor yet so much as disclosed it, when *Sir Toby Matthew*, *Sir John Winter*, and others were questioned in the Commons House, about the Popish Parliament kept in *London*, and the levying of moneys against the Scots, among the Papists; nor when Secretary *Windebank* was questioned for releasing Priests and Jesuits against Law; and the negotiation of the Popes Nuncio debated in the Commons House, but concealed these papers from the Parliaments knowledge, till Master *Prynne* unexpectedly seized them in the Archbishops Cabinet in the Tower of *London*.

From all which particulars, we conceive we have abundantly manifested, most substantially proved his correspondency, confederacy with the Pope and his instruments of all sorts, in their most desperate treasons, to extirpate our Religion, introduce popery, reconcile, reduce the Church of *England* to the Church of *Rome*, and most satisfactorily justified; the first Branch of our charge of high treason against him in every particular; wherupon we most humbly pray, in the name of the Commons of *England*, the Judgment of an Arch-traitor to be given against him, as one who hath declared himself a professed Traitor, not only to our Laws, Liberties, Parliament, Kingdoms, but to our very Religion, Church, souls, the highest treason of all others, especially in a Clergyman, an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who is by title, office, *Primate* and *Metropolitan* of all *England*; yea Confessor, chiefe Curate, and Ecclesiasticall Vicegerent to the King himselfe, who entrusted him wholly, if not solely, with the care of our Religion, which he hath most perfidiously undermined; betrayed sundry wayes, as all the premises demonstrate.


THE



The Archbishops several

ANSWERS

To the Proofs and Evidence produced to make good the
first Branch of his CHARGE, with the Commons
Replies, and Rejoynders thereunto.

 WE have now presented you with the intire evidence of the Commons given in against the Archbishop at the Lords Tribunal, in proof of the first main Branch of his impeachment, to wit, his traitorous endeavours to subvert the true Religion established among us, to introduce and set up Popery, and reconcile us unto *Rome*, without any diminution, to which I have here and there made some small Additions, not by way of evidence or charge, but only of illustration or amplification of some things given in evidence in the general, briefly pointed at and so passed over, not read at large at the bar for want of time.

We shall next as faithfully, as exactly as our imperfect notes, and frail memory will assist, relate his several Answers and Replies given to the particular proofs produced against him, both as he delivered them in person after each dayes evidence at the Lords bar, and as he afterwards repeated them in his general defence, with some Additions, in the Lords and Commons House; wherein if I have involuntarily mistaken or misreported his words or answers in any particular as I presume I have not done, his surviving friends must only blame either him, or themselves, not me, who used all the means I could to his Secretary Mr. Dell, his Council, and others whom he trusted with his Papers, to procure his own Original written Notes, Answers, and Replies, or true Copies of them; that so I might have printed them *verbatim*, to avoid all calumnies and mistakes; yet could neither by my own intreaties, nor warrants from Authority procure them, or any Copies thereof: Mr. Dell returning me this answer, *that he believed the Archbishop himself had burnt all his Notes and Answers in his life time, to prevent their publication after his death.*

To avoid prolixity, obscurity, that every Reader may more clearly discern the insufficiency, falshood, Sophistry of his Answers, and the pregnancy of the Commons proofs, and evidence to make good their impeachment against him in each particular; I shall forbear to relate his Answers and the Commons Replies thereto, intirely together in two distinct continued Relations, as they were delivered at the bar, but subjoyn the Commons distinct Replies to his severall Answers to each particular proof and part of their evidence, as they lie in order; that so *reddendo singula singulis*, the pertinency of their evidence, and reality of his guiltinesse, may more perspicuously shine forth to all the world; I aiming only at verity, not victory in this Relation.

The Archbishop began his Answer to the first Branch of the Commons charge, concerning his traitorous endeavours to subvert the true Religion of God by Law established among us, and set up Popish Superstition and Idolatry in its stead, with a general detestation both of the charge and fact, for which presumptuous and unseemly expression, he was justly taxed by the Commons council, as be-

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ing a defiance given to them and their proceedings, professing it the greatest unhappinesse that ever befel him, to be thus deeply and criminally charged by the Honourable House of Commons (the representative body of the whole commonalty of *England*) before the highest Tribunal in the Realm, as being guilty of such a crime as this, in his last dying dayes, when he had one foot already in the grave, which his own conscience pronounced him to have been guiltlesse of, all the dayes of his life: Yet protesting it to be an unspeakable comfort to him in this his infelicity, that he was arraigned for it before so just, so Honourable an Assembly of Peers (many of them being privy to the sincerity of his actions and advices to his Majestie) to vindicate his integrity to all the world, and wash off all those black spots of calumny, of obloquy, wherewith he had for many years by-past, been most unjustly aspersed by Sectaries on the one hand, by Iesuits and Papists on the other, to ruin him both in his reputation, fortune, and his Majesties most gracious opinion. And so presuming he had sufficiently cleared himself in the general from this heavy charge in their Lordships and others opinions by his first dayes speech, the new Canons and Oath prescribed in them, and by his Book against *Fisher* the Iesuite; he would without any further Prologue or Apology descend to Answer the particular evidences, proofs, produced against him by the Commons in their respective order, with as much brevity, perspicuity as the suddainnesse of his preparations, the frailty of his memory, the burthen of 70 years, with other natural infirmities then lying heavy upon him, would permit: And to give him his due, he made as full, as gallant, as pithy a defence of so bad a cause, and spake as much for himself, as was possible for the wit of man to invent, and that with so much Art, Sophistry, Vivacity, Oratory, Audacity and confidence, without the least blush or acknowledgement of guilt in any thing, (animated by his seated Panders lying by him) as argued him rather obstinate, then innocent, impudent, then penitent, a far better Orator, Sophister, then Protestant or Christian, yea, a truer Son of the Church of *Rome*, then of the Church of *England* in many particulars, as you will anon discern.

He began his defence, where the Commons did their charge, and they their Reply where he began his Answer, to wit, at his publike Chappel at *Lambeth* House.

Object. 1.

The first thing the Commons have in their evidence charged against me, is the setting up and repairing of Popish Images and Pictures in the glasse windows of my Chappel at *Lambeth*; and amongst others, the Picture of Christ hanging on the Crosse between the two Theeves in the East window; of God the Father in Form of a little old Man, with a Glory, striking *Myriam* with a leprosie; of the Holy Ghost descending in Form of a Dove; and of Christs Nativity, last Supper, Resurrection, Ascension, and others, the Patern whereof Master *Pryn* attested I took out of the very Masse Book, wherein he shewed their Postratures.

Ans^r.

To which I answer: First, that I did not set these Images up, but found them there before: Secondly, That I did only repair the windows which were so broken and the Chappel which lay so nastily before, that I was ashamed to behold, and could not resort unto it, but with some disdain, which caused me to repair it to my great cost: Thirdly, that I made up the History of these old broken Pictures, not by any patern in the Masse Book, but only by help of the fragments and remainders of them, which I compared with the story: Fourthly, though the very resemblances of them be in the Masse Book, yet I protest I never knew they were there, till Master *Pryn* shewed them in it at this bar: And it is but a meer fallacy, the Pictures which I repaired are in the Masse Book; *Ergo*, I took the patern of them out of it: Fifthly, Master *Calvin* himself allows an Historical use of Images, *Inst. l. 1. c. 11. Sect. 12.* where thus he writes, *Neque tamen ea superstitione teneor, ut nullas prorsus imagines ferendas censeam; sed quia sculptura et pictura Dei dona sunt, purum et legitimum utriusque usum requiro*: Sixthly, our Homilies themselves allow an Historical use of Images, as appears by Page 64. 65.

Seventhly

Seventhly, The Primitive Christians approved, and had the Pictures of Christ himself: *Tertullian* recording, that they had the Picture of Christ engraven on their Chalice in form of a Shepherd carrying home the lost sheep on his back. Eighthly, I hope the repairing and setting up of these Pictures is no High-Treason by any Law. Ninthly, Images and Pictures in Arras, or Glasse-Windows, are not against the Statute of 3. E. 6. c. 10. but Statues onely.

To this was replied: First, That he did not finde these Images there compleat or entire, but broken and demolished by vertue of our Statutes, Homilies, Injunctions forecited, and that at the beginning of Reformation; ever since which time they continued unrepaired, as Monuments of our indignation and detestation against them, like the ruines of our Abbies and Monasteries.

Reply.

Secondly, We have here *confitentem reum*, the Archbishop plainly confessing that we charge him with; to wit, the repairing of the broken Images of Christ, the Holy Ghost in Glasse-Windows; and no wayes denying, extenuating, but justifying this Popish-Fact of his against our Statutes, Homilies, Injunctions, Writers, yea, his own frequent Subscriptions to our Homilies, and Articles of Religion, which confirm them: Nay, Mr. Brown his own Joyner, attested, that he by the Archbishops directions, repaired and new made the broken Crucifix in *Croyden* Chappel, as well as in *Lambeth* Chappel; and the Archbishop plainly confesseth, That he had no great devotion to serve God in *Lambeth* Chappel, nor yet to resort unto it, till these Images were repaired, and now beautified to please his eyes.

Thirdly, That himself took pains, and gave direction to the Glasiers to make up the Stories and Pictures in the Windows, out of the broken fragments remaining, and new made them to his excessive cost, whereas he might have new glased them with unpainted Glasse, for the tenth part of that his Painted Pictures cost him.

Fourthly, He confesseth the very portraitures of the new furbished Pictures in his Chappel to be all contained in the Masse-Book, which we made so apparant to your Lordships, that he could not with shame deny it; but protests he knew them not to be in it, and that he took not his patern out of it. To which we must reply, That he having noted his Masse-Book, wherein we shewed them to be portrayed, in every page almost with his own hand, and turning this Book so frequently over, must of necessity see these Pictures in it, which are so large and visible, unlesse we shall suppose him blinde, or such an hater of them, as purposely to turn his eye-sight from them, which is improbable; And therefore, notwithstanding this bold Protestation of his, we hold our Argument both true and solid. The new Images in his Chappel-Windows exactly agree in all things with the Printed ones in his Masse-Book, which he could not but know, and see too, as oft as he noted or perused his *Roman Missal*. Ergo, He took his patern from the Masse-Book in the repairing, as well as his Popish Predecessors in the first making of them, since no other patern hath been produced by him, by which he gave directions to new make them, but the *Roman Missal*.

Fifthly, We wonder greatly, that he who hath so much traduced, reviled Mr. Calvin publicly heretofore, should flie thus unto him for shelter now; but as he abused his person and memory then, so he miserably perverts and misapplies his words now, point-blank against his meaning. Mr. Calvin onely affirms, that he is not so superstitious as to think it altogether unlawful to make any Images of men or Beasts for a civil use, since painting is the gift of God: From whence the Archbishop hath inferred. Ergo, Mr. Calvin holds it lawful to make the Pictures of Christs Nativity, last Supper, Passion, Resurrection, coming to Judgement; of God the Father, like an Old Man; of Christ on the Crosse, of God the Holy Ghost, in form of a Dove, and Cloven-Tongues, of the Virgin-Mary, other Saints, and to set them up in Churches, as he did these Images in his Chappel: Whereas Master Calvin in the self same place, in most positive terms, concludes the contrary; Witnesse the very next words following those he objects;

Purum & legitimum utriusque usum requiro, ne quæ Dominus in suam gloriam, & bonum nostrum nobis contulit, ea non tantum polluantur præpostero abusu, sed in nostram quoque perniciem convertantur. Deum effigi visibili specie NEFAS ESSE PUTAMUS, quia id vetuit ipse, & fieri sine aliqua gloriæ ejus deformatione non potest. Which he proves at large. Then speaking of Images in Churches, he writes, they were introduced thither, (b) Non judicio aut delectu, sed stulta & inconsiderata cupiditate. In the very next Section he debates the very point in question, whether it be lawful for Christians to have any Images at all of Histories, or of men's bodies (not of any persons in the Trinity, the very making whereof he formerly concludes to be a great wickedness) which he thus propounds and resolves:

(b) Instit. l. 1.
c. 11. Sect. 13.

Verum illo quoque discrimine omisso, an ullas omnino imagines, sive quæ res gestas, sive quæ hominum corpora figurent, habere in templis Christianis expediat, obiter expendamus. Principio, si quid nos movet veteris Ecclesiæ authoritas, meminerimus quingentis circiter annis, quibus magis adhuc florebat religio, & syncerior doctrina vigeat, Christiana templa fuisse communiter ab imaginibus vacua. Ergo tunc primum in ornamentum templorum ascita sunt, quum ministerii synceritas nonnihil degenerasset. Non disputabo ecquid rationis habuerint qui primi fuerunt ejus rei authores: verum si ætatem cum ætate conseras, videbis illos multum declinasse ab eorum integritate quæ imaginibus caruerunt. Quid? an passuros fuisse putamus sanctos illos Patres Ecclesiam tandiu ea re carere, quam utilem ac salutarem esse judicarent? At certe quia videbant in ea aut nihil aut minimum utilitatis, plurimum autem subesse periculi, repudiaverunt magis consilio & ratione, quam ignoratione aut negligentia prætermiserunt. Quod etiam Augustinus clavis verbis testatur, Quum his sedibus locantur, inquit, honorabili sublimitate, ut à præcantibus atque immolantibus attendantur, ipsa similitudine animatorum membrorum atque sensuum, quamvis sensu & anima careant, afficiunt infirmos animos, ut vivere ac spirare videantur, &c. * Et alibi. Hoc enim facit, & quodammodo extorquet illa figura membrorum, ut animus in corpore vivens magis arbitretur sentire corpus, quod suo simillimum videt, &c. Paulo post. Plus valent simulachra ad curvandam infelicem animam, quod os, oculos, aures, pedes habent, quam ad corrigendam, quod non loquuntur, neque vident, neque audiunt, neque ambulant. Hæc sanè videtur causa esse, cur * Johannes non tantum à simulachrorum cultu, sed ab ipsis quoque simulachris cavere nos voluerit. Et nos horribili insania, quæ ad totius fore pietatis interitum orbem ante hac occupavit, plus nimio sumus experti, simulatq; in templis collocantur imagines, quasi signum idololatriæ erigi: quia sibi temperare non potest hominum stultitia, quin protinus ad supersticiosos cultus delabatur. Quod si nec tantum periculi immineret, quum tamen expendo in quem usum destinata sint templa, nescio quomodo indignum mihi videtur eorum sanctitate, ut alias recipient imagines quàm vivas illas & iconicas, quas verbo suo Dominus consecravit: Baptismum intelligo & Cœnam Domini, cum aliis ceremoniis quibus oculos nostros & studiosius devineri, & vividius affici convenit quàm ut alias hominum ingenio fabrefactas requirant. En incomperabile imaginum bonum, quod nulla pensatione resarciri potest, si Papiæ creditur. This Author hath many such like Passages in his other works; and therefore the Archbishops citing of him to justify his Chappel Images, argues either extreme Ignorance or Falshood.

* Epist. 49. &
lib. 4. De Ci-
vitate Dei. c. 31

* In Psal. 113.

* 1. Ioan. 5. 21.

Sixthly, Whereas he would pray in ayd from our Homilies, to justify the Historical use of these Images in his Chappel: The Homilies are so point-blank against it, as we have proved, that Impudency it self would blush to cite them to such a purpose, especially since the Third Part of the Homily against the Peril of Idolatry, pag. 41, 42, 43. expressly resolves it unlawful to make the picture of Christ, or any person in the Trinity, much lesse to set them up in Churches.

Seventhly, That the Primitive Christians approved of Images, and had the picture of Christ in their Churches, and engraven on their Chalices, is a most notorious Falshood: For Justine Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, Tertullian, Minutius Felix, Origen, Arnobius, Cyprian, Lactantius, Geogory Nyssen, Athanasius, Ambrose, Epiphanius, Eusebius, Hierome, Augustine, Hilary, Chrysostome, Theodoret,

doret, Theophylact, and other Ancients unanimously agree, That the Primitive Christians had no Images at all in their Churches, together with the Councils of Eliberis, Constantinople, Toledo, Francford, and Constantine the Great, Constantinus Caballinus, Nicephorus Stauratus, Philipicus, Anthemius, Theodosius the second, Leo Armenus, Valens, Michael Balbus, Theophylus, Charls the Great, with sundry other godly Emperors, utterly demolished and cast them out of Churches, as Ecclesiastical Authors, our own (c) Homilies, (d) Writers prove at large against the Papsts: (e) Lactantius and other Primitive Christians write exprelly, That without doubt there can be no Religion at all in that place wheresoever any Image is; whereupon Epiphanius rent the Image of Christ or some other Saint, which he found in a Church painted in cloth, out of holy indignation, as contrary to the Authority of the Scriptures. In few words, Our own Homilies against the peril of Idolatry, part, 2. p. 38. exprelly resolve, That when Images began to creep into the Church, they were not onely spoken and written against by godly and learned Bishops, Doctors and Clerks, but also condemned by **WHOLE COUNCELS OF LEARNED MEN** assembled together; yea the said Images, by many Christian Emperors and Bishops were defaced, broken and destroyed. Which Mr. Calvin in the place objected by the Bishop, affirms likewise. And therefore it is a most desperate Impudency in the Archbishop, thus falsly to affirm the contrary, point-blank against our Homilies and his own subscription to them. And whereas he cites Tertullian, to prove, that the Christians in his dayes had the picture of Christ upon their Chalices; We Answer, That if the Book de Pudicitia be Tertullians own, (of which some doubt) yet his words import no such thing, which are these, *A parabolis licebit incipias; ubi est ovis perdita à Domino acquisita, & humeris ejus reueta; Procedant ipsæ PICTURÆ CALICUM VESTRORUM (not nostrorum) si velle nullis perlucebit interpretatio pecudis illius, utrumne Christiano vel Ethnico peccatori de restitutione collinet.* If this place intimate any thing, it is onely this, That the Phychici and other Hereticks against whom he writ this Book, (not the Orthodox Christians, as this Prelate dreams) had the picture of the lost sheep graven on their cups: will it therefore follow hence, Ergo The Orthodox Christians had Crucifixes and Images of Christ, God the Father, the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary in their Churches, in their Chappells, as he hath set up in his Lambeth Chappel windows? Certainly this is a grosse Nonsequitur. Yet this is his learned Argument from this Authority rightly stated. And that he hath most grossly abused Tertullian, your Lordships and his Auditory, in alleadging Tertullian for defence of Images, and their use among the Primitive Christians; certainly Tertullian is so far from any such opinion, that he hath written a whole Book de Idololatria, next before this de Pudicitia, wherein he exprelly condemns, not onely the having, but making of any Image or Picture for any use, and the very Arts of carving and painting Images, as contrary to the second Commandment (as the Jews, Iosephus, Philo and others did before him; & the very Turks and Persians at this day.) Take but this Sentence of his insted of many; *Omnis forma vel formula Idolum se dici exposcit. Idolum TAM FIERI quam coli Deus prohibet. Quanto precedit ut fiat quod coli possit tantò prius est NE FIAT si coli non licet. Propter hanc causam, ad eradicandam scilicet materiam Idololatriæ, lex divina proclamat, Ne feceris Idolum: & conjungens: Neque similitudinem eorum quæ in cælo sunt, & quæ in terra, & quæ in mari: TOTO MUNDO EÛSMODI ARTIBUS INTERDIXIT SERVIS DEI. Artifices statuarum & Imaginum DIABOLVS seculo notulit, &c.* Which he prosecutes at large throughout this eloquent Book. And therefore his Impudency and Sophistry in citing Tertullian for defence of Images in Churches, who is thus point-blank against the making of any Image whatsoever, even for civil uses, is an intolerable, inexcusable Boldnesse.

Eighthly, Whereas he Answers, That the setting up of these Glasse-Images is no High-Treason by the Statute: We grant it not to be so simply in it self, neither do we urge it to be so, but as it tends to subvert our Religion, Laws, and set up Popery,

(c) See the 2. and 3. part of the Homily against the peril of Idolatry. (d) Histriomastix, p. 894. to 915. Bishop ushers Answer to the Iesuits challenge, pag. 491. Rutherfords Divine Right of Church-Government. (e) De Origine Erroris. c. 2. & 17.

concurs with his other practises of this nature, so it may and will prove High Treason. The second Part of the *Homily against the peril of Idolatry*, Page 37. assures us, *That the maintenance of Images hath brought in a sea of mischiefs, horrible Schisms, Rebellions, TREASON S*, and his maintaining of them hath done the like.

Ninthly, we conceive that the Statute of 3. E. 6. c. 10. which command all Images of Stone, Timber, Alabaster, or Earth, graven, carved, or painted; which heretofore have been taken out of any Church or Chapple, or yet stand in any Church or Chapple to be defaced and destroyed, extend to Images in glasse windowes as well as others, which are but painted Earth; and that which confirms us in this opinion is, That the *Homilies against the peril of Idolatry (the occasion of this Law)* and the *injunctions of Queen Elizabeth* made in pursuance of it, extend in direct terms to Images in glasse windowes, as well as to Images of Stone, Timber and the like, yea, the practise of that time in defacing the glasse Images in *Lambeth Chapple-windowes* (which he of late repaired) and in most other places, infallibly proves it: Together with the Statute of 3. Jac. c. 5. which reckons up Images and Crucifixes, of what matter soever, among the *Reliques of Popery*, and enjoynes them to be defaced: wherefore this evasion of his is most false and frivolous, especially since Popery may creep in at a glasse-window, as well as at a door; and our Homilies, Injunctions, writers censure all of them alike, if this Statute do it not: Finally, by all these Answers he professeth himself a most zealous, real Papist, but false Protestant in pleading thus boldly and fallly for the use of Images of all sorts in Churches, and in repairing of Popish Images formerly defaced by Authority, instead of confessing and craving pardon for this his dangerous error, his most Idolatrous, Popish practise.

Object. 2.
(b) See here
Pa. 62, 64.

The second thing objected against me, as a *Popish Innovation* in my Chapple at *Lambeth*, is, (b) my removing and railing in the Communion Table, there Altarwise, with the ends of it North and South against the wall; my furnishing it with Basons, Candlesticks, and other furniture, and hanging a cloth of Arras behinde it, with the Picture of Christ and his Apostles eating the Lords Supper together.

Ans.

To which I Answer, First, That the railing in and placing the Table Altarwise is warranted by *Queen Elizabeths Injunctions*, which prescribe, That the Holy Table in every Church be decently made, and set in the place where the Altar stood: Now the Altars generally in all Churches, as all Antiquity manifests, stood at the East end of the Quire, North and South close to the wall, as the Tables were lately placed, and there were railed in: This therefore is no innovation.

Secondly, the furniture on the Altar is no other then such as is in use in the Kings own Chapple at *White-Hall*, and had been there used ever since and before my time.

Thirdly, that the Arras peece at the back of the Table containing the Story of Christs last Supper, was fit for that place and occasion: That such Images and representations were lawful, approved by all the *Lutheran Churches*, yea, by Master *Calvin* himself, for an Historical use, in the place forecited, *Inst. l. 1. c. 11. Sect. 12.*

Reply.

To this the Commons replied, First, That neither *Queen Elizabeths Injunctions*, nor the Rubrick in the Common Prayer-Book, nor any Law or Canon of our Church prescribe the railing in of our Communion Tables, or placing them Altarwise against the wall, with the ends North and South: There is no fillable in any of them to warrant any such Popish innovation, prescribed only by Popish Canons, as we have proved: That it cannot be proved that Altars were generally so placed and railed in anciently, either in *England* or elsewhere: The contrary whereof we shall prove anon; That the makers and executers of these Innovations knew best of any, where and how Communion Tables were to be situated by vertue of them, and they generally placed them throughout the Realm, in the midst of the Quire or Chancel, with the ends East and West, standing a convenient distance

Since from the East wall, without any rail about it, in which posture they generally stood in all Churches, Chapples, and in *Lambeth Chapple* it self for one, ever since these Injunctions published, till this innovating Arch-prelate altered this their ancient situation. Yet both the Rubrick in the Common Prayer Book, the Queens Injunctions, the 82 Canon, Bishop *Jewel*, Bishop *Babington*, Doctor *Fulk*, and other of our writers agree, that when the Sacrament is administred it ought to stand in the body of the Church or Chancel, of which more hereafter: This therefore is an innovation and that a Popish one too, tending to introduce private Masse, to remove the Lords Table as far as possible from the view and audience of the common people, when the Sacrament is celebrated at it.

Secondly, We (k) have proved, that this Altar-furniture of Candlesticks, (k) See p. 62. Tapers, Basons, Crucifixes, and the like, was originally borrowed from the Roman, Ceremonial, Pontifical, and the Popish Council of Aix, which injoyn them, That the third Part of our Homilies against the peril of Idolatry, and Queen Elizabeths Injunctions (which he cites for the placing of Lords Tables Altarwise) Injunct. 2. 23, 25. condemn, censure, abolish, as Superstitious, Ethnical, and Popish, all Candlesticks, Trendals, Rolls of wax, and setting up of Tapers, for that they be things tending to Idolatry and Superstition, which of all other offences, God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminish most his honour and glory: Therefore the Kings Altar-Furniture in his Chappel at *White Hall*, can be no justification nor extenuation of his offence, who should have reformed his Majesties Chappel (whereof he was the Dean and Superintendent, according to our Lawes, Homilies, Injunctions which condemn such Altar-trinkets) not conformed his own Chapple, Altar to the Kings, in these meer Popish Superstitious innovations.

Thirdly, The Arras hanging was rather suited to the Crucifixes in the glasse window over it and other Images of Christ in that Chappel, then to the place or Lords Table where it hanged. The Table and Sacramental elements themselves, with the usual participation of them every moneth, being sufficient to minde us of our Saviours last Supper, passion, death too, and (l) to shew them forth till he come, (who used no such Pictures nor Crucifixes, when he instituted his last Supper) without any such Image or Crucifix: which being condemned by our Statutes, Homilies, Injunctions, Canons, Writers, as we have formerly evidenced, yea, by all Antiquity, by Mr. *Calvin* himself, and many *Lutherans* too, ought not to have been placed there; the rather, because there is no warrant nor pre-script for it, but only in the (m) *Roman Ceremonial*, p. 69. 70. His conformity (m) See p. 62. whereto was the only ground of hanging up those Arras Pictures, which well deserves another hanging, especially in an Arch-prelate, who professeth himself a Protestant, and as averse from Popery as any man whatsoever.

The third sort of Innovations in my Chappel charged against me, is the setting up of a (n) *Credentia* or Side-table, my own and my Chaplaines bowing towards the Table or Altar at our approaches to it, our going in and out from the Chappel; my Chaplains with my own using of Copes therein, at the celebration of the Lords Supper and solemn consecrations of Bishops, attested by Dr. *Heywood* my own Chaplain, who confessed, That he celebrated the Sacrament at *Lambeth Chapple* in a Cope, that my other Chaplains did the like, and that he thought I was sometimes present when they did it; that the Bread when the Sacrament was administred was first laid upon the *Credentia*, from whence he took it in his hand and then carried it too, and kneeling down upon his knee presented it, laid it on the Lords Table, on which there were Candlesticks, and Tapers, but not burning; as he had seen them at *White-Hall*; which Mr. *Cordwel* once my servant likewise deposed; adding, that I was present sometimes when this was done, and that my Chaplains bowed down thrice towards the Altar at their approaches to it.

To which I Answer: First, that I took my patern of the *Credentia* from Bishop *Andrews* Chappel.

Secondly,

(l) 1 Cor. 11. 26.
Gal. 3. 1.

(m) See p. 62.

Object. 3.
(n) Here pag. 63, 64.

Ans.

Secondly, that this bowing towards the Altar was used in the Kings Chappel, and in many Cathedrals both in Queen *Elizabeths* and King *James* their reigns.

(o) See p.63. Thirdly, that the use of Copes is prescribed by the 24 Canon of our Church Anno 1603. which orders thus, (o) *In all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, the Holy Communion shall be administered upon principal feast dayes, sometimes by the Bishop if he be present, and sometimes by the Dean, sometimes by a Canon or Prebendary, the principal Minister using a decent Cope.* This therefore is no Innovation.

Reply.

To this was retorted in general, that Sir *Nathaniel Brent*, and Doctor *Featly* deposed, nor there was no such *Credentia*, bowing towards the Table, Altar, nor any Cope at all used in *Lambeth* Chappel, in his predecessors time; therefore all these are meer Innovations: In particular, it was replied, that it appears not by proof Bishop *Andrews* had any such utensels, vestments, or bowings in his Chappel; therefore this is a meer groundlesse evasion: But admit he had, yet Bishop *Andrews* Chappel was no Law, Canon, nor Patern for him to follow, against our Lawes, Common Prayer Book, Homilies, Injunctions, which exclude such innovations: And if the Patern of the Chappel and its Furniture which we gave in evidence were Bishops *Andrews*, as he avers; it was as grossly Popish and Superstitious as the Popes, or any Popish Prelates Chappel whatsoever. As for the *Credentia*, it is directly taken out of the *Roman Ceremonial* and Pontifical, as we have (p) proved, the onely Canons we know prescribing it, and we finde the use of it only in some Popish Churches, and mentioned no where but in the *Roman Missal*, among the Rites of celebrating the Masse: Therefore it is a meer Popish utensel, appropriated to the Masse and a forerunner of it.

(p) Here p.63. Secondly, This bowing to and towards the Altar, was never prescribed by our Statutes, Articles, Homilies, Common Prayer Book, Injunctions, Canons, never practised by any till of late, but some few Popish Court Doctors, and Cathedralists; never used by his Predecessor or his Chaplains, (q) introduced only by Papists at the first, in honour and adoration of their Brea-den God upon the Altar; and enjoyned only by the (r) *Roman Missal*, *Ceremonial*, and *Popish Canonists*, as we have largely manifested: Therefore not to be justified or excused.

(q) See the *Quench-cole*, p.24. &c.
(r) Pa 63, 64. Thirdly, the Book of Common-Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England* (the onely Directory what vestments, Ceremonies are to be used, confirmed by our Lawes) prescribes not any of these; warrants not but excludes the use of Copes upon any occasion: Our Homilies and writers of best rank condemn Copes, as Jewish, Popish, Paganish, enjoyned only by the (s) *Roman Ceremonial*, and *Pontifical*, as we have proved, (t) Injunctions deeming them Popish: Yea the third Part of the Homily against the peril of Idolatry, hath this memorable passage concerning them, p.72. *And because the whole Pageant must thorowly be plaid, it is not enough thus to deck Images and Idols (with gold, silver, rich, wanton and proud apparel, tempting their paramours to wantonnesse) but at last come in the Priests themselves, likewise decked with gold and pearls, that they may be meet servants for such Lords and Ladies, and fit worshippers of such Gods and Goddesses; and with a solemn pace they passe forth before the golden Puppets, and fall down to the ground on their marrow-bones before the Honourable Idols: (and their gorgeous Altars too) Therefore certainly it is impudency for him thus to introduce and justifie them against these Authorities. Now whereas the Archbishop pleads the 24 Canon, made in the year 1603, to warrant the use of Copes in his Chappel: we Answer first, That the Canon extends onely to Collegiat and Cathedral Churches, not Parochial, much lesse to Chappels: Therefore it can no wayes warrant, but condemns this use of Copes in his Chappel: Secondly, it enjoyns onely the chief Minister to use a decent Cope; not a gawdy one with Images, and rich embroidring upon it, such as his Copes were: Thirdly, this Canon was never binding to any, but meerly void in Law, being never confirmed by Parliament, and crossing both the Common Prayer*

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Book and Homilies ratified by Parliament : Therefore all these his Answers in justification of these Innovations, display his impudence to the world, in justifying such Popish Reliques as these.

The fourth kinde of Innovations charged against me in my Chappel are, (u) the standing at *gloria patri*, bowing at the name of Iesus, not used in my Predecessors dayes; the setting up of a new Organ, where there was formerly none, and the consecrating of Utensels, Altar-clothes, Flagons, with other Popish-furniture solemnly in a Cope, attested by Mr. *Boadman* and others, which are objected to be taken out of the *Roman Missal*, and *Pontifical*.

Object. 4.
(u) here p. 64.
65.

To which I give this Answer :

Ans^r.

1. That the standing up at *gloria patri*, though not prescribed by any Canon, or Rubrick of our Church, is of great Antiquity, and hath been commonly practised in our Churches.

2. That bowing at the name of Iesus, is a thing prescribed in direct termes by Queen *Elizabeths Injunctions*, Num. 12. and the 18 Canon of our Church; therefore no Innovation nor offence.

3. That though there were no Organs there before my time, yet they being approved and generally used in our Church, there could be no Popery in them.

4. That the Consecration of Churches, Communion Tables, Altars, Chalices, Vestments is no fault, nor Innovation; for it is as ancient as *Constantine the Great*, and have been used in the Church of Christ ever since his time.

5. That such Consecrations are necessary, else the Lords Table could not be called holy, nor the Church holy, nor those vessels holy vessels, as they usually are: Yea, there is a Holinesse in the Altar, as Christ averreth, which consecrates the gold thereon: And the Statute of 5 and 6. *Ed. 6.* against quarrelling and fighting in Churches, proves, that they are holy places; and they could not be holy, unlesse first consecrated: As for the form of consecrating these vessels, I took it not out of *Missale Romanum* nor the *Roman Pontifical*, as is objected; but from Bishop *Andrews* his Form, as learned, reverend, Orthodox Protestant a Prelate, as ever the Church of *England* bred.

To this was Replied :

Reply.

1. That it is confessed; there is neither Canon nor Rubrick enjoining any to stand up at every rehearsal of *gloria patri* in time of Divine service; a most disorderly unnecessary and confused Ceremony, wherein men start up and quat down sodainly again, as if they were frighted out of their sleep: And we have proved, that it is enjoined only by the (x) *Roman Missal*, no very good Directory for us Protestants; as for his pretended antiquity and customary usage of this Ceremony in our own and other Protestant Churches, it is meerly fabulous without any Authority to warrant it, but his own asseveration.

(x) Pa. 64.

2 That bowing at the name of Iesus, was originally introduced, prescribed by (y) Popes decrees, Popish Councils, Canonists, Writers, of purpose to justifie the adoration of Images and the consecrated Host; that it is no where enjoined by our Common Prayer Book, Articles of Religion, Homilies, or Book of Ordination, the only Authentick binding Records of our Church, wherein all Rites and Ceremonies, to which we are bound by Law are prescribed, That the Injunctions and Canons are no binding Lawes, and their Authority (had they ever any) long since expired, that some of the best Orthodoxest of our writers have professedly written against this Ceremony, as *Thomas Becon*, Dr. *Whitaker*, Dr. *Willet*, Dr. *Ayry*, and others, which was never pressed on any by our Prelates in their visitation Articles, nor generally used till of late, and now quite exploded as superstitious, and absurd: Yea, Dr. *Featly* and Sir *Nathaniel Brent* directly prove, that it was not used in *Lambeth Chappel* by his predecessor *Abbot*, or his Chaplains, servants.

(y) See the Appendix of bowing at the name of Iesus, Lane Giles his haltings, Queries concerning bowing, &c.

(z) *Platina*, *Baleas* and others in his life, *Polidor Vergil. de Invent. Rerum. lib. 6. c. 2.* *Tho. Becons Reliques of Rome c. 76, 77. Hist. Massix. p. 282, &c.*

3. For Organs, there were none in that Chappel before his time since the Reformation: Therefore an Innovation there. And though generally received and used in Cathedrals, yet all Authors agree it was a Pope, (z) (*Vitalian* by name)

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first introduced the use of them into Christian Churches, and all know they are most in use only in Popish Churches beyond the seas.

Fourthly, for the Antiquity and lawfulness of consecrating Churches, we have already discussed, and shall further retute it in its due place; for the consecration of Altars, Flagons, Altar-clothes, and other Altar-furniture, the only thing here objected; we have proved the original and derivation of it, to be meerly from the *Roman Missal* and *Pontifical*, and from no better nor higher Antiquity: He pretends, but proves not, that he took his immediate president from Bishop *Andrews*, a late deceased superstitious, if not Popish Prelate, how ever he applauds him: Therefore certainly from no Antiquity. But from whom did Bishop *Andrews* take his patern? doubtlesse from the *Roman Missal* and *Pontifical*, since no other sampler can be produced. And are these a fit patern for a Protestant Bishops imitation? As for his objected reason, that Altars, Churches, Flagons, &c. could not be called nor reputed Holy, unlesse thus solemnly consecrated: First, It is but a meer Nonsequitur, it being not any Bishops formal unwarrantable consecration, but the peoples appropriation of them to a sacred use that makes them holy, not inherently, but relatively only, with reference to the holy Ord nances therein administred, of which hereafter; For the Statute of 5 and 6. E. 6. c. 5. It hath been not one syllable in it in justification of the consecration of Churches, much lesse of Altars, Flagons, Altar-clothes and the like; neither doth it ever stile the Church or Churches holy, or a holy or consecrated place: nor could it well be so, in respect of their consecration only, they being Hallowed onely by Popish Prelates in times of Popery, with such Popish Relques, Ceremonies, Chrismes, Exorcismes, Crossings, and washings with holy water, and since then exploded as superstitious and ridiculous: Therefore to justifie these consecrations from thence, is to make a conclusion without any premises to warrant it. Finally, he discovers a rotten Popish spirit, inclination in the highest degree, in pleading for, and justifying to the utmost such Popish consecrations against the expresse resolutions of our Orthodox (b) forecited Writers, Prelates, and his own learned predeceffour *Matthew Parker*, who have so severely censured them as Popish, Jewish, and childish tryfles fit to be exploded.

(b) here p. 115.
116.

Object. 2.

Secondly, having ended with my Chappel at *Lamberth*, they next pursued me to my study there.

(c) Pa 66, &c.

Where, first they (c) charge me for having an English Bible with a Crucifix embroidered on the Cover of it.

Answer.

To which I Answer, That I bought it not, but it was sent unto me by a Lady, and the Crucifix it self is lawful, if there be no adoration of it; as appears by the Christians engraving of it on their Chalice in *Tertulians* dayes.

Reply.

To which was replied: First, that his receiving and reserving of this Bible with a Crucifix on the Cover, (which was so visible to his eyes, and lay upon his study Table) was as great an offence as if he had bought it: And no Lady durst have sent him such a present, had she not been assured of his good affection to such Popish Pictures.

(d) See here
p. 59. 102.
to 110.

Secondly, whereas he avers the Picture of the Crucifix to be lawful, so it be not adored: He herein expressly contradicts our (d) Homilies, to which he hath subscribed, our Statutes, Injunctions, Authors forecited, yea, the judgement of all sound Antiquity. And if this Picture of Christ hanging still on the Crosse (as if he had never been taken down thence) be lawful, (as he avers with the Papists against all Orthodox Protestants) then it is lawful to make or reserve it either for a meer civill use to grace his study, or please his eye sight only; which certainly is an extream dishonour to, disparagement of our most blessed Saviour and his passion, who is (e) the holy One of God, transcending all civil uses being made for holy ends alone; or for a religious use, to stir up our devotion, and put us in remembrance of his death (which he hath purposely ordained his (f) word and Sacraments to do) which at best is superstition.

(e) Luk. 1. 35.
Act. 4. 30.
(f) Gal 3. 1.
1 Cor. 11. 26.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, the place of *Tertulian* (already quoted) proves not at all that the Christians had any Crucifixes or Pictures of Christ engraven on their Chalice; there is no such syllable in his writings, but only that the Hereticks against whom he writ, had the Picture of a lost sheep engraven on some of their Cups. And we hope there is a vast difference, between Hereticks and Orthodox Christians, the Picture of a lost sheep, and a Crucifix or Picture of Christ himselfe hanging on the Crosse.

The second thing charged against me in my study, is a (g) Book of Popish Pictures Printed 1623. containing the Protraitures of the Life, Passion, and Death of our Lord Iesus Christ.

Object. 2.
(g) Pa. 66, 109.

I Answer, that I kept it only as a Scholler, to peruse and refute it upon occasion, not to adore or make use of the Pictures in it.

Ans.

To which was answered, that this Booke was (as the Papists stile their Images) a meer ignorant Laymans, not a learned Archbishops Book, consisting meerly of unlawfull Pictures: Therefore he had it only to view, not read.

Reply.

Secondly, his curious gilding of the Booke and Pictures in it, argues, that he prized it more then ordinary to help him in his Devotions.

Thirdly, he was so far from refuting it, that he authorized those very Pictures to be reprinted in England and bound up in our Bible.

Fourthly, he had many small Popish gilded velvet Pictures, curiously gilt inserted into this Book; a pregnant proof he very much doted on these Puppets in his declining age.

The third particular objected against me in my study, is (h) two large folio Masse-books, and that I had noted one of them frequently with my hand: That I had likewise there the *Roman Missal*, *Pontifical*, and twenty two Popish hours of our Lady, Breviaries, Manuels, and Books of Popish devotion.

Object. 3.
(h) Page 66.

I Answer: First, that it is lawful for every learned man to have those Books to peruse and refute them, as there is occasion, there being no great Schollers but have them in their studies for this end; for which cause alone I doth read and noted one of them with my own hand, not out of any love to, or approbation of the Masse it selfe: And they may as aptly conclude that I am a Turke, because I have the Alcaron in my study; as that I am a Papist or Popishly affected, because I have the Masse-book. The same Answer I shall give to the other objected Books found in my study.

Ans.

The Reply hereto was: First, that the meer having all or any of these Books in his study, was no convincing argument of his affection and inclination to Popery, no more then his keeping the Alcaron as a Scholar, proves him to be a Turke; neither was it so pressed by us, since many Protestants have them in their studies to peruse, refute; which is no offence, but laudible and necessary in some cases. But we have particularly proved all along, that he bought, perused, and noted them with his own hand; not by way of dislike or refutation, but approbation, yea he perused them strictly in practice and imitation, as far as the most superstitious Popish Priests or Prelates did at Rome in most particulars.

Reply.

Secondly, comparing his having of these Books, with the extraordinary curiousnesse and costlinesse of their binding, gilding; the Popish Images, Crucifixes in his study, Chappell, Gallery, and the rest of our following evidence; and then they are a very strong Argument, to prove him a professed Papist in affection, opinion, if not in practice too.

The last (i) objected thing found in my Library, is, my private Prayers and Devotions written with my own hand, against which there are three exceptions:

Objection.
(i) Page 67.

First, that some of these Prayers are extracted out of the *Roman Missal*, *Pontifical*, Breviary, and hours of our Lady.

Secondly, that they are digested into Canonical hours of Prayer after the Papists Model.

Thirdly, that I make mention of prostration in some of them.

Answ.

To which I return this general Answer: That this being only a Book for my own private devotions and use alone, ought not to be charged against me. As to the objected particulars excepted against, I Answer: First, that if any such prayers be taken out of the *Missal*, *Pontifical*, or *Roman Breviary*; yet they are devout and pious in themselves, and there is no prayer to Saints or Angels in the Book: Thirdly, the Canonical hours of Prayer are of very great Antiquity in the Church: derived from holy King *Dauids* practise, who said (k) *Seven times a day will I praise thee*, and was taken up and practised by Christians within two hundred years after Christ, and approved of in *preces privatae*, in Queen *Elizabeths* reign: Thirdly, that prostration in prayer is no crime, but commendable, and a signe of extraordinary humility; Christ himself using this gesture in his prayers before his passion.

Reply.

Hereunto the Commons Council retorted in general, That his own private devotions did best of all serve to discover his secret intentions and inclinations; therefore they were fit to be given in evidence, for this purpose. In particular: First, that his collecting of Prayers out of such Popish dunghills, when there were purer mines to dig in, was a symptome of a Romish inclination. And whereas he alleageth the matter of those prayers to be good; those we except against are for their very matter meerly superstitious: Secondly, that this justification of the Antiquity and lawfulness of Canonical hours of Prayer, was taken *verbatim* out of Mr. *Cosens* his hours of Prayer, formerly complained of in Parliament. That Canonical hours of Prayer, are no wayes warranted by *Dauids* president, who speaks onely of Praise, not Prayer, and never digested his Psalms or Prayers into such Canonical hours, nor any other Saint in the Old Testament or New: The most exact pattern of Prayer which Christ himself left both his Disciples and us to imitate, warrants no such practise: nay the Primitive Christians and true Antiquity never knew of any such Models of Prayer, digested into Canonical hours, which Popish Monks first introduced, practised, prescribed: Neither did Queen *Elizabeth* approve of them as Dr. *Cosens* pretends in his hours of Prayer, whence the Archbishop borrowed this false answer; as (l) some who answered his Book by publique Authority have manifested to his shame: Thirdly, the Archbishop hath quite mistaken the last objection; which was not his prostration to God in Prayer, but, his prostration *coram Altare*, and *dum Altari adsto*, in honour and reverence of his idolized Altar: So that the charge rests still upon, and sticks faster to him then before, by this his justification.

(l) See Dr. *Cosens* his censuring devotions.

Object. 3.
(m) Page 67.

Answ.

That the first of them, which is the great one, was given me by a friend, and there can be no harm or Popery in it, being onely the Picture of Saint *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Jerome*, and *Gregory* the first, which may be lawfully made and reserved. That the two other Pictures were in the Gallery long before my time, and continued there in Archbishop *Abbots*, *Bancrofts*, and *Whitgifts* dayes; to prove which he produces Mr. *Dobson* his servant, who affirmed, that he saw these two latter Pictures in the Gallery in Archbishop *Bancrofts* time, where they continued ever since; and one of them is a Picture against Popery, to wit, of Christ, going into the sheepfold by the door, and of Popish Priests and Friars (n) climbing into it by the window, like thieves and robbers: Besides, the Harmony of confessions of the reformed Churches, holds that Images are in themselves indifferent, so as no adoration be given to them; yea, Mr. *Calvin* in the (o) place forecited, is of the same opinion: And I have written against the adoration and superstitious use of Images as fully as any man whatsoever: Therefore those Pictures can be no evidence of mine intention to bring in Popery.

(n) *Ioh. 10.*
1, 2, 3.

(o) *Inst. 1. 1.*
c. 11. sect. 12, 13.

Reply.

To which was rejoined: First, that we beleeve the first Picture was a present sent unto him from *Rome*, where the workmanship of it shews it was made; and therefore

therefore he did wisely to conceal his name, who bestowed it on him: That we did not except against the meer Pictures of those Fathers; but against the Picture of the Holy Ghost in form of a Dove hovering over their heads, and sending forth rayes and influences from his beak severally upon each of them; directly contrary to our Statutes, Homilies, Writers, which condemn all such Pictures of the Holy Ghost, or any other persons of the Trinity.

Secondly, that one of the other Pictures was a most abominable Idol of Christ newly taken down from his Crosse all bloody, with shaven crown Priests, Friars, and Nuns, standing and kneeling round about him; which kinde of Pictures by our Lawes, Homilies, Injunctions resolutions (as we (p) have already proved) ought to be utterly demolished and not suffered in private Houses or Galleries, no more then in Churches or Chappels. The other was a Picture of Christ himself upon a ladder, not entering in at a door, with Monks and Friars only about him: and therefore as superstitious, Popish as the former, and not tolerable by our Lawes, especially in an Archbishops publique Gallary; where all sorts of strangers and visitors of quality were entertained; who by this example would be induced, if Protestants, to approve of such superstitious Pictures, and to procure the like by way of imitation; If Papists, would be thereby hardned, confirmed in their superstition, and in giving them adoration, especially when they should behold the like Superstitious and Idolatrous Pictures, as well in his Chappel and study, as in his Gallary, where no such were in his predecessours dayes, but only broken and defaced ones. As for his predecessours having or leaving these two last Pictures to him, it is no justification, nor mitigation of his crime; their ill actions are no Apology at all for his, who repaired and beautified in his Chappel those very superstitious Images, which they demolished, and never durst repair.

(p) Page 102.
to 108.

Thirdly, whereas he produceth the Harmony of confessions of the Protestants Churches, for proof of the use and indifferency of these Images, so as they be not adored: He cites neither Section, nor Page, nor sentence therein to prove this assertion, but we must take it on his own bare word; which how false it is, we shall prove by the words of the Harmony it self: Sect. 17. p. 401. *Where the latter confession of Helvetia, Cha. 17. determines thus. But yet notwithstanding we must admonish men to take heed, that they count not among things indifferent; such as INDEED ARE NOT INDIFFERENT, as some use to count the Masse, and THE USE OF IMAGES IN CHURCHES.* This is the only passage we finde in the Harmony of confessions for the indifferency of Images or their use, which is point blank against him. And as for (q) Mr. Calvins forecited Text, it is as point blank against him, as this of the Harmony, as we have proved. Therefore this charge lies still heavy upon him in each particular, and bewrayes both his Popery and falsity in quotations.

(q) Page.
And so in his
Inst. 1.2.c.8.
sect. 17.

Secondly, from Lambeth house, they next pursued me to White Hall, where these (r) particulars were charged against me: First, my own personal bowing to the Altar: and my enjoyning of others his Majesties Chaplains to use it, when I was Dean of the Chappel: Secondly, the hanging up of a glorious large costly Arras Crucifix behinde the Altar, on passion week, in his Majesties own Chappel there, in the yeers 1636. and 1637. which gave great scandal and offence, as Sir Henry Mildmay attested: Thirdly, my making his Majesties Chappel a patern of imitation to all Cathedrals and other Churches: Fourthly, the practise of Dr. Brown, and two Seminary Priests, in bowing to the Altar and Crucifix there; with their speech to Mrs. Charnock.

Objection.
(r) Page. 69,
70, 71.

To the first of these I Answer, that my bowing there was only to worship God, not the Altar, and I hope it is no offence nor treason to worship God in the Kings own Chappel, or to induce others to do the like: The lawfulness of this worship towards the Altar, I have manifested at large in my (s) Speech in Star Chamber, and proved it by a Chapter order in the Black book of Windsor, which the Knights of the Honourable Order of the Garter yet observe and practise; therefore it is no Popish

Ans^r.

(s) Page 39.
&c.

Popery, nor Popish Innovation, but a reverence fitting the place which the Homily for repairing and keeping clean Churches commands. And I pray God that under colour of casting superstition out of Churches, we bring not in prophaneſſe.

To the third I Answer, that I was not Dean of the Chappel, but Bishop Wren when this Crucifix was set up; that neither Sir Henry Mildmay, nor any other ever complained to me, that they were scandalized by this Crucifix: If Sir Henry took scandal meerly at the Crucifix it self, he must have taken scandal at that Crucifix in the old hangings; which stood continually behinde the Altar, as well as at this which was more costly; which since he did not, it seems, he took scandal only at the workmanship, not at the Crucifix it self, in this more costly peece.

(To the third he gave no Answer.)

To the fourth I Answer, that Dr. Browns act is nothing to me, he is old enough and must answer for himself: The same Answer I give to that of the Seminary Priests; only this I shall add, that perchance it might be an act of cunning in them, of purpose to discredit and discountenance all our external worship, of purpose to gain Profelytes to themselves.

Reply.
(t) See the
Quench cole
p. 240. to 330.
A pleasant
purge for a
a Roman Ca-
tholike, p. 140.
to 182. where
this is largely
proved.
(u) See here
p. 63, 64.

To which was replied: First, that to worship God as we ought in the Kings Chappel, is no treason, nor offence; but this kinde of worshipping God there or elsewhere towards the Altar, is both (t) Popish, Superstitious, and Idolatrous: For by the Black-book of *Windsor* which he cites, it was introduced in the very darkeſt times of Popery in Henry the 5. his reign, or a little before: and that in *modum viro- rum Ecclesiasticorum*, a worship derived from Ecclesiastical persons, to wit, Popish Priests and Monks of that age: It was a worship joyntly given in one and the self same act and instant *Deo & Altari*, to God and the Altar, that is, in their interpretation, to the consecrated Host and breaden God (as they deemed it) on the Altar, and to the Altar it self: It was prescribed (u) only by Popish Canons, the *Roman Missal*, *Ceremonial*, *Pontifical*, and introduced purposely to support their Errour of Transubstantiation at first, and now revived for that very purpose: as the Archbishop himself defines in his *Star-chamber Speech*; who yields this reason, why we must bow towards the Altar, not towards the Pulpit: For there tis, *hoc est corpus meum*, &c. And a greater reverence no doubt IS DUE TO THE BODY, then to the Word of the Lord: Therefore for him to introduce such an Idolatrous, Superstitious worship, as this into the Kings own Chappel contrary to the Word of God, and Law of the Land, under pretext of Gods worship, to corrupt the King and his whole Court in their worship and Religion, and alienate his good Subjects affections from him, will prove little lesse then Treason in the highest degree: As for his pretended Speech, we (x) have already refuted it. And for the Homily, it hath neither word nor syllable to warrant it, but something against it, since as it condemns, prophanes, on the one hand, so it censures all superstition on the other; between which this Prelate would have no *medium*, as this his prayer imports.

(x) Page 200.
201.

Antiq. Eccle.
Brit. p. 33.
102.

Secondly, That the Archbishop was chief Superintendent of his Majesties Chappel, as Primate and Metropolitan of all England. The King and Queen where ever they live in England, being his immediate Parishioners, and the whole Kingdom but his Parish; though divided into several Bishopricks, as hath been resolved by all the Nobles in King Henry the first his reign, as our Historians, and his own Predecessour Archbishop Parker record: Therefore Bishop Wren being only Dean of the Kings Chappel, the Archbishops creature, and brought into that office by him, durst not have set up this gaudy Crucifix there, in the passion week, in his presence without his approbation and direction, by which he tacitly confesseth it was done: That it gave publique scandal to many well-affected Courtiers, and others, Sir Henry Mildmay deposed, and particularly to himself, who complained of it to the King, and the Archbishop too; who if his heart had been right and fervent to our Religion, would have been most scandalized, offended at this unusual scandalous sight, and never have permitted it successively two years together,

together, nor justified it so peremptorily as now he did. And whereas he objects, that had Sir Henry been thus scandalized with the Crucifix it self, he would have been as much offended with the old, there constantly hanging, as with the new: We Answer, That the old was hardly visible and scarce observed by any; but this so grosse, so great, so gaudy and notorious, that every man in the Chappel took special notice thereof, as if it had been some new blasing Star. And if the old were so visible all the yeer long, what need the hanging up of this new one onely in the passion and Easter weeks, which was never used in the memory of man before? In fine the third Part of the Homily against the peril of Idolatry, resolves, that the most rich, costly, gaudy Images and Crucifixes, are more dangerous and scandalous, then others not so stately: therefore Sir Henry might well be scandalized with it, more then with the old one not so costly.

Thirdly, he gives no Answer to that which is one main charge from this Innovation in the royal Chappel, to make it the patern, the Canon to regulate all Cathedrals, and Parish Churches by. His silence herein bewrayes his guilt.

Fourthly, Dr. Brown, and those Seminaries adorations of this Crucifix and the Altar, were but the meer scandalous fruits of his own exemplary Innovations before, and erections of them there; and their speeches occasioned by his actions. Therefore the guilt of them must rest heaviest on himself, not them. It is his own reiterated position, (z) That he who gives the occasion of a Schism ought to be repured the Schismatick, not he that separates upon the occasion given: And Tertullian in his Book *De Idolatria* resolves, That the makers of Idols are the greatest Idolaters, because none would or could worship them, were they not first made that they might be worshipped: His own hanging of up this Crucifix and bowing towards the Altar, and it was the cause that Dr. Brown and these Seminary Priests adored and bowed towards them in the self same manner, as himself there used: Therefore the crime, the scandal of it, must rest most on himself. His pretence, that this might be done and spoken by the Priests to gain Profelytes, by discountenancing our external worship, is a very strange improbable whimsey, since our Bishops, our Doctors imitation of their Popish worshipping Crucifixes, Altars, was more likely ten thousand to one, to gain them Profelytes, then any discountenancing whatsoever thereof by them could be; yea, it had been a monstrous contradiction and folly in them, to discountenance that very thing themselves practised and endeavoured to draw others to: Therefore the whole weight of this heavy charge concerning his Majesties Chappel, rests intirely upon him in each particular, without the least diminution.

(z) Relation of the conference with Fisher.

Thirdly, from *White-hall* they pursued me to the Kings Coronation at *Westminster Abbey*, (a) where they charge me.

Object. 3.
(a) Pa. 59 70.

1. With compiling the Form of this Coronation.
2. That the unction was in *forma crucis*.
3. That the old Crucifix, *inter regalia*, was set upon the Altar.
4. That divers of the Prayers in it, and this manner of anointing, were taken *verbatim* out of the *Roman Pontifical*.
5. That after the Coronation, I solemnly offered the *Regalia* at the Altar in the Kings name.

Ans. To which I shall give this Answer:

Ans.

1. That the Form of the Kings Coronation was made and agreed on by the whole Committee, according to a former Book I had of my Predecessor; and I was but a Minister to the Committee in what I did.
2. That the anointing in Form of a Crosse was made by my Predecessor, not by me, who supplied only the place of the Dean of *Westminster*.
3. That I was commanded to bring this old Crucifix, being *inter regalia*, and to place it on the Altar.
4. That I admit the Prayer objected, be taken out of the *Roman Pontifical*; yet if it be good as it is, there is no hurt: we know the story of the cock in the fable,

dum

dum vertit stercorarium offendit gemmam : And a Pearl is never the worse if raked out of a dunghil.

5. I was to offer the *regalia* at the Altar by my place, and the Book of Common Prayer approves of offerings.

Reply.

To which was Replied :

1. That it appears by his own *Diary*, that he had the chief hand in compiling this Form, and that it was collected, corrected by himself, though other Bishops were joyned in consultation with him.

2. That though the Unction were made by his Predecessor, which he makes not appear; yet it was principally by his direction, and himself makes special mention of it, That it was *in modum Crucis*, in the Margent of his Book.

3. That he makes no command appear from any Supream Authority for his placing the old Crucifix on the Altar, neither doth he alleadge who it was that gave him any such command: Therefore it must be interpreted his own voluntary act.

4. That the Prayer it self is not very good, favouring of Papal pride in the Clergy; and it is no such precious Pearl, as that he needed to rake such a dunghil of Popish superstitions as the *Roman Pontifical* is, to finde it out to adorn his Majesty's royal Diadem with at his Coronation.

5. He proves not, that it was his duty thus to offer up the *regalia* at the Altar, yea, the Form of the Kings Coronation found in his own study, enjoyned it not, and he pretends no command at all for it: Therefore it was his own spontaneous act; as for the Common Prayer Book, surely it prescribes neither this, nor any other solemn oblation at all at an Altar: And so this charge remains unavoyded.

Object.
(b) Page 70.
to 75.

Fourthly, from *Westminster* they proceed to the (b) Universities, first of *Oxford*, where I was Chancellor, next of *Cambridge*: In *Oxford* they object:

1. That there were some old Crucifixes repaired, and divers new ones erected in divers Colledges there, since I became Chancellour of the University, whereas there were none before my time.

2. That Communion Tables were railed in Altarwise and bowed to, which they were not before.

3. That I enjoyned all Schollers by a University Statute and Oath to give due reverence, and bow to the Communion Table, and that my Letter required bowing and prostration before the Altar.

4. That my visitor at *Merton* Colledge enjoyned the Fellows and Schollers there to bow to the Lords Table, and questioned Mr. *Chaine*, and Mr. *Corbet* for not bowing.

5. That they used Copes in some Colledges, which they did not before.

6. That there was a very scandalous Statue of the Virgin *Mary* with Christ in her Arms, set up in the front of the New Church porch of *St. Maries* next the street, to which Mr. *Nixon* deposeth he saw one bow, and another pray.

7. That I enjoyned Latin Prayers all the Lent, not used before my Chancellorship, since the Reformation.

8. That I enjoyned by a Statute all Regent Masters, to reade and sing what should be prescribed them in solemn Processions.

Answer.

I Answer:

1. That there is no proof at all, that I knew of the repairing and setting up of these Crucifixes, or that any complained of them to me. That the Crucifix in *Lincoln* Colledge was set up by the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and it would have been thought hard, if I should have opposed it.

2. That the turning and rayling in of the Tables Altarwise is warranted by the Queens Injunctions, as I have proved.

3. That the Statute enjoyns only due reverence when they come to offer at the Lords Table, and that my Letter implies a bowing or prostration only, according to the 95 Psalm.

4. That

4. That Sir John Lamb only questioned Master Chainel, and Master Corbet, which is nothing to me; and Doctor Frewens words are but a hear-say, besides, they were not punished for not doing it.

5. That Copes are warrantable by the 24 Canon.

6. That the Statue at St. Maries was set up by Dr. Owen, reputed a reverend Orthodox Divine, not by me, nor is there any proof I had notice of it, or of any bowing or praying to it, which might be a mistake in Alderman Nixon.

7. That Latin prayers have been anciently used in the University on *Ash Wednesday*, and being among Schollers who understand the Language, there can be no hurt therein.

8. That no Processions are intended in the Statute, but such as our Law allows in nature of perambulations, the Statutes of the University prescribing; That nothing shall be done therein but according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England.

9. For the Innovations of like nature in the University of Cambridge, they concern me not, I being not their Chancellor, and not enjoying them, nor made acquainted with them.

Whereunto was Replied:

Reply.

1. That all those Crucifixes were erected at Oxford, since he became Chancellor of it: That his own example in his Chappels at Lambeth and Croyden, where he repaired the old broken Crucifixes at his own cost, were the primary occasions of setting up those in Oxford, by way of imitation. That he could not choose but take notice of them being himself several times at Oxford in person, where he entertained the King, Queen, Prince, and Prince Elector, sundry dayes: Besides, having constant weekly intelligence by Letters, and recourse of Schollers of all sorts to him from the University, who acquainted him with all particulars there transacted, he could not but take notice, and have exact knowledge of them: And he being both Chancellor and Visitor of the University, his not hindring of their setting up at first, not pulling them down, when set up contrary to our Statutes, Homilies, Injunctions, was in Law both a commanding and approving of them. *Nam qui non prohibet malum quod potest, jubet.* That none complained to him of them, was his own fault, since none durst complain against that then, as a crime, which himself first practised in his own Chappels, as a commendable action: His Answer to the Crucifix erected in Lincoln Colledge proves clearly he had knowledge of it; and truly it could not have been well taken at his hands to pull that down according to Law, unlesse he had pulled them down first in other Colledges, and his own Chappel, the Bishop of Lincoln perchance setting it up, onely to humour his Grace, and manifest to the world, he was but his Ape in this particular.

2. We have already refuted his second Answer as false, and therefore shall repeat nothing here.

3. That this due reverence, was interpreted by himself in his Speech in Star-chamber, to be a bowing to the Altar or Lords Table: For (saith he) THERE IS A REVERENCE DUE TO IT: Namely, of bowing the body, not onely towards, but to the Altar, *DEO ET ALTARI EJUS*, in the *devote case*, and prostration, not simply to God, but *CORAM ALTARE DEI & Christi ejus*, is prescribed by his Letter, as much worship as the Devil himself required of our Saviour, *Luk. 4. 7. Si adoraveris CORAM ME*; as the vulgar Latin, or fall down BEFORE ME, as the Margin of our English Bibles render it; whereas the 95 Psalm, requires no worshipping and falling down thus before an Altar, but before the Lord our Maker only, without any mention of an Altar or Lords Table in the Psalm.

4. His Visitors act in questioning those Fellows for not bowing, was his own, and must concern him, since he did it only in his name and right by his Commission, in pursuit of his Injunctions: and Dr. Frewens words are expresse, that the Archbishop sent him to Master Corbet, when Proctor, requiring and pressing him in

his name to bow to the Altar in regard of his place, else it would be ill taken. And though these fellows were not punished nor suspended for not bowing, yet they were often questioned, menaced, forced to obscure themselves, and desert the Colledge for a time, and had not the Scottish Troubles intervened, would have been severely punished too.

5. Copes in Colledges, are neither within the words nor meaning of the 24 Canon.

6. Neither the Church-porch, nor statue at St. *Maries* being the University Church, could or would have been erected there by Dr. *Owen*, without the Archbishops special licence being Chancellour, and supream Visitor there, as Archbishop, as himself both pretended, pleaded; and he must needs not only hear of, but see it too, when he was in *Oxford*. Therefore the blame thereof must be his alone: As for the bowing and praying to it, Mr. *Nixon* swears it directly, and was not mistaken, as he would surmise to excuse the odiousness of this new erected *Oxford* Idol, which gave such publike scandal.

7. Its true that Latin Prayers on *Wednesday* onely, were formerly used in *Oxford* before the Bachelors of Art, but he enjoined such Prayers all the Lent long in stead of English, which was never done before, to usher in Latin Service by degrees in an unknown tongue, divers Townsmen resorting to the English Prayers in Lent, who could not understand these new Latin ones which he introduced.

(c) The Register of the University of Oxford, p. 183

8. This Statute enjoyning reading and chanting in solemn Processions, was made in time of Popery, and Popish processions, and renewed in these New Statutes made by this Archbishop. Therefore certainly meant of such processions not of perambulations only, which are not used by the University: And the objected subsequent Statute, is but a blinde to delude the simple for the present; the Doctrine and Discipline of our Church (in the Universities judgement) being only written in his breast, (c) *quo rectior non stat regula, quo prior est corrigenda Religio*, as they write unto him in their Letter of November 9. 1640. the last recorded in their Register.

9. Whereas he would assail himself from the Popish Innovations in *Cambridge* University, the guilt of them must originally rest on him alone, for these reasons.

1. Because they were introduced by his instruments, favourites, creatures there advanced by him: as Dr. *Martin*, Dr. *Cosens*, Dr. *Beal*, Dr. *Lamy*, Dr. *Stern*.

2. Introduced in imitation of those Crucifixes, Images, Copes, Altar-furniture, Genuflexions, which himself had introduced at *Lambeth* Chappel, to which they were subsequent, not antecedent.

3. Because though he was not Chancellor, yet he pretended to be Visitor of this University, and that of *Oxford* too, as he was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and procured a solemn Decree and Patent for it, to himself and his successors: Therefore since he did not prohibit, correct, suppress them as Visitor, according to Law and duty, they will prove his proper Innovations; the rather because he permitted, countenanced, nay enjoined the like at *Oxford* by new Statutes, where he was both Visitor and Chancellor, which was never done in *Cambridge*: That he should have no notice of those Popish Innovations there, which were so notorious to all the Kingdom, so publicly spoken of in every place, when as he had constant weekly intelligence from thence (as appears by sundry Letters) of all transactions there, and was so conversant with the chief Authors of them, is not only improbable, but impossible: Therefore he still lyes under the guilt of this intire charge concerning the Popish Innovations in our Universities.

Object. 5.

(d) P. 75. to 87

Fifthly, from the Universities, I was next traced to Cathedrals, and Collegiate Churches, where I am charged with introducing, enjoyning sundry Innovations tending to Popery by my visitors, Injunctions, and new Cathedral Statutes: As

1. Copes.

2. Altars, some of them made of Marble stone.

3. Turning

3. Turning and railing in Communion Tables Altarwise.

4. Bowing to and towards the Altar and Lords Table, which I enjoined to sundry Cathedrals by new Statutes, as namely to the Cathedralists of *Canterbury* (as Dr. *Jackson* and Dr. *Bletchenden* deposed) and divers others.

5. Crucifixes and Images.

6. Candlesticks, Basons, Altar-clothes, with other Altar Ornaments; and they instanced in sundry particular Cathedrals, as *Canterbury*, *Gloucester*, *Durham*, *Winchester*, *Chichester*, *Hereford*, *Worcester*; where these Innovations were introduced by my Injunctions and new Statutes, to make way for them in Parish Churches, who must imitate these their Mother Churches.

To the first of these I Answer, that the use of Copes in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, is enjoined by the 24 Canon made in Convocation, An. 1603. therefore it was lawful, and no Popish Innovation for me to enjoin them, as I have formerly proved.

Ans^r.

To the second, that Altars, both the name and thing, were in use among the Primitive Christians and Churches, who were far from Popery, and long before it; yea, are found both in the Old and New Testament; as divers learned men have largely proved.

To the third, that my Injunctions for rayling in of Altars, and Lords Tables Altarwise, with the sides against the East wall of the Quire, is consonant to the Queens Injunctions, to the practise of approved Antiquity, all Altars and Lords Tables being generally so placed in Churches in ancient times, both in this and other Churches of Christendom, as well East as West; and that there is no matter of Popery in placing and rayling in Lords Tables in this manner, as I have proved at large in my printed Speech in *Star-chamber*.

To the fourth, that I did in the very Statutes for the Cathedral-church of *Canterbury*, and others, enjoin the Prebends and Members of the Cathedral, (c) *Summa reverentia adorare Deum versus Altare*; which bowing to worship God towards the Altar, as Dr. *Bletchenden* attested upon oath, was used before the new Statutes of *Canterbury* were made, yea, approved, practised by Dr. *Jackson* himself, as readily as by any other Prebends, who hath given a greater testimony against himself, then me: After which he produced his Secretary Mr. *Dell*, to testify without oath, that in the perusal of the old Statutes for the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, divers superstitions were put out by the Archbishop, and by name, Prayer for the soul of King Henry the 8. after his decease. Then he concluded his Answer thus, That the 95 Psalm did command this kinde of bowing at our entrance into the Church, and that the Knights of the Honourable Order of the Garter were bound by a Chapter-Order, to bow to God towards the Altar, when they offered at it in their solemnities, and did still practise it without guilt or suspicion of Popery: Therefore himself might use, enjoin, and others practise it, without any guilt of Popery at all, as well as they.

(c) P. 52. to 63

To the fifth, that Crucifixes and Images were not simply unlawful, being used in the Kings own Chappel: That Images in Churches had been long in use, even in *Constantine* the Great his Raign, and long before; therefore no Popery could be couched in them.

To the sixth, that those are no other then what the King used in his own Chappel, and had been long time used in the Church for greater Ornament, lustre, it being a disparagement to our Religion, to have God served slovenly and meanly, as many desired he should be, under pretence of shunning superstition.

To this was Replied:

Reply.

1. That neither our Common Prayer Book, nor Book of Ordination, nor Homilies confirmed by Parliament (the only Canons in force to direct us) nor Queen *Elizabeths* Injunctions in the first year of Her Raign, enjoin any Copes in Cathedrals, more then in other Churches, but condemn, seclude them alike out of all our Churches, and that the last Common Prayer Book in King *Edwards* dayes,

expresly prohibits them: Therefore the 24 Canon (which was never any binding Law confirmed by Parliament, and expired with King James, if not before) can be no warrant for their use.

2. That the 24 Canon, enjoyns onely the chief Minister to wear a Cope, and that but at the administration of the Sacrament, not at any other season: But the Archbishop contrary to the Canon, enjoyned Cathedrals to provide divers Copes, at least four a peece, and prescribed them to be worn, as well when the Sacrament was not administered, as when it was, and that by others, beside the chief Ministers: Therefore he exceeded the Canon it self.

3. None of his Predecessors in their visitation Articles, or Injunctions, ever prescribed, exacted the providing or wearing of Copes in Cathedrals, but himself alone, and in many Cathedrals they had never any Copes at all, in others but mean ones, as appears by the Abstract of his visitation, under his visitors hand, found in his study; yet notwithstanding he enjoyned the providing of new, better and costlier Copes to their great cost, in imitation of the *Roman Penitential*, that so they might be like Romish Cathedrals in forraign parts. This allegation therefore of his will not excuse him.

* Hebr. 8. 5.
c. 10. 1. to 6.

(f) Mat. 5. 23.
c. 23. 20, 35.
Luk. 1. 11.
Rom. 11. 3.
1 Cor. 9. 13.
cap. 80. 1. 8.
Hebr. 7. 13.
Jam. 2. 21.
Reu. 6. 9. c. 8. 3.
c. 9. 13. c. 11. 1.
c. 14. 8.

Secondly, we grant, that the name of Altars, together with the thing, are frequent in the Old Testament, to offer Sacrifices and burnt offerings upon, which were but * types and shadows of Christs real Sacrifice for us on the Crosse, needing no iteration, yea, not to be iterated without blasphemy, *Hebrew. 7. 27. cap. 9. 26, 27, 28.* All Altars therefore vanished at his death as meer Iewish types and Ceremonies; wherefore though in the New Testament, we finde the name of an Altar, yea, thing it self with reference to the (f) Iewish Altars and Paganish Idolaters onely, yet we never finde the name Altar in any text given to the Lords Table; but Altars, and Priests serving at the Altar, are put in contradistinction to the Lords Table, and Ministers of the Gospel, *1 Corin. 9. 13, 14. c. 10. 16. to 21. Hebr. 7. 12, 13, 14.* Christ himself celebrated, instituted the Sacrament onely at a Table; not Altar, yea, he called it a Supper (which is to be eaten at a Table) not a Sacrifice to be offered at an Altar, *Luk. 22. 30. Ioh. 12. 2. 1 Cor. 10. 22.* And it is as evident as the Sun at noon-day, by the expresse testimonies of *Origen, Contra. Celsum. lib. 4. and 7. Minucius Felix, his Octavius, Cyprian, Contra. Demetriadem, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Contra Julianum. lib. 9. Arnobius Contra Gentes, lib. 6. Lactantius de vero cultu. Cap. 24.* (who all lived within 300 yeers of Christ) which Bishop Morton proves at large in his Institution of the Sacrament, *Edit. 2 London, 1635. lib. 6. c. 3. p. 417, 418, 419, and c. 5. p. 461, to 495.* By the current sufferage of the third part of the Homily against the peril of Idolatry, p. 44. (ratified by the 35. Art. of Religion

Religion, to which all Ministers by the Statute of 13. Eliz. c. 12. are to subscribe) Bishop Jewell in his Defence of the Apology, Artic. 3. Divis. 26. p. 145. Thomas Beacon in his Reliques of Rome, Tit. of Gods Church f. 322. Mr. Calschill his Answer to Marshall f. 31. 32. King Edward the 6. and his whole Councell in Mr. Fox Acts and Monuments, p. 1211. with sundry other of our owne Authorized Writers, That the Primitive Christians for above 250. yeares after Christ, had no Altars at all, but only Lords Tables: Pope Sixtus the second, first introducing Altars into the Church, and that the Fathers which succeeded them, deemed Christ himselfe and his Crosse the only Altar meant and intended. Hebr. 13. 10. which Bishop Morton in his Institution of the Sacrament, Edit. 2. London 1635. l. 6. c. 3. p. 417 418 419. & c. 5. p. 461. to 465. fully proves. Therefore the Archbishops bold assertion, that the Scriptures, Fathers, and primitive Christians practise, Justifie both the Antiquity use and lawfullnesse of Altars, is a most grosse untruth, though averred by his Creatures Dr. Heylin, & Dr. Pocklington in their late Popish Bookes published by his direction. As for our Church, state in the beginning of Reformation, they were so far from allowing Altars, that they (g) exploded, abolished both the name and thing out of our Common Prayer Booke, Articles, Homilies, Statutes, yea by publique Lawes and Injunctions commanded the Altars in all Churches whatsoever to be taken away and removed as Superstitious, Popish, unfit to be tolerated in any kinde, and set up Lords Tables in their stead, which continued ever since till this Archbishop turned many of them into Altars, to introduce the Popish Sacrifice of the Masse againe.

(g) See the Quench Cole where this is fully proved

Thirdly, The Rayling in and placing of Communion Tables Altarwise against the Wall, like a Dresser, or side Table is not consonant to Queene Elizabeths Injunctions, which require the Communion Table (not to be fixed to the Wall or rayled in close prisoner against it; but) to be removed, when ever the Sacrament is distributed, and placed in such sort within the Chancel, as whereby the Minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and administration, & the communicants may more conveniently, & in greater number communicate with him. If then it were to be thus removed and placed conveniently from time to time then not to be constantly fixed, impounded Altarwise against the East Wall of the Quire, remotest from the people; but seated in the Body of the Church (where the Chancell is too small or inconvenient) or in the Chancell (where it is capacious) neare the midst, as the Rubrick of the Common prayer Booke; and the 81. Canon Anno 1603. determine.

But the Archbishop objects, that the Injunctions prescribe the Communion Table in every Church shall be set in the place where the Altar stood. Objection.

True; Now (saith he) the Altar (in every Church) stood at the upper end of the Quire, North and South, as appears by the practise of the Church.

This we deny as most false: Therefore his conclusion from the Injunction; Answer That the Table in all Churches ought thus to be placed North and South, at the upper end of the Quire, is a meer inconsequent. To reute this grosse dotage of his, and display his learned superstitious Ignorance to the world, least any should be deluded with a fond opinion of his great learning, we confidently affirme, that he neither doth nor can produce so much as one President or Authority in all Antiquity, but only his owne groundlesse confidence to justifie his assertion. On the contrary we shall offer some few punctuall arguments, presidents, Authorities undeniably manifesting, that Altars and Lords Tables anciently, not only among Pagans and Jewes but even among the Primitive Christians and learned Papists themselves were not rayled in North & South against the East end of their Quires, but seated in or neare the midst of their Churches or Quires, that all the people might sit, stand, and go round about them.

Not to trouble you with proofes, beyond contradiction of the Situation of [i] Pa gan and Jewish Altars in such sort, that the Priests and people might goe, stand, and dance round about them. We shall insist only upon the placing of Christian Altars

(i) See the Quench Cole. p. 16 to 23. Purchas Pilgrimage l. 4. ch. 19.

Altars and Lords Tables in this posture. That these were thus generally placed in all Churches, will appeare by these infallible Arguments.

First, from the very definition of a Quire, which *Isidorus Hispalensis Orig.* l. 6. c. 19. *Rabanus Maurus, de Universo.* l. 5. c. 9. & *de Instit. Clericorum* l. 1. c. 33. *Amalarinus Fortunatus, de Eccles.* Officijs l. 3. c. 3. *Durandus Rational. Divin.* l. 1. c. 1. num. 18. *Durandus De Ritibus Eccles.* l. 1. c. 17. num. 1. *Bartholomaeus Gavanus. Comment. in Rubricas Miss.* pars. 1. Tit. 15. sect. 2. *Servius in Virgilium Aeneid.* l. 6. *Calpine, Calvin, Eliot, Holioke* in their Lexicons and Dictionaries Tit. Chorus; and others thus unanimously define, *Chorus est multitudo in sacris collecta, & dictus Chorus, quod initio IN MODVM CORONÆ CIRCUM ARAS STARENT & ita psallerent.* If then Quires had their denomination, From the multitudes standing ROVND ABOUT THE ALTARS IN A RING or Circle and so singing; then Altars certainly in the Primitive times were not rayled in against the Wall, as of late they were, but placed in the midst of the Quire in such sort, that all the people might stand and go round about them singing.

(4) Henrici
Spelmanni
Concil. Tom. 1
p. 589.

The 2d. Argument is drawn from the formes of Prayers in ancient Liturgies and Missals, wherein the Priest standing at the Altar usually prayed, *Pro omnibus hic CIRCVMSTANTIBVS*; and makes frequent mention, *Omnium CIRCVMSTANTIUM, qui tibi hoc Sacrificium laudis offerunt*, For proofoe whereof you may consult at leisure, *Canon Missae, in Cassandri Liturgica* p. 21. 25. 61. 62. 65. 66. 72. 94. *Honorius in Gemma* l. 1. c. 66. *Durandus Rationale Divinorum.* l. 4. c. 53. and Mr. Fox in his Acts and Monuments, Edit. ult. vol. 3. p. 3. 11. Hence our old Saxon Canons prohibited a Priest to celebrate Masse alone, upon this ground: *Esse enim debent qui ei CIRCVMSTANT, quos ille salutet, a quibus ei respondeatur, & ad memoriam illi reducendus est ille Dominicus Sermo, ubicunq; fuerint, duo vel tres in nomine meo congregati, illic sum & ego IN MEDIO EORVM.* which is taken out of *Gregory, lib. Capitul. c. 7.* seconded by *Regino De Eccles. Officijs. c. 19.* and *Cassandri Liturgicae.* 33. p. 8. Hence *Gerardus Lerithicus de Missa Puel. proroganda,* resolves thus, *Neq; Canon [Missae] debet nimium tacite legi, sed expressa voce ut a CIRCVMSTANTIBVS possit audiri & percipi, cum CIRCVMSTANTES debeant ad orationes singulas respondere Amen.* Now that all the people usually stood round about the Altar in St. Chrysostomes daies, is evident by two passages in his *Operum* Tom. 4. Edit. *Frontonis Ducae* p. 82. 83. *De Sacerdotio* l. 3. & 6. where thus he writes: *O miracle! He who sits at his Fathers right hand, is at that very instant of time handled with the hands of all [in the Sacrament of the Lords Table] and this is done, not by any jugglings, sed apertis & circumspicientibus CIRCVMSTANTIVM OMNIVM OCVLIS, &c. Multitudinem aspexisse Altare ipsum CIRCVMSTANTIUM.* and by his *Homil. in Isai 6.* where he writes thus. *Dost thou not think that the Angels stand Round about this dreadful TABLE and COMPASSE IT ABOUT ON EVERT SIDE?* So *Athanasius* in the life of *Anthony* makes mention of *Altare Domini multorum multitudine CIRCVMDATVM*, & *Gregory Nazianzen. Oratio 21.* blames such who intruded themselves unto the holy Misteries with unwashen hands; & *CIRCVM SACRAM MENSAM premuntur*, &c. All which, compared with that of the 5. Council of Constantinople A.D. 451. That whiles the Dipticks were reading, the people with silence drew together ROVND ABOUT THE ALTAR, and gave care. Are infallible proofoes, that Altars and Lords Tables in the Primitive times, and anciently in Popish Churches were generally so placed that all the people STOOD or might stand ROVND, ABOUT THEM. Therefore not rayled in Altarwayes against the Wall.

* Surius Con-
cil. Tom. 2.
Jewels Reply
to Harding, p.
19.

The 3d. Argument is taken from the manner, of the Priests and Deacons going round about the Altar when they approached so it, and standing round about it when they officiated. In the Liturgy attributed to St. Peter; in the Liturgy of Saint James, in the Liturgies attributed to St. Basil, and St. Chrysostome, in the Aethiopian, Mazarabicke and Musarabick Missals, and the Missal of the Christians at
mong.

mong the Indians, the Priest when he approacheth to the Altar to officiate begins with this sentence of the Psalmist, *I will wash my hands in Innocency, and so will I,* COMPASSE, or go ROVND ABOUT THINE ALTAR. And in the ancient Roman Order in *Cassanders works* p. 101. 102. 107. 112. 118. 119. I find these passages, that Bishops when they officiated usually went round about the Altar, and the Sub-Deacons stood behind it, *Tunc Acolyti vadunt dextra laeva; post Episcopum CIRCA ALTARE. Subdiaconi finito officio vadunt RETRO ALTARE, aspicientes Pontificem stantes erecti, &c.* *Dionysius Areopagita* hath this passage, *Eccles. Hierarch. c. 3. CIRCVMSTANT autem eum soli cum Sacerdotibus Ministri selecti.* And *Iſidor Hispalensis de Ecclesiast. Officijs* l. 2. c. 8. with [1] *Concilium Aquisgran. sub Ludovico Pio*, testify, That Deacons heretofore CIRCA ARAM CHRISTI, *quasi columna Altaris assisterent.* Most convincing proofes, that Altars generally in all Churches stood a great distance from the Wall, and were not Rayled in Altarwise against it, but placed so that the Bishops, Priests, Deacons, might go and stand round about and behinde them.

The 4th. Argument is deduced from the manner and forme of Bishops consecrating Altars prescribed, used even among the Papists themselves in ancient and late times. *Durandus* in his *Rationale Divinorum* l. 1. c. 7. num. 15. informes us, that the Bishop when he consecrates any new Altar, Septies ALTARE CIRCVMIT goes Round about it seaven times, to signifie, that he ought to take care for all, and be vigilant for all, which is signified per CIRCVMITVM, by this his going round about it; which he could not do were it rayled in against the Wall, and not set some competent distance from it. In the [vi] *Roman Pontificall*, we finde the Bishop when he consecrates an Altar, is to go round about it severall times, *Pontifex CIRCVMIT TER ALTARE ad dextram; CIRCVMIT iterum semel Altare ad dextram, CIRCVMIT semel Altare ad sinistram. Pontifex CIRCVMIT Septies Tabulam Altaris, aspergens eam, &c. CIRCVMIT ter Altare: CIRCVMIT semel Altare:* An unanswerable evidence, that even among the Papists themselves, the Altars anciently stood generally in all places, not Altarwise against the Wall, as our Communion Tables were lately placed, but a good distance from it, neare the midst of the Church or Quire, that the Bishops, Priests, People might stand and walke round about them.

2ly. We shall manifest it by expresse Authorities; not to mention any already cited, which are punctuall, *St. Augustine de verbo Domini secundum Iohannem Serm. 42* saith; *Christus quotidie pascit, Mensa ipsius est illa IN MEDIO constituta.* Yea *Durandus Rationale Divinorum* l. 1. c. 2. num. 15. writes thus. By the Altar our heart is signified, which is in the Middest of the body, as the Altar is in the middest of the Church, And lib. 5. he gives this reason why the Priest turneth himselfe about at the Altar, to wit, to fulfill this Scripture, *IN MEDIO ECCLESIAE aperui os meum.* n] *Gentianus Hervetus, & (o) Genebrard* describing the manner of the Greek Church at this day, expresse it thus, *In Graecorum Templis unum tantum est Altare, idque IN MEDIO CHORO, aut Presbyterio.* From these and the forecited authorities, both forraigne and our owne Domesticke Divines of chiefest note resolve expresse, That the Lords Tables and Altars in the primitive times, till privat Masses were lately introduced, stood in the middest of the Quire, Church, People, who came round about them, not at the East end of the Quire, as of late they were placed. This is in terminis, affirmed by *Hospinian; De Origine Altarium* c. 6. p. 135. by learned *Phillip de Marnix Tableau des* Differens part 5. c. 6. p. 307. by the incomperable Lord Mornay, *De Missa*, l. 2. c. 1. p. 177. by eminent *Peter Du Moulin*, in his *Nauvante du Papisme*, Contr. 11. c. 17. 18. p. 102. 1026. and sundry other forraigne Protestants: with whom our owne Divines accord: we shall cite some few of their words very briefly.

In the yeare 1533 There was a short Treatise concerning the Lords Supper, written (as is supposed) by our learned Martyr Mr. *William Tyndall*, printed with his workes *cum privilegio* p. 476. 477. wherein he prescribes; that the Bread

(1) *Surius Concil. Torti.* 3. p. 298.

(m) *De Ecclesiæ Consecratione* p. 260. 263. 264. De Altaris Consecratione p. 290. 295. 298. 300.

(n) *Epist. Lector* p. 115. before his translation of the Greek Liturgy. (o) *De Graecorum Ritibus* Bibl. Patrum Tom. 18. p. 771.

(p) In his Scrip-
ta Anglicana
P. 457.

(q) See his life
before his
works. Sect.
25.

(r) Answer to
Hardings Pre-
face: Reply to
Harding Ar-
ticle 3. Divis.
26. Article 13.
Divis. 6.

and Wine should be set before the People IN THE FACE OF THE CHVRCH upon the Lords Table, and that the Congregation should sit ROVND ABOUT IT according to the pure use of the Sacrament in the Apostles times. Learned Martin Bucer (sometimes Regius Professor of Divinity in the Vniversity of Cambridge in King Edward the 6. his Raigne) in his [p] *Censure of our English Liturgie* writes thus. It appears by the formes of the most ancient Temples, and Writings of the Fathers, that the Clergy stood in the MIDDEST of the TEMPLES, which were for the most part round, and out of that place did so administer the Sacrament to the People, that they might plainly heare and understand the things there recited by them. Eminent Bishop Jewell [q] one of *Queen Elizabeths Visitors* in the first yeare of her Raigne when the Injunctions were made, who had a principall hand in abolishing our Altars and placing Communion Tables as they formerly stood; in his *Authorised works*. enjoined to bee had and read in every Church; (affirmes and proves at large in [r] sundry places, by pregnant Authorities and reasons, That the Holy Table and Altar in and among the primitive Christians and Fathers was not made of stons but wood; and stood Not at the end of the Quire, but in the Middest of the Church among the People who came round about it, & that it ought to be so placed; producing the Authorities of Eusebius, Augustine, Durand, the Councell of Constantinople, and others to prove it. Doctor Gervase Babington, Bishop of Worcester, in his comfortable Notes upon Exodus. c. 22. & 27. p. 275 (in his folio works) writes and proves expressly: That the Apostles and Primitive Fathers and Christians: had no Altars but Communion Tables only, made not of Stone, but boards, and removeable, SET IN THE MIDDEST OF THE PEOPLE, AND NOT PLACED AGAINST A WALL. Our laborious Dr. William Fulke in his *Answer of a true Christian to a counterfeit Catholike* London 1577. Article 15. p. 55. 56. in his *Confutation of the Rhemish Testament*. Notes on 1 Cor. 11. Sect. 18. on Hebr. 13. Sect. 6. and in his *Defence against Gregory Martin*: c. 17. affirms in direct words; that the Altar and Lords Table anciently stood In the middest of the Quire, or Church, so as the Ministers, Deacons, and people might Stand round about it, and not against a Wall, as your Popish Altars now stand, as is easy to prove, and hath often times bin proved, and it seemes you confesse as much. But so they cannot stand about your Altars, except some of them stand on the top of the Wall, or in the Window: and Mr. Cartwright in his Notes on the Rhemish Testament on the 1 Cor. 11. Sect. 18. writes, That in the primitive Church, the Lords Table was situated IN THE MIDDEST OF THE CHVRCH AND PEOPLE, not against a Wall. Dr. Andrew Willet in his *Synopsis Papiismi*, the 9th. Generall controversie, Quest. 6. Error 53. p. 496. expostulates thus with the Papists for placing their Altars at the end of the Quire, contrary to Antiquity. Why bring they not their Altars down to the BODY OF THE CHVRCH? we see no reason why the Communion Table may not be set In the body of the Church as well as in the Chancel, if the place be more convenient and fit to receive the Communicants. Learned Bishop Morton in his *Institution of the Sacrament*. Edit 2. London 1635. l. 6. c. 5 Sect. 15. p. 462 writes, That the Table of the Lord anciently stood in the middest of the Chancel, So that they might Compasse it round; which he proves by Eusebius, Dionysius Areopagita, Chrysostome Athanasius, Augustin, Lindsay, and Dr. Fulke; yea Dr. Williams late Bishop of Lincolne now of Yorke, in his *Holy Table, Name, and thing* asserts and proves the same at large, for which this Arch-Pre'ate fell foule upon him in the latter end of his *Speech in Star-chamber*; If then all these Testimonies may be credited before the Archbishops bare affirmation, neither Altars nor Lords Tables anciently stood Altarwise, North, & South against the East end of the Quire in our own or other Churches, as he falsely avers they did. 3ly. We shall evidence this by Presidents abroad & at home. For forraign Presidents. In the famous Church of Tyre which surpassed all others in Phœnicia, for its splendor built in the time of Constantine the Great the Altar was placed in the MIDDEST; as Eusebius, *Ecclesia. Hist.* l. 10. c. 4. records in expresse

expresse termes. *Altariq; deniq; tanquam Sancto Sanctorum IN MEDIO SANCTU-
 ARII SITO, &c.* It is storied by *Socrates Scolasticus. Ecclesiast. Hist. l. 5. c. 22.* and *Nicephorus: Ecclesiast. Hist. l. 12. c. 34.* That in the great Church of *Antioch* in Syria, the Altar stood not to the East, but towards the west part of the Church; *Sacra Ara non ad Orientem, sed ad Occidentem versus, collata fuerat.* And so not Altarwise as this Archbishop pretends. *Wallafridus Strabus, de Rebus Ecclesiasticis. l. 4. c. 19.* records: That in the Temples only built to God, or cleared from the filthiness of Idols the Altars were placed towards divers climates according to the conveniency of the places; there being no place where God is not present: That in the great Church at *Ierusalem*, built by *Constantine* the Great and his Mother over the Sepulchre of our Lord, in a Round forme, in the Pantheon at Rome, dedicated by Pope *Boniface* to all Saints, and in the Church of *St. Peter*, Altars were placed not only towards the East part, but likewise distributed into other parts and quarters of them. *Chemnitius* in his *Examen Concilij Trident.* pars 4. avers, and our opposites confesse it, That in the Catacombe at Rome, THE ALTAR STOOD IN THE MIDDLE; and that in *St. Peters* Church it selfe in the *Vatican*, the high Altar stands before the QVIRE, to wit in the middle of the Church or Chancell, as an Italian Author explaines it, in his description of this Church. *Platina*, in the life of Pope *Nicholas* the third, records, That the Altar of *St. Mary* in Rome, through the great inundation of *Tibur* in this Popes dayes, was surrounded with water, *ROTVNDE quatuor pedibus*; Therefore it stood not against a Wall. *Anastatinus, De vitis Rom. Pontif. p. 68. 69.* writes, that Pope *Sergius* in the yeare 694. made a foure-square vaile about the Altar in *Saint Peters* Church at Rome, having 4. white and 4. Scarlet Curtaines, *IN CIRCVITV ALTARIS*, round about the Altar, which stood not therefore against a wall. In the great Cathedrall of Rome it selfe, Anno Dom. 1547. as *William Thomas*, an eye witnesse, in his *History of Italy* and *Thomas Beacon* out of him, f. 282. attest, the Altar on Christmas day, when the Pope him selfe and all his Cardinalls received the Sacrament, STOOD IN THE MIDDEST OF THE CHAPELL OR QVIRE, the Pope sitting in a Throne of wonderfull Majesty behinde it. [s] *Sigismund.* (f) *Rerum Germ. Script. Tom. 1. p. 590.* the Monke in his *Chronicon Augustinum*, Anno 1483. pars. 1. c. 1. relates, That in the Ancient Cathedrall Church of *Augusta*, dedicated to *Saint Afra*, there were two Quires and two Altars standing under two Arches: That in the body of the Church were 4. Altars; the chiefest of them was the Altar of *St. Denys*, placed, *versus OCCIDENTEM* in parte Septentrionali, non juxta murum, sed quasi IN MEDIO. *Alb. Crantzius Metrop. l. 1. c. 9.* & *Hospinian de Orig. Altarium c. 6.* writeth that *Witkind* found the face of *Charls* the Great, full of alacrity after he approached, *Mensam Templi Mediam*, the Lords Table placed in the Middest of the Church, to receive the Sacrament at it: And the same *Hospinian* in the same Chapter records, that in the Reformation made at *Zurick* Anno 1523. The High Altar was placed where the Font had anciently stood (neare to the West Doore, not the East end of the Quire.) In briefe, the very *Roman Cerimonial* l. 1. c. 12. p. 70. informes us, that even of late times many Popish Altars stood not against the wall, but distant from it, as these clauses prove: *Quod si Altare parieti adhereat, &c. Si Altare sit A PARIETE SEIVNCTVM, &c.* Therefore to rayle in all Altars, Lords Tables and place them Altarwise against the East end of the Quire wall North and South, as this Archbishop did, is to be more Popish, more Superstitious then the very Papists themselves, even in forraigne parts.

To come to Presidents nearer home; Our venerable *Beda* in his *Eccles. Hist. l. 2. cap. 3.* relates, that the famous great Church of *St. Augustins* in *Canterbury*, it selfe (built by *Augustin* the first Archbishop of that Sea) had an Altar standing almost in THE MIDDEST OF IT, and that in the North Isle, not East *Habet hac Altare IN MEDIO PENE SUÆ*: this was with in 700. yeares of Christ. Yea Everden a Monke, and Master (t) *Cambden* out of him: records; That the Monks of *Saint Edmunds* Bury in *Suffolke*, whiles they layd the foundation

foundation of a new Chappell in the reigne of King Edward the first, found the walls of an old Church built R O U N D [which we think was first built to Saint Edmonds service] So as the Altar STOOD AS IT WERE IN THE MID-DEST. In the Church of Carmarthen both the high Altar and Lords Table Anno 1555. Stood in the midst of the Church, as Master Fox Acts and Monuments, Edit: 1610. pag. 1404. 1406. records: and in Saint Patricks Church in Dublin, the High Altar stood about the midst of the Quire under the first Crosse, a Yard and more beneath the Arch where the E. of Corks Tomb now stands; and that on all solemn Feasting dayes, they Went Round about the Altar: as appeares by a Letter written from thence to this Archbishop himselfe (endorsed with his owne hand) by Master Benjamin Culme, dated from Dublin, Aprill 19. 1634. In fine, learned Doctor (u) Fulke informes us, That the Altar usually stood in the MIDEST of the Church, wherof some symptoms remain in our Cathedrall Churches. Moreover, if you marke the most part of our Churches in England, you shall plainly see, that the Chancels are but additions builded since the Churches, in likelihood by the Parsons who disdained to have their places, in the midst of the people, as the old manner was. Also you may see some Churches builded round, as at London the Temple, and another is at Cambridge of the same fashion, and some Churches have the Steeple at the East end very unhausomly, and the Rood lost. Again, many Churches have crosse Isles in which the people cannot see the Chancell, when they were builded; for such Churches as are late erected have the Churches and Chancells all of one building, and are made of such fashion, that one may see the High Altar in every part of them.

(u) Answer of a true Christian to a counterfeite Catholike printed at London, 1577. Artic. 15. pag. 55. 56.

From all these reasons and authorities we may infallibly conclude, that Altars and Lords Tables generally in all Christian Churches were alwayes placed in the midst of the Church, or Quire, not railed in Altarwise (as of late among us) against the wall. Therefore the Archbishops groundlesse surmise to the contrary and his maine Argument, from the Queenes Injunctions founded on it, is both false and frivolous.

Now whereas hee Objects, that there can bee no Popery in placing Communion Tables Altarwise, we answer, that if we consider this situation of them simply in it selfe, perchance it may be true. But if we observe, that Priests private Masses, brought in this situation of Altars first of all into the Church of Rome, and that the end of this new placing of them is, to turne our Lords Tables into Altars, to imitate the Papists, and make way for private Masses, as all other concurrent circumstances manifest, then it favours of (x) Popery in the highest degree. Finally, we shall observe the Archbishops juggling and falshood in this particular. In his Speech in Star Chamber he averreth. pag. 53. 14. And yet here is nothing done either by violence, or command, to take off the Indifferency of the standing of the holy Table, either way, but onely by laying it fairely before men how sit it is there should be Order and uniformity. And yet we have proved, that hee by his special Injunctions under Seale, and by private Letters to his Vicar General, enjoined all Lords Tables to be placed and rayled in Altarwise; yea excommunicated, censured, fined in the High Commission such Ministers and Church-Wards as opposed or refused to obey his Injunctions herein, as the Cases of Master Chancy, the Church-Wardens of Beckington, John Premys, Ferdinando Adams, and others evidence.

(x) See the Quenchcole p. 201. to 208

Fourthly, We reply, that the Archbishop in his Star Chamber-Speech, p. 45, 46. makes this averment, And yet the Government is so moderate [God grant it be not too loose the while] that NO MAN IS CONSTRAINED, NO MAN QUESTIONED, only religiously called upon, venite, Adoremus, Come let us Worship; that is, bow to, and toward the Altar: Yet here we have himselfe confessing, and others testifying upon Oath, that he enjoined all Schollers in the University of Oxford, all Officers, Prebends in Cathedrall and Collegiat Churches by speciall Statutes [to which they were all compelled to sweare Obedience and

and Conformity] to worship God with highest Reverence towards the Altar, to bow devoutly to, towards it at their approaches thereunto; which none were ever thus strictly obliged to do by speciall Lawes and Oathes in the very darkelt times of Popery. That Doctor Jackson did approve, practise this bowing to the Altar for a time, it was by force only of these new Statutes and Oath, as himselfe depose, for which he professeth his hearty sorrow: and whereas Doctor Blechenden sweates, that some *Prebends* used to bow before these new Statutes, it was only by reason of this Archbishops Injunctions and daily practise both at Court, and in *Lambeth Chappell*. For his expunging of the prayer for *King Henry the 8. after his death*, out of these Statutes, it no way justifies nor extenuates his Injunction of such Popish Altar-Adorations. For the 95. *Psa.* it commands us only, to worship, fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker; not towards or before an Altar, which is not the Lord our Maker: Neither did the Archbishop himselfe, nor the most superstitious Popish Prelate or Clergie man in England ever yet use to Worship and fall down to God, before or towards the Altar, just when this *Venite, Adoremus* was read; which requiring no such Worship at the very instant it is reading, much lesse exacts it after or before its reading. For the Knights of the *Garters* Chapter-Order made in times of Popery, in Imitation of Popish Priests, it is no binding Law to any but those of that Order, in their solemnitie, which being meerely Civill, and if it bee *Deo & Altari ejus*, joynly; then certainly superstitious, Popish, nay Idolatrous too; cannot be fit for imitation of Protestants.

Fifthly, We reply, that these Crucifixes, Images being unlawfull to be made, condemned by Our Statutes, Homilies, Injunctions, Writers, Church, and all sound Antiquity, as wee [7] have proved; and Constantine the great condemning them: their pretended Antiquity, or use in the Kings Chappell, can no wayes justify his re-erecting them in Cathedralls. And here we cannot but observe the Archbishops Legerdemain, and grosse abuse of his Majesties Chappell. (y) Pag. 59. 103. to 108.

First, himselfe introduced Crucifixes with other Popish Innovations into it, which he afterwards by way of imitation prescribed to Cathedralls; And then being charged with this practise in Cathedralls, he justifies himselfe by His Majesties Chapell, where he takes Sanctuary; just as if a Cutpurse should justify the cutting of a mans purse in Pauls Cathedrall because hee formerly picked another mans pocket in *Whit-Hall Chapell*, which is nothing else, but to wipe off the present charge by the next preceeding, which lyes so heavy upon him, and to justify this sublequent crime of his by another anteceding it. But in truth this is a meere devise to draw an Odium on His Majesty, and his Chappell, who must Parronize all his Popish Traiterly Actions, since we have proved these Innovations of his in Cathedralls to bee directly taken out of the *Roman Ceremoni- all, Pontificall*, and brought in by their prescription; not learned from the Kings own Chappell, as he fallly pretends.

Sixthly, To his Altar Ornaments, and trinkets in Cathedralls which he would justify by the Kings Chapell too, when expressly taken out of the *Roman Pontifical* and *Ceremoniall* in imitation of forraigne Popish Cathedralls; we shall returne the selfe-same answer, and close up a l with his own sentence in his *Star. Chamber Speech*, pag. 55. (where he passeth judgment against himselfe in these following words) *Nor hath the Kings Chappell any Prerogative (if that may be called one) above any ordinary Church, to deserve God in any superstitious Rites; Where give mee leave to tell you, that the King and his Chappell, are most wrongfully, and with scorne abused.* Undoubtedly they are so by these undutifull answers of his; whereby hee hath justified to the utmost each particuler of this his charge, which he hath in no sort extenuated nor taken off from himselfe in any particle.

Sixthly, They proceeded in the next place from Cathedralls, to charge me with Popish Innovations in [2] *Parish Churches and Chappells*; which charge is ridiculous to these heads. (z) Pag. 87. to 114.

First,

First, my enjoyning Church-Wardens to remove and rayle in Communion Tables Altarwise; as in the case of *Saint Gregories*, and other Parishes.

Secondly, Prescribing the people to receive the Communion at the new rayles kneeling.

Thirdly, Enjoyning Ministers to say Second service at the Communion Table rayled in Altarwise.

Fourthly, setting up of Crucifixes and other Images in Churches, Chappells, Glasse-windowes; particularly in the new Chappell by *Tuttle-fields*, in Westminster.

Fifthly, Prescribing these Innovations in visitation Articles, by Bishop *Wren*, Bishop *Mountague*, Bishop *Pearce* and others; and forcing Church-Wardens upon Oath to present all thole who submitted not to them.

Sixthly, Punishing and censuring thole in the Star-Chamber, High Commission and elsewhere, who opposed or submitted not to these Innovations: by name, Master *Peter Smart*, Master *Charles Chancy*, Master *Miles Burkit*, the Church-Wardens of *Beckington*, *Ferdinando Adams*, *John Premly*, Mr. *Henry Sherfeild*, Mr. *John VWorkman* Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Burton*, and Doctor *Bastwick*.

Seventhly, my Chaplaines purging out a passage against Images taken out of the very Homilies, in Doctor *Featlies* book.

Eightly, My licencing of Popish Pictures and Crucifixes to be printed in London, by one *Pecke*, and to be bound up with our English Bibles.

ANSWER.

To the first, I answer in Generall, that this removing and placing Lords Tables Altarwise, is warranted by the *Queens Injunctions*, as I have formerly evidenced; As for the case of *Saint Gregories*, the Table was not turned by mee, but by the Deane and Chapter of *Pauls*: And when it came to the Councell Table, I did there only deliver my opinion, and oppose the *Queens Injunctions* against Bishop *Jewels* opinion and Master *Fox*, there pressed: and the Order made therein, was made by the King and Councell then present, not by me alone.

Secondly, I pressed none to come up to receive at the Rayles, no further then the Common Prayer Booke prescribes, which enjoynes the people to draw neare and take the Holy Sacrament for their comfort.

3ly. Reading Second service at the Lords table is no Innovation, it hath bin ever since my remembrance constantly practised in Cathedralls, and is warranted by the Rubrick.

4ly. I gave no order for setting up Images or Pictures in any parish Church, nor yet in the new Chappell at Westminster, and Mr. *Browne* sweares, it was Dr. *Newel* that directed and paid him for his work there, not I.

5ly. I made neither Bishop *Wrens*, nor *Mountagues* Visitation Articles, nor Oathes, they were their owne, and if they have offended in making them, they must answer it themselves, some of them having bin particularly questioned for them already.

6ly. For thole particular persons cases objected, I shall answer them in order.

1. For Mt. *Smart*, he was censured by the high Commissioners of *Torke* for a Schismaticall and Scandalous Sermon, not by me, who had no hand in his censure.

Secondly, For Mr. *Chancy*, he spake contemptuous words against the rayle, that he would set it up in his Garden: He was suspended only till he did submit, after which he did submit and confesse his fault, and then was absolved.

As for the words I used to his Advocate witnessed by Mr. *Genebrand*, it was when he was ever bold, and it is usuall with Courts to checke Counsell in this kinde, when they offend in such nature.

Thirdly, For Mr. *Burkit*, There were 5 Articles against him, besides that which was read, and he was prosecuted, censured for them all, not that only which is objected.

Fourthly, *Ferdinando Adams*, extreemly interrupted my Visitors, and Bishop

shop *Wrens* Visitors too, in their Visitation at *Ipswich* by locking up the Church Doores against them; for which high affront Proccesse was awarded against him.

Fifthly, *John Premy* his prosecution was the Act of *Sir Nathaniel Brent*, and it was for an high contempt.

Sixtly, For *Mr. Sherfield* he was censured by the Major voyce of the Court, not by me alone: and *Mr. Caryl* depoted that the Picture he brake was only conceived to be the Picture of God the Father; not that it was so: But admit it were, yet it was not lawfull for him of his owne Authority to pull it downe and break it, no not though it had bin the Picture of *Jupiter* himselfe; This I did then affirme, for which I had the Authority of *St. Augustine*, and *Bishop Davenant*. Yea in *Constantine the Great* his time, as *Eusebius* writes in the third Booke *De vita Constantini* c. 52. 53. 54. No private Christians of their owne heads durst destroy the Idols that were then worshipped, nor the temple of *Esculapius*, wherein the *Dracel* himselfe was adored, til *Constantine the Emperour* gave expresse command, and appointed certaine men, whom he particularly imployed, to demolish them. It is true he pleaded, that he demolished it by the Authority of the *Vestry*; but the *Vestry* had no authority themselves to do it, therefore they could not derive it unto him. But it was Idolized and adored by some. True, but this appeared not till the hearing of the cause, and was unknowne before.

Seaventhly, The purging out of a Passage against Images in *Dr. Feathes* Sermons taken out of our Homilies; was no act of mine, but my Chaplaines, who must answer for it, yet there are other passages therein left which are smart enough against Images and their adoration: And *Dr. Featly* never complained hereof to mee.

Eightly, The Bibles wherein these Pictures are shewed were *Secretary Windbanks* and *Dr. Ducks*, which is nothing to me: yea one of them is a Latine Bible printed beyond the seas, at *Amsterdam*, a place free from superstition; nor here. Indeed I first saw one of these Bibles in *Mistresse Kirkes* hands, whereupon I sent for one of them my selfe, and then acquainted the Lords of the Councell with it, who resolved they should not be sold publicly, nor laid upon stalls, for feare of giving scandall, but privately; whereupon I told *Mr. Wally* as much, which he hath testified, But yet this is no Innovation, for the old English print-Bibells are full of Pictures.

Ninthly, *Mr. Workman* was justly suspected for inconformity; he was censured for other things, as well as for passages against Images, as appeares by his sentence. As first for his words against *Dancing*. 2ly. For saying *Images in Churches were Idolls* (though they are not Idolls till they are worshipped) and that they were no better then stones; an unfitting expression. 3ly. For saying that Drunkards were preferred. 4ly. That the Election of Ministers was in the People. 5ly. For praying for the King of Sweden before our King. 6ly. For preaching against the Government of the Church established by Law. 7ly. For speaking against Pictures in private houses as well as in Churches. For those of *Gloucester* questioned for granting him an Annuity, & then sued in the High Commission, they were not many, but only the principall Offenders: & it was lawfull to call them into the High Commission, because their grant to him was in affront of authority; their Fine was but small 10. l. a peece, and that was pardoned: As for *Mr. Workman* himselfe being put from his Ministry by sentence, he was unfit to teach Schoole, or practise Physick, for of leavening others with his dangerous opinions.

10ly. For *Mr. Prym*, *Mr. Burton*, and *Dr. Bastwick*, I answer, 1. That the Prosecution against them in Star-chamber was in a legall way, for seditious Schismaticall and libellous Books. 2ly. That the rejecting of their answers under their owne hands and taking them pro confesso, was no act of mine, but of the whole Court. 3ly. That the expunging of *Mr. Burtons* Answer, was not done by mee, but by the two chiefe Iustices, to whom it was referred by the Court, who must answer for it if unjust, and that the Copy of his answer found in my Study in-

terlined with black-lead, so far as it should stand, was not interlined by me. 4ly. I gave no sentence against them at all, but only Iustified my selfe and my proceedings against their calumnies. But it hath bin objected, that Mr. Cockesont gave an accompt of the proceedings against them to me from time to time: therefore I was the cause thereof. I confesse he gave me such an account, and it was just and fit he should do it, because the cause concerned not only my selfe in some sort in particular, but the Church of England in generall, of which I ought to take care according as my place and duty required: But I was no cause of any irregular proceedings: Yea, but I gave thanks to the Lords in the close of my Speech for their sentence and Justice on them, though I censured them not my selfe: True and it was no more then I ought to do in behalfe of the Church: But yet after the sentence given in my Epistle to his Majesty, I excited him to put it in execution. No, I only left it to his Majesties consideration to forbear or execute it, as he in his justice and wisdom should deeme meet.

Reply

To this was replied, 1. in generall; that the Archbishop in his speech in Star-chamber, p. 53. hath this expreision concerning rayling in Communion Tables Altarwise in parish Churches: *And though it stood in most Parish Churches the other may yet whither there be not more reason the Parish should be made conformable to the Cathedrall and Mother Churches, then the Cathedralls to them, I leave to any reasonable man to judge.* So as his Innovations begun in Cathedralls, were purposely introduced there first of all, to draw on Parish Churches to Popish conformity with them in these Innovations. Next, in patticular we reply: that the alteration of the standing of the Lords Table and rayling it in Altarwise, was no wayes warranted by the *Queens Injunctions*, but contrary to them, as wee have largely manifested. That though this was not done immediately by himselfe, but by the Deane and Chapter of *Paules*, yet he was the Originall author of it, and justified it when complained of. That he publikely checked the Councell, Parishioners and fir *Henry Martin* before the King and Lords for opposing this Innovation, and alleadging Bishop *Iewill* and Mr. *Fox* against it; desiring his Majesty to take these Bookes out of the Church, if they made no better use of them then to oppose this Novelty. That he carried himselfe more like an Advocate then Judge in this Cause, and when the King himselfe was satisfied and would have it stand as formerly, his violence was such, that he over-ruled both King and Councell, and drew up the Order forecited in their names for establishing this Innovation which favours of his stile and spirit, the guilt whereof must rest principally on him.

2ly. The coming up to the Rayles was pressed by his Visitors, Agents authority, and those excommunicated who refused to come up and receive at the New Rayle, to which certainly it was never the minde of the Common Prayer Book the Communicants should draw neare, since there were no Rayles to draw neare and kneele at till this Archbishop enjoyned them to be set up, in imitation of the Papists, as we have proved: but this drawing neare, is rather a drawing neare to Christ by faith, with our hearts and affections, or else a drawing neare to the body of the Church or Chancell where the Lords Table is to be placed, & to the Minister officiating, as it is expounded by the *Queens Injunctions*; & 28 Canon. *The Table when the holy Communion shal be administered shal be placed in so good sort within the Church or Chancel, as therby the Minister may be more conveniently heard of the Communicants in his prayer and administration, and the Communicants also may more conveniently, and in more number communicate with the Minister.*

3ly. We answer, that the Lords Table was ordained only to administer the Sacrament [a] thereat, not to read second service at it, for which the *Reading Pew* is appointed as the *Common-prayer Book*, the *Homilies of the worthy receiving the Sacrament*, and repairing Churches; *Queen Elizabeths Injunctions*, the *Canons made Anno 1571. p. 18. and the 82. 83. Canons Anno 1603.* resolve Now this Archbishop en-

(a) See the
Queens cole.
p. 9. to 235

joyned second service now to bee read at the Lords Table when there was no Communion, and where it was rayled in at the upper end of the Quire, not brought downe into the body of the Church or Chancell; contrary to the Rubrick in the Common Prayer Booke, which expressly determines: *That the Epistle and Gospel* (chiefe parts of this second service) *shall be read where the two Lessons are, with a loud voice, that the people may heare the Minister that readeth them, the Minister standing and turning himselfe, as he may best be heard of ALL such as be present* (which he cannot be if he read them at the upper end of the Chancell remote from the people, where the Churches are great, or the Ministers voyce low.) This innovation then which was never practised in any Parish Church till of late, though used in some Cathedralls, wherein the Rubrick enjoynes the Communion every Sunday in the yeare at least to be administered; which was wholly omitted, and the second service at the Table left to supply it) is directly contrary to the Rubricke, Homilies, Injunctions, Canon.

4ly. It is evident that Crucifixes were set up in many Parish Churches, Chappells of the Kingdome, which though we cannot prove to be done by his expresse particular Command: yet certainly it was by his example or incouragement, who repaired and set up Crucifixes in his owne Chappells at Lambeth, Croyden, and one over the Altar in Passion week in the Kings owne Chappell at White-Hall. Besides, those who erected them were either his owne Chaplaines or Favorites who knew his minde, and did it for to imitate and please his Grace to gaine some further preferments.

For the Images set up in the New b Chappell in Tuttle fields, we [b] have proved, Page 93. that the Arch-bishop promised to bestow a new Window on it: that thereupon the old was taken downe, the Kings Armes removed, and those Images, with the Archbishops owne Armes (as the Donor of it) set up: that his Chaplaine gave directions about the Window: and Mr. Sutton sweares that the money for new glasing it was paid since the Archbishops commitment to the Tower by his direction, as he believeth. A cleare evidence, that he was the Author and director of this worke, notwithstanding all his shifts to elude it.

gly. Though the Archbishop made not these Bishops Visitation Oathes and Articles; yet he made all of them Bishops, who durst do nothing in their Diocesse or Visitations but by his direction; to whom they gave an Annuall Accompt of their proceedings in writing, as we have manifested. Besides, its apparent that all these Visitation Articles were made in pursuance of his owne Archiepiscopall Injunctions, Instructions, and himselfe approved of these their Oathes, Articles, never checking nor questioning them for them, though their Metropolitan yea himselfe prescribed the selfe same things in his Metropolitall Visitations, by printed Articles, written Injunctions, or private Instructions, as these Bishops did in imitation of him. Therefore hee must Answer for these their Articles, Oathes, proceedings as farre forth as they, who were but his Instruments.

Sixty For his Answer to the particular Cases, wee shall retorne these Replies.

i. That though Mr. Smart was censured by the High Commission at Yorke, yet he was first imprisoned here at London, and transmitted from the High Commission here to York by this Archbishops meanes; who complied with Dr. Cosin in his prosecution, and disposed of his livings after his deprivation, as we can prove by sundry Letters found in his Study; As for Mr. Smarts Sermon, it was neither scandalous nor factious, but Orthodox, and Iudicious, against the Popish Innovations introduced in the Cathedrall of Durham, where he was the ancientest Pichend, deserving rather applause then any censure, as both Lords and Commons have resolved upon a full hearing, and awarded him reparations and Damages for his unjust censure.

2ly. Mr. Chancy spake no contemptuous words at all against the Rayle, nor of setting it up in his Garden: His suspension was illegall, not only without, but a-

gainst Law and Canon; As for his submission, it was forced, and a meere art to deterre others from opposing his Graces Popish Innovations, the only prosecutor appearing against him. And his shaking up or menacing of his advocate, an unlawfull act, to discourage him from making any defence, and subject his Client to a censure. Therefore inexcusable.

3ly. The main Article against Mr. *Burket*, was only for his and the Churchwardens removing of the Table when the Sacrament was administred into the body of the Church without the rayles, according to the *Rubrick*, *Queene Elizabeths Injunctions*, and the 28. *Canon*, the other Articles being but frivolous, not insisted on: And for this he was molested in the High Commission, yea a *traditio Satanae*, a turning over of him to Sir *John Lamb* pronounced against him, who used him like a Lyon, a Wolfe in a Lambes Skin.

4ly. For the Churchwardens of *Beckingtons* most severe, illegall, barbarous prosecution, we have proved by the deposition of Mr. *John Ash*, a Member of the Commons House, that the Archbishop himselfe since his Imprisonment in the Tower confessed, that Bishop *Pierce* their Diocesan did do nothing herein, but by his direction. If therefore the rule in Law bee true, *Plus peccat Author quam Actor*, he must be far more guilty both of their prosecution, Excommunication, and heart-breaking submission, then Bishop *Pierce*, his Instrument.

5ly. For *Ferdinando Adams*, he was excommunicated in the Archbishops name by Mr. *Dade* his Surrogate, and this Excommunication pleaded in Barre of his Bill in Starchamber. The proesse, Pursivants sent out to apprehend him, and the imprisonment of his Attorney till he withdrew his suit, were a lby the Archbishops procurement. His shutting Bishop *Vrens* Visitors out of the Church at *Ipswich* unlessse they derived their Authority by Letters Patens, from the King was warranted by the Statut of 1 *Eliz. c. 1*. Therefore his prosecution, only for his duty and allegiance to the King against the Bishops disloyall incroachments, was most unjust and disloyall. 6ly. *John Premly*, was not prosecuted by Sir *Nathaniell Brent*, but by the Archbishop himselfe, for opposing his order in the *Metropolitickall Visitation*, in removing the Lords Table placed Altarwise, to the place and posture wherein it formerly stood; for which he was fined, censured, imprisoned in the High Commission, where the Archbishop sate chiefe Judge against all Law and Justice, his act being no contempt, nor offence in Law; but the Archbishops order by Sir *Nathaniell Brent* his Visitor, and Dr. *Nevels* act, a contempt against Law and Canon.

7ly. Mr. *Sherfield* was prosecuted principally by the Archbishops procurement, for demolishing according to Law: an Idolatrous blasphemous, false Image of God the Father, which was openly Idolized. Hee was then a Justice of Peace, Recorder of Sarum, and had the Warrant of the whole Vestry (wherein were six or seaven Iustices of Peace at that time) to demolish this Image, and take downe the whole Window, which all the Kings Subjects, (and Iustices of Peace especially) have authority to demolish by the Statutes of 3. *Ed. 6. c. 10.* 3. *Iac. c. 5.* The Book of Homilies, and *Queene Elizabeths Injunctions*: n. 23. within their severall Parishes without any speciall order from King or Bishop: yea, God himselfe gives speciall Commands not only to the supream Majestrate, but to the Common People also to destroy Idolls, Idolatrous Images, and Altars *Exod. 34. 13. 14.* *Deut. 7. 5. c. 12. 1. 2. 3.* *Isay 17. 7 8.* In pursuance of which commands, not only King *Asa* 2 *Chron. 14. 3.* King *Hezechiab* 2 *Kings 18. 4.* King *Manassch* 2 *Chron. 33. 15.* King *Josiah* and his people, 2 *Chron. 34. 10 8.* demolished and brake in peeces Idolatrous Altars and Images: but likewise ALL THE PEOPLE of the Land went into the House of Baal and brake it downe, Altars and Images brake they in peeces, and slew *Martan* the Priest of Baal before the Altars: 2 *Kings 11. 18* without any speciall Warrant or command from King *Ichoash*, or *Ichoiada*, (which the Holy Ghost records for their honour,) yet were they never questioned or fined in Starchamber for it, because they had no warrant from either of them. 8o. after

after King Hezekiah his *Passeover*, the Scripture expressly records, 2 Chron. 30
 13. 14. --- c. 31. 1. That ALL ISRAEL that were present went out to the Ci-
 ties of Judah and brake the Images in peeces, and cut downe the groves, and threw
 downe the High places and Altars out of all Judah and Benjamin, in Ephraim also
 and Manasseth, untill they had utterly destroyed them all; which is recorded to
 their Eternall honour by God him selfe: nor were they ever questioned or fined
 for a Riot, in any Starchamber, or High Commission, or for going out of their
 owne limits, or doing this without a speciall Commission from the King. There-
 fore Mr. Sherfield being a publike Magistrate, both as a Iustice of Peace and Re-
 corder of *Sarum*, might much more by the whole Vestries Order, demolish this
 Idolatrous Picture in his owne Parish Church, in such a privat manner as he did,
 without blame or censure, having sufficient authority from these Texts and
 Prefidents of Scripture, and from the forecited Statutes and Injunctions; to
 warrant it every man in such a case being a lawfull Magistrate, without any speci-
 all warrant. Thus the common people in Germany and else where in the beginning
 of Reformation, brake downe the Popish Images and Altars without any speciall
 Order from the Superior or Inferior Magistrates, as Mr. (c) Fox and others re-
 cord; And theretore, his Doctrine of the Archbishops, that it is unlawfull to
 break downe the very Image and Temple of *Insipiter* and *Esculapius* where the *Divell*
 him selfe was worshiped, without the speciall command of the supream Magistrate, is
 a most impious Paradox; for if the supream Magistrate will give no such
 command, these Idols, Devills shall still be tolerated, worshiped to Gods dis-
 honour, and Religions slander, in despite of all the people and inferior Magi-
 strates. As for the place of *Eusebius*, it only proves; that Idolatrous Statues,
 Images, Temples, were demolished by the Emperor *Constantines* speciall com-
 mand; but that the Christians under him, might not lawfully have defaced them
 without such a speciall command, especially after a *Generall Statute* and *Edicts*
 published by him for their demolishing, without being lyable to a severer censure
 [the only thing in question] is no wayes warranted by, nor deducible from *Euse-*
bius, nor *Saint Augustine*. Yea had Mr. Sherfields zeale out-run his discretion
 in this act, it deserved rather applause then censure, from a Protestant Prelate,
 yet this Bishop was so far from excusing, extenuating, that hee aggravated his
 pretended offence beyond all bounds of Law, Iustice, Conscience, pleaded as ze-
 alously for the lawfullnesse of Images in Churches, and of this abominable Idoll of
 God the Father, as the Pope him selfe could have don; yea he abused Master
 Sherfield in his speech and censured him with the highest, though a Bishop,
 when some temporall Lords excused, yea acquitted him. And though this cen-
 sure was not his alone, but carried by the Major voyce, yet his voyce, Speech,
 violence occasioned, and aggravated it. For his evasions, that this Picture was
 conceived to bee the picture of God the Father as Master Caryl deposed;
 not a picture of him in truth: It is a most childish evasion, for the Scripture is
 expresse, That God being a spirit, an invisible infinite Essence, can have no true
 picture, likeness, or similitude made of him by any corporall visible representation,
Isay 40. 18. to 27. c. 46. 5, 6 Acts 17. 29. Rom. 1. 23. 24. 25. whence every
 such Image of God is tearmed, a lye in Scripture, *Isay* 44. 20. Hab. 2. 18. Rom.
 1. 25. &c. And if ever any Image of God were a lye, then certainly this, as hath
 bin proved. Now, whereas he pretends, it appeared not it was adored and idoli-
 zed till the hearing, it is certaine it appeared to Mr. Sherfield long before the
 hearing or demolishing of it as he deposed in his answer, and this appearing
 by witness upon Oath to the Bishop and whole Court when the cause was
 heard, made his unjust and heavy censure, farre more abominable to God and
 man.

(c) Acts and
 Monumens
 vol. 2. Edit.
 1640. p. 36. to
 98.

Eghtly, Mr. Workman was principally censured for his preaching against I-
 mages, though his expressions were the very words of our Homilies. The o-
 ther particulars were all justifiable, true, & no wayes censurable except the sixt,

which was pretended, but not proved. Therefore his censure most unjust, and his censuring of some of those of *Gloucester* that joyned in a grant of Annuity to him under the City Seale though the Fine was but small, and afterwards remitted, was far more unjust.

1. Because the grant of this Annuity was not only an act of Charity, but justice and equity, punishable by no Law, and highly to be commended.

2ly. Because they were censured in their privat naturall Capacity, for what they acted only in their politique, as Members of the Corporation under their Common Seale, wherein the whole City were engaged as much as they.

3ly. Because they damned this grant of which they had no cognisance, to starve a faithfull Minister and his Family, who had no other Livelyhood. As for his prohibiting him to teach Schoole, to practise Physick, when he had put him from his Ministry without any just cause, it was a treble tyranny and oppression, he being enforced to take this course only to supply himselfe and his family, for which the Law of God and nature enjoynes him to provide, *unlesse he will (d)* *be worse then an Infidell*: and doubtlesse he must needs be worie then any Infidell who had the heart to do it upon such a poore pretence, that he might infect others with his opinions, to wit, of the unlawfullnesse of Images in Churches, or private houses, the very approved, reolved Doctrine of our *Statutes, Homilies, Injunctions, Writers, Church.*

4ly. For that he alleageth by way of justification and excuse touching the most barbarous censures of Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Burton*, & Dr. *Bastwick*: We reply,

1. That his hand was to all the Warrants for their Illegall commitments, close imprisonments before their censures. That the Books for which they were questioned were neither scandalous, Seditious nor Schismaticall, but necessary Apologies, Pleas against his unjust tyrannicall proceedings in the High Commission, and Popish Innovations in the Church to subvert our Religion. That himselfe in his Starchamber Speech (and *Heylin* and *Dove* after him) confesseth justifieth the truth of these Innovations wherewith those Bookes did charge him: all which the former and this present Parliament have unanimously complained off, and voted to be illegall, Popish, destructive to our Religion. There were these Bookes were neither Scandalous, nor Libellous.

3ly. Both the proceedings and sentence against them are voted, adjudged by both Houses to be altogether illegall, unjust, barbarous, contrary to *Magna Charta*, the Lawes of the Land, and liberty of the Subject, and unparral'd in any age; therefore ordered to be niterly rased and taken off the file, as unfit to remaine upon record to prejudice posterity.

4ly. Their prosecution proceeded principally from him; the Orders for shutting them up close prisoners, denying them pen, inke, paper, and speech with one another, were procured by him. The Orders for denying them liberty to put in their Answers under their owne hands, taking them *pro confesso*, were made when himselfe sate and Voted in Court, being both prosecutor party and Iudge; the sentence was given; He sitting in Court, though particularly excepted against: though he gave no Vote in the Censure it selfe, yet al knowe he was the cause and contriver of it before it was given, yea he approved, and thanked the Lord for it, in his Speech, when it was given, caused it to be most severly executed when given, against the will of those that gave it, instigating his Majesty to the bloody execution of it; afterwards, when executed; denied Mr. *Prynne* servant liberty upon Bayle to attend him during his wounds set his hand first to all the Warrants for sending them to and close imprisoning them in remote Castles, and after that for banishing them into forraigne Islands, where they were so strictly mewed up, that neither freind, Wife, Children could have the least access unto them for their releife, nor they procure liberty of pen, inke or paper to write unto them for necessities. Yea, had not heingaged his extraordinary power and malice in their prosecution, neither the Court, Iudges, Officers, nor Lords had

had bin so extravagant, so unjust in their proceedings, Censures, Executions against them, nor their Countell so over-awed as they were, nor they denyed liberty to answer for themselves, and to impeach their Opposites by a Crosse Bill, which if admitted (as it ought of right and justice) it, would have prevented their heavy Censure, elsewhere, which probably would have false short of this he is now likely to incurre. All which considered, this part of the charge stickes fast upon him in each particular.

7ly. Himselfe sent for Dr. *Fearly*, and commanded him to carry his Sermons to his Chaplin to peruse, who thereupon expunged this and other passages out of them after they were printed, to please his Lord; and his Chaplains Act in this case is his own. And though other passages against Images remained, yet no reason can be given for expunging this [being the direct words of the Homily,] but his complacency with the Papists: Yea, Dr. *Fearlie* swears expressly, that he did complaine of it to Sir *Edmond Scot*, who told him it would bee bootlesse to complaine to the Archbishop, who would undoe nothing his Chaplaine had altered.

8ly. For the Popish pictures, we have proved them printed in London by the Archbishops own authority and direction, that himselfe saw and approved them whiles in printing, being the very same with those his Chapell windowes, the Masse-Booke, and *Boetius a Bolsfort*, found in his study: That they were ordinarily bound up in Bibles and sold in shops, of which the Stationers complaining to him he thereupon gave them the foresaid answer himselfe. But that the Lords of the Counsel gave any such order he produceth no prooffe at all. In few words, if the pictures were lawfull, to bee bound up in Bibles; why then did he give order that they should bee only sold in private, not in publique? If unlawfull, Popish, Idolatrous, or superstitious, contrary to the Scripture, our owne Statutes, Homilies, Injunctions, Writers, as we have proved them, then they ought not by his direction, to sell or binde them up in Bibles, no more privately these publikely, And whereas he Objects, that the *Latine Bible* produced wherein some of these pictures were bound, was printed at *Amsterdam*; wee grant it. But the Pictures in it, were printed and bound up with it here in London, not at *Amsterdam*, and these Pictures by the Archbishops owne direction were bound and sold with many *English Bibles*, in which act he so much gloried, instead of being ashamed of it, that he would have these Bibles thus bound up with Pictures, called the *Arch-Bishops Bibles*, by way of distinction. As for the *English Bibles* printed with Pictures in *Queene Elizabeths* dayes, they had no other Pictures in them, but onely of the Arke, Temple and such like, not any Pictures of Christ, the *Virgin Mary*, or any persons of the Trinity. All which considered, this part of his charge stickes still upon him in each particular notwithstanding all his evasions.

Seventhy, They Object against me the Consecration of Churches and Chapells as a Popish Innovation; tending to introduce Popery among us, and have * instanced in my consecrating of *Creed-Church*, *St. Giles Church in the fields*; and the *Church-yard* there; for consecrating whereof the *Parish* paid me 15. l. the Church of *Stanmore Magna*, my Chappell at *Aberguilly*, the forme, and furniture whereof were excepted against as Popish, the Chappell of *Hamer-Smith*, where they alleadge, I consecrated the first stone when it was layd, the Chappell of *Roe-Hampton*; and that I would have consecrated other Chapells *Cambridge*.

To this I answer first in generall; that the Consecration of Churches is very ancient and warranted by Scripture and Ecclesiasticall stories. In the Old Testament, wee read that the *Tabernacle*, with all the Vessells, Ornaments thereto belonging were solemnly consecrated by [e] *Moses*; That afterward when the Temple was built, it was solemnly [f] dedicated and consecrated to God by King *Solomon*, and all his Princes and people. After this when the Temple had bin shut

Note.

Object. 7.

* Pag. 114. to

128.

Answer.

(e) Exod. 40.

9. 10. 11.

(f) 1 King 8.

2 Chron. 5. 5.

8. 7.

(g) 2 Chro. 29 up and defiled, the Priests and Levites by (g) Hezekiah his command, sanctified
 (h) 2 Chr. 34.8 and cleansed both it and the Vessells thereof. So [h] King Josias purged the House
 of the Lord. After which when the Temple was re-edified, the Children of Israel,
 (i) Ezra. 6. 15 the Priests and the Levites kept (i) the dedication of the House of God with joy;
 16, 17. and offered in the Dedication of the House of God an hundred bullockes, which
 Feast of Dedication, was observed by the Jewes even in our Saviours time, as wee
 read in the New Testament, John 10. 22. In the reigne of Constantine the great,
 when Christian Churches began to be built, or re-edified, wee no sooner read
 of their building, but of their *solemn consecration and Dedication*; as of the
 consecration of the Church of Tyre with sundry others mentioned by Eusebius
 in his *Ecclesiasticall History*, l. 10. c. 3. & *De Vita Constantini*, l. 4. c. 40. After
 which wee finde this practise continued in the Christian Church in all ages, as
 Ecclesiasticall Histories, the Consecration Sermons of sundry Fathers, the Ca-
 nons of ancient Councils and the Canonists in their titles, *De Consecratione Ec-*
clesiarum, prove at large. Wherefore this can be no Popery, nor Innovation.
 Yea if Churches were not consecrated, then I say, they could not bee termed
Holy, for it is the *Consecration makes them holy*. And if places be not *holy*, then
 persons also cannot be *holy*, when they are consecrated and entred into *holy Or-*
ders. As for Bishop Pilkinton and Archbishop Parker, they speake not simply a-
 gainst consecrations in generall, for they were consecrated *Bishops*, and the booke
 of Ordination is confirmed by Parliament, nor yet against consecrating of
 Churches in generall, but against the *Popish consecrations* of them used by some
 moderne Romish Prelates. For my forme of consecrating them, it was not ta-
 ken out of the *Roman Pontificall*, but that which was used by Bishop Andrewes,
 from whom I had it: This forme I followed at *Creeke Church* and the rest. Se-
 condly, To the particular consecration of Churches Objected, I answer.

First, to that concerning *Katherin Creeke Church*. It was testified, that I
 came thither in a *Pompous manner*; I deny it; it was only in a grave and seem-
 ly manner. It is Objected, that as soone as I came within the Church doore I
 fell downe upon my knees: True, it was no more then my duty; being an
 Oratory; * *Moses and Aaron fell down on their faces at the doore of the Taberna-*
 * *Num. 14. 5.*
 * *16. 22, 45.*
 * *20. 6.*
 * *2 Chron. 29.*
 * *26. 29, 30.*
 * *Psa. 95. 6.*
 cle: * *Hezekiah and the people bowed and worshiped* as I have proved at large in my
Speech in Star-chamber: And, * *O come let us worship and fall downe, and kneell*
before the Lord our Maker, is the common *Introitus* in our owne and other *Ly-*
turgies. It is objected, I pronounced the place and ground holy: I did so, and
 it is an ordinary and legall Speech, there being a *relative*, though not an inhe-
 rent holinesse in Churches Dedicated to Gods service. Hence wee read in *Iusti-*
nian Codicis, l. 1. tit. 5. this Title, *DE SACROSANCTIS ECCLE-*
SIIIS, as they are there often stiled: Therefore Churches are holy, and their
 consecration makes them so. Whereas it was said, *I threw up dust into the ayre*:
 This I deny: and where it was alleadged, that this was in imitation of the *Ro-*
man Pontificall; that is a mistake, for the *Pontificall* prescribes *Cinis*, a hes not
 dust to be cast abroad, and Greek Letters to be made therein, with many other
 vanities. For my forme of consecration Bishop Andrewes made it, from whom
 I desired a Coppy and had it, which I observed. It was objected, that the form of
 prayer I used, is in the *Masse Booke* and *Roman Pontificall*; It may bee so,
 many other very good prayers are in it, yet they be good. It was further allea-
 ged, that I objected Doctor Denisons Sermon to him at his *censure in the High*
Commission: I Objected only his extravagances, and that was no hurt. For *St.*
Giles Church, it is true I consecrated first the Church and then the Church-yard
 which is the usuall manner; as for the fees amounting to 15. l. I returned them
 againe, and bestowed them on the poore of the Parish.

But it hath bin Objected, that these were no new Churches, but Churches
 only new repaired, therefore not to be re-consecrated. I answer, that there was
 some new ground taken in at *Saint Giles*, and admit there were still the same
 longitude

longitude and latitude, yet the walls and structure being for the most part new ; the Churches in this respect were new, and to be new consecrated.

Thirdly, to the consecration of the Objected *Chappells*, I confesse their consecrations ; and though there be no expresse forme for consecrating of Chappels in the *Pontificall*, nor mention in *Ecclesiasticall story* of Chappels consecrations ; yet seeing they are *Oratories*, and *Ensebins* testifying, that *Oratories* were consecrated in *Constantines* time, there is the like warrant and Antiquity for consecration of them, as of Churches. For my Chappell at *Aberguelle*, I consecrated, and put a name upon it, (as *Saint Augustine* saith, wee dedicate Churches to *Saint Peter*) for distinction sake ; and though I had a relation to the beheading of *Saint John Baptist* in my Dedication of it, I hope there is no hurt therein. For the patterne and furniture of the Chappell produced, as if it were mine at *Aberguelle*, it is a mistake : for it is the patterne of Bishop *Andrews* Chappell and furniture (which I caused to be written out) as the indorsement of it proves, viz. 1623. *Chappell and furniture as it was in use by the Right Reverend Father in God Lancelot Andrews, Lord Bishop then of Winton.*

I had no such furniture in my Chappell there. For the Wafer basket and the rest, they concerne not me. yet Wafers have bin alwayes used and are at this day in the *Greeke Church* and in *Westminster Abbey* too. Whereas it is objected, that I hold there is a badge of Holinesse put upon our Churches and Chappells by a Bishops breath, I answer no, but there is an awfulnessse put upon them ; For my prayer at the laying of the foundation stone of *Hamersmith Chappell*, there is no hurt, nor superstition in it. In fine, I hope there is no High Treason to bee found either in the one or other, in consecrating Churches, Chappells or foundation stones.

To this brave flourish of his for the Antiquity and lawfulnessse of the consecration of Churches, of Chappells, we shall returne a full reply. To his Presidents taken out of the Old Testament we answer.

1. That *Moses* had an expresse command from God Himselfe to consecrate the *Tabernacle*, with all the vessells thereof, by anointing them with consecrated Oyle, *Exod. 40. 10. 11, 12.* [they being types of Christ to come ;] but wee have no such command from God, to consecrate Churches, Church-Yards, Chappells Altars, Vestments ; which are no types of Christ, already come.

Secondly, This consecration was made by *Moses* the Temporall Magistrate (not by *Aaron* the High Priest) without any other ceremony then meer anoynting the *Tabernacle* and its Vessells, implements, with oyle : Therefore no warrant for Bishops consecrating Churches, Church-Yards, Chappells Altars, Vestments, with other ceremonies, without any anoynting them with oyle.

Thirdly, this consecration was only Temporaty, Jewish, ceremoniall, abolished by Christs death, *Col. 2. 14. to 23. Heb. 7. 12. c. 9. 1. to the end, and cap. 10. 1. to 22.*

Fourthly, King *Solomon* did not consecrate the Temple nor the Vessells and Court thereof, with Oyle, as *Moses* did the *Tabernacle* ; but (k) after hee had brought the *Arke*, *Tabernacle* and all the Holy Vessells into it, with praises, thanksgivings, instruments of Musicke ; and after the cloud and glory of the Lord had filled the House, he made an heavenly prayer only in the midst of the Court (not in the Temple) before all the Congregation of Israel, kneeling on his knees, and spreading forth his hands towards heaven. [using no such prayers or ceremonies as the Bishop used:] and all the hallowing that we read of in this story is, *Solomons* hallowing the middle of the Court, that was before the house of the Lord (and how was that ?) only by offering burnt offerings and peace offerings, *2 Chron. 7. 7. 1 Kings 8. 64.* From which History and practise, of his we shall observe.

1. That if there were any consecration of this Temple, it was made only by King *Solomon* himselfe. not by the High Priest, Priests, or Bishops, who now appropriate all consecrations of Churches, &c. to themselves alone.

Secondly. That the Oracle of the house where the *Arke* was placed, is called THE MOST HOLY PLACE, even before and without any consecra-

Reply.

(k) 1 Kings 8.
2 Chron. 5. 6,
and 7.

tion of it at all, 1 *King*. 8. 6, 10. 2 *Chron*. 5. 7. Therefore the consecration made it not most holy, but only the use to which it was designed.

Thirdly, That the Arke, Tabernacle, Vessells were brought into the Temple, and praises, thanksgivings, there solemnly sung to God, who manifested his presence there; filling it with a Cloud and his glory, so as the Priests could not stand to minister; before *Solomon made his prayer*, which some tearme a consecration; whereas this Archbishop fell to his consecration, before any publike prayers, thanksgiving Psalmes, Service, or Sacraments administred.

Fourthly, That if this prayer were a consecration; it was made only in the outward Court, not in the temple it selfe, whereas the Arch-bishops consecration was made in the Church, not Church-Yard.

Fifthly, That the Hallowing of the Court (and so by consequence of the Temple, if properly consecrated) is by the text ascribed only, to *Solomons offering of burnt offerings, meat-offerings, and the fat of the Peace-offerings*: not to any other prayers, exorcismes, Unctions, or Ceremonies, which Offerings being long since ceased, and not to be used by Christians, the consecration of Churches and Church-Yards must likewise cease, unlesse it bee onely by performing publike duties of Gods worship in them. Therefore this president of *Solomon* and the Temple under the Law; is no warrant at all for our Bishops consecrating of Churches, Church-Yards, Altars, Vessells or Vestments under the Gospell.

Fifthly, the sanctifying and cleansing of the Temple and Vessells of it prescribed by *Hezekiah*, but executed by the Priests and Levites; was only the cleansing out of the Idols, Idolatrous Altars, rubbish, filth and uncleannesse of the Temple, which they found, and carried out thence into the Brooke Kidron; with their scouring of the Vessells, which had beene polluted, as is plaine by the letter of the text, 2 *Chron*. 29. &c. c. 33. 15, 16. compared together. Therefore it makes nothing for any Episcopall consecration of Churches, but only for keeping them cleane from filth and Idolls.

Sixthly, that of *Ezra*. 6. 16, 17. is no warrant for the hallowing of Churches or Chappells. For it only mentions; That the Priests, Levites, and Children of Israel kept the Dedication of the house of God with joy; and offered at the dedication of the house of God an hundred Bullockes, two hundred Rams, 400. Lambs; and for a sinne offering for all Israel, twelve he-Goates according to the number of the Tribes of Israel. And they set the Priests in their divisions and the Levites in their courses for the service of God. But of any speciall Prayers, Ceremonies, Unctions, and the like, used at this Dedication, by the Priests or people, wee read not one syllable. Therefore this their Dedication of the Temple, was only their offering of burnt offerings, of sinne offerings in it to God, and ordering the services of the Priests and Levites in it. Therefore no President for the consecration of Churches by our Prelates, since such oblations, such courses of Priests, Levites are ceased with Christ, *Hebr*. 7. 11, 12, 18.

Seventhly, the Feast of Dedication mentioned, *John* 10. 22. was not of the Temples Dedication, but of the Altars, instituted by *Judas Maccabens* and his Brethren, to be annually kept by the space of 8. dayes in the Month Casfeu, 1 *Mac*. 4. 56, 59. as Interpreters and the Margin of our Bibles resolve: which being of no Divine Institution, kept only by the Superstitious Jewes, not by Christ, or his Apostles, (who are not said to observe, but only to be at Jerusalem when it was the Feast of Dedication *John* 10. 22.) It can be no warrant at all for the consecration of Altars, much lesse of Churches now.

Finally wee answer, that we find no mention in Scripture or Classicall Writers, of any consecration of Jewish Synagogues, to which our Churches properly succeed, but only of their Tabernacle and Temple, in such sort as you have heard; with which our Churches, Chapells have no proper Analogie: That this Argument of the Archbishop drawne from the presidents in the Old Testament, is borrowed from no Orthodox Ancient Father or Councell, but only from the Popish Canonist *Gratian De Consecratione*, Distinct 1. who thus concludes from these presidents. *Si enim Judai qui umbra legis deservebant, hoc faciebant, multo*

magis

magis nos quibus veritas patefacta & gratia per Iesum Christum data est, Tempia Domino edificare, & pro ut melius possumus orare, eaq; DIVINIS PRECIBVS ET SANCTIS VNCTIONIBVS, suis cum Altaribus & vasis, vestibus quae & Reliquijs, ad divinum cultum explendum acensibilibus DEVOTE ET SOLENNITER SACRARE & non in alijs quam in Domino sacris ab Episcopis, & non a Corepiscopis qui saepe prohibiti sunt, nisi summa exigente necessitate, Missas celebrare nec sacrificia offerre debemus Domino. You see out of what Popish quiver this Archbishop drew this leaden shaft of his.

To his pretended antiquity for the consecration of Churches, Chappells, Altars, &c. since Christs time: we answer, first, that (k) before the raigne of Constantine the Great there is no credible president or authority at all for dedication of any Churches: And that Eusebius who (*De vita Constantini* l. 3. c. 24. to 40. 45. 47. 49. 50. 51. lib. 4. c. 39) makes mention of Constantines and his Mother Helenaes building of divers stately Churches at Bethlehem, in the Mount of Olives, in Constantinople, Nycomedia, Manbre in Phania, and elsewhere, & by his Edicts enjoin'd Christians to build Churches: yet makes no mention of any Edicts for their hallowing. True it is, that *De vita Constantini* l. 4. c. 43. 45. 47. we read, that Constantine summoned a General Conncell of Bishops to Jerusalem, to settle some differences in the Church, and that at this meeting he thought best to consecrate, and thereupon kept the Feast of the Dedication of the Temple which he had built at Jerusalem over our Saviours Sepulchre, which the Priests, then Consecrated, but bow'd with prayers, disputations, preachings expositions of Scripture, and receiving the Sacrament, as he expressly defines c. 45. But of any other particular Church then thus consecrated by his appointment, we finde no mention. Indeed the same Eusebius in his *Ecclesiast Historie*, l. 10. c. 3. *De Encanijs ubiq; locorum celebratis*, writes, that Churches being reedified under Constantine, *Deinceps celebre spectaculum, nobis omnibus optabile & vehementer desideratum, ante omnium oculis proponebatur, Dedicationum scilicet festivitates per urbes singulas, templorum nuper edificatorum consecrationes*: which intimates, that Churches, then new built were [m] solemnly dedicated to God in most places; but what those Dedications of them were, he informes us in the same Chapter, That they were Panygericall Orations in praise of their founders, &c. of which he cites a memorable one made to Paulinus Bishop of Tyre in the next Chapter. These Dedications therefore of Churches then, were farre different from those used by the Papists and this Archbishop now. We read not then of any consecration of their foundation stones, any pompous processions to them, any knocking at the doores, by the Bishop, crying with a loud voyce, Open, Open ye everlasting doores, &c. [a cleare perverting of Scripture,] of no flying open of the doores there-upon; No falling downe upon the marrow bones; and saying: This place is holy, &c. No casting up of dust in the ayre, no such prayers, processions, round about the Church, bowings to the Altar pronouncing of cursings and blessings, Peepings, recoylings, and other Antick tricks as this Bishop used at Creed Church, and elsewhere, no Hallowing of Altars, Altar-clothes, Vessells, Vestments, Churchyards, Chappells. Therefore these Consecrations in Constantines dayes, are no warrant at all for his, the rather, because not made by Bishops alone, who now monopolize them.

After Constantines time, there is very rare mention of any Consecration of Churches in Ecclesiasticall Histories, or the genuine writings of the Fathers till Popery overspread the Church, and Popes brought it in, by forged decrees, Gratian himselfe, being unable to cite so much as one Fathers Authority for it [*De Consecratione distinct.* l. i. where he professedly handles this subject] but only the forged Decrees of Popes, and the Canons of two or three late Popish Councils; there being no Canons concerning it in any ancient genuine Synods: Yea the consecration of Churches was so much neglected even in the very darke times of Popery above a thousand yeares after Christ that [o] Othobon the Popes Legat and the Synod held under him here in England in Henry the third his Raigne, acknowledged that there were many Parish Churches and some Cathedralls then consecrated although built long before.

(k) Centur. Magd. 3 cap. 6. p. 148.

(m) See Centur. Magd. 4. c. 6. p. 408. Sozom. l. 2. c. 26.

(o) See here p. 127.

Now to prove the consecration and meerly Popish [as of late ages it hath beene used at least] it is agreed by Gratian, Platinus, the Centuryators, Thomas Beacon, and others, that Pope Hyginus, Gelasius, John Nicholas, Clemens, Sylvester, Felix and Gregory (whose spurious Decrees are cited by Gratian De Consecratione Distincti: and Surinus in his 1. and 2. Tome of Councils) were the first inventors and prescribers of this Ceremony of Consecrating Churches and Altars: prescribing.

1. That no Church should be built or consecrated without the command, Authority, or consent of the Bishop of Rome.

2ly. That every Church should be consecrated with a Masse, and no Masse said or Sacrament administered [unlesse in case of absolute necessity] but in a consecrated Church, and at a consecrated Altar.

3ly. That these Priests should be deprived who said Masse or officiated in unhallowed places or at unconsecrated Altars.

4ly. That no Altars should be consecrated without the Reliques of Saints, and if any Altars were consecrated without them, they should be pulled downe.

5ly. That all Stone Altars should be anoynted and consecrated with Chrisme.

6ly. That no Church should be consecrated wherein a Pagan was interred, unlesse his corps were first digged up and cast out of it.

7ly. That the Timber of a consecrated Church, and Vestments once consecrated, though worne out & decayed should not be converted to any other good use but burnt to Ashes and these to be laid up safely in some place within the Church, least they should be polluted with the feet of those who passed by.

8ly. That none should touch the consecrated Altars, Kessells, Vestments, or be enabled to keep them but consecrated persons.

9ly. That if the Altar of any Church were renewed; or the walls new built, or defiled with murder, blood-shed, or the meeting or burying of Hereticks therein, that then it should be re-consecrated; otherwise not.

10. That no man whatsoever should presume to build any Church before the Bishop of the City first came to the place, & fixed a Crosse thereon; and the Patron informed him, what stipend he would allow for the finding of Tapers, Gardians to keep it, Priests to Officiat in it, agree to have it consecrated, and to sprinkle the floore and Court thereof with holy water.

Of latter times, many Ethnical, superstitious Exorcismes, Conjurations, Vnctions, Ceremonies, Notions, and frantick inventions have bin added by Popes and Prelates to these consecrations, recorded at large in the Roman Cæremonials, Pontificalls, Thomas Beacons Reliques of Rome, Mr. Calschill and others: whereby it will appeare to be most Popish, superstitious in the highest degree, what ever is pretended to the contrary. Whereupon it was exploded, condemned by our Church, State, Bishops, and other writers in the beginning of Reformation, as Popish, Jewish, Superstitious and by forraigne Protestant writers (See Aretij Problemata Locus 121 De Encanijis) as we have formerly proved. Therefore it must needs be a Popish designe in this Archbishop to revive it now.

For his Argument, that Churches cannot be called Holy, unlesse consecrated by a Bishop; it being his consecration that makes them so. We answer.

1. That Bishop Pilkinton and others define this very Doctrine of his, to be Popery, as we have proved, so doth Aretius too.

Secondly, That the most Holy Place, was so stiled, though never consecrated 1 King. 8.6.10. So Jerusalem is called very frequently, the Holy City: Matih 4.5.27.53. though never consecrated. And God told Moses the place whereon thou standest is holy ground, Exodus 3. 5. though never consecrated by a Bishop.

(p) Of Repairing and keeping cleane Churches. p. 78 79.

Thirdly, Our owne (p) Homilies informe us, That the Church is counted and called Holy, not of it selfe (nor yet for its consecration by a Bishop) but because Gods people resorting thither are holy, and exercise themselves in holy and heavenly things.

Fourthly, The hearing and preaching of Gods Word, Prayer, and receiving the Sacraments therein are sufficient of themselves to sanctifie and make it holy without

out any other consecration. See 1 Tim. 4. 5. Centur. Mag. 3. and 4. 6. & Aretij Problematum Locis, 126. who resolves further against this superstition: *Vana est etiam illa superstitio, quod dicunt; Nisi dedicatur Templum, non posse ibi preces haberi, non exaudiri orantes, non recte predicari verbum Dei, nec Sacramenta administrari: quae sententia ANIEESTE JUDAISMUM RESIPIT; Christus tamen praemonstravit, Horum nunc est, ut veri adoratores, nec in monte scto, nec Ierosolymis, sed ubique locorum Deum adorent in spiritu & veritate. Athanasius sane non erubuit preces habere & populum ad audiendum verbum Dei convocare in Templum Alexandrinum majus, quamvis nondum esset Dedicatione consecratum: nondum enim jusserat Imperator. Id nostri hodie magni nefas ducunt.*

Fifthly, sanctification in its owne nature, is nothing else, but a sequestering of any thing from a common or ordinary use, to a religious and sacred purpose. And this may be done without a Bishops exorcisme or conjuration; in wch respect the first borne, first fruits, and oblations among the Jewes were termed *Holy*, though never solemnly consecrated; because appropriated and devoted unto God. For his other Argument, that if places bee not holy persons cannot be so; and our Church allowes of the consecration of persons; *Ergo* of places. It is both a fallhood and absurdity. For first, it is God and his Spirit only that make persons holy, not Prelates; who never sanctifie places as they do persons. Secondly, Our Church allowes only of the Ordination (not consecration) of Bishops and Ministers, confirmed by Statute (many of whom ordained such, are so far from being holy, that they are most polluted and unclean) but not of consecrating Churches; utterly exploded by the Common Prayer Booke, and book of Ordination, comprising all the authorized Rites and Ceremonies of our Church, whereof consecration of Churches is none. And thus much in answer to his defence in generall for consecration of Churches.

Secondly, For the particulars Objected; our witnesses depose, that his coming to *Creed Church*, was pompous, not decent, that he fell downe on his knees to pronounce, the place and ground holy, *in the name of the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost*; not to adore and pray to God; which the Examples of *Moses, Aaron, and Hezekiah* warrant not, who never fell down at the Tabernacle door nor bowed the head and worshipped to consecrate either the *Tabernacle, Temple, or Altar*. And whereas he objects, that his pronouncing of the place holy as soon he entred into it, was legall, &c. we answer.

1. That himselfe avers, that no Church or place is legally holy, before it be consecrated; and when he pronounced it holy upon his entrance to it, hee had not consecrated it; therefore by his own doctrine it was not legally holy, when he pronounced it so.

Secondly, If our Churches be legally holy by their consecration, then the consecration of our Popish Prelates in times of Popery with superstitious, Popish Ceremonies, conjurations, Exorcismes, enoylings, processions, sprinklings with holy water, made them so, since most of them were onely consecrated in, though none re-consecrated since the times of Popery: And if such Popish consecrations make them legally and really holy, then they are of as great efficacy as his owne or Bishop *Andrewes* his forme, and no difference at all between them.

Thirdly, For *Iustinian*, he makes no mention at all in that Title of consecration of Churches, and styles them *holy Churches*, only in respect of the holy duties publikely performed in them. For his throwing up of dust, two witnesses expressly depose it, which must overballance his own bare negation: and there is so little difference between dust and ashes, that they are usually coupled together as *Synonimes*, in Scripture and Authors. That he took his forme from Bishop *Andrewes*, is only averred by himselfe not proved by any witnesses; but that it agrees with that in the Pontificall which we found in his Study even *inter terminis*, is most cleare; and therefore we cannot but presume he derived it from thence. However, if Bishop *Andrewes* imitated the Pontificall, and he Bishop *Andrewes*, the charge is still alike, both of them imitating and complying with the Pope herein. He grants his prayer taken out of the Pontificall; therefore no doubt

the rest, especially his frequent bowings and Jackanapes tricks at the Altar: which he cunningly pretermits and answers not. For Dr. *Jenison*, he objected only his preaching against Images to him at his censure, and that was no extravagancy. As for the consecrating of Churches only repaired or somewhat enlarged, we know no Law nor Canon in our Church to warrant it: And to take fees for it, is both Symony, and extortion. For the restoring of them, it is only affirmed not proved; and to take them illegally to bestow them on the poore, is but to rob *Peter* to cloath *Paul*.

Thirdly, For the consecration of *Chappells* and meere private Oratories, there is no president in Antiquity; yea *Gratian* himselfe and the *Roman Pontificall* allow the use of them, without any consecration: Therefore to consecrate them is to exceed even Popery and Papists in Superstition. As for his *Chapell* of *Abergavilly* his owne Diary proclaimes his Superstition both in its consecration, and denomination of it. For the Paterne and furniture of it, his owne notes and papers clearly prove, it was the same with that of Bishop *Andrews*, whose forme of consecration himselfe alleageth he punctually pursued. And if this were the true patterne, furniture of Bishop *Andrews* owne Chapell Anno 1623. all the world may justly censure him for a professed Papist, his Chapell, Altar, and their furniture being as Popish Superstitious, Idolatrous every way as the Pops in *Rome*, yea exceeding the very Roman Ceremoniall and Pontificall. For *Wafers*, they are directly contrary to the Rubrick at the end of the Communion in the Book of Common prayer; we wonder therefore with what face this Prelate dares justify them: That a Bishops breath puts only a badge of reverence not holiness on Churches, is diametrically contrary to what he formerly affirmed. Perchance he now remembers that *Quicquid efficit tale, est magis tale*: and therefore Bishops cannot make other things holy with their breath who have little or no holiness at all in their hearts: For his solemne consecration prayer at the laying the first stone of *Hammer-smith Chapell*, it hath neither Scripture, Law, Canon, Antiquity, but the *Roman Pontificall* to warrant it: Therefore it is meerly Popish. Whereas he objects by way of jeare, that he hopes the consecration of Churches and Chapells is no Treason: we answer, that we do not charge it to be so in it selfe. But we have proved it to be a branch of Popery and a grosse one too and being introduced by him among other things to set up Popery, and subvert Religion, it will prove Treason in this respect, as we shall manifest in due time. And so this intre charge remaines unavoyded in any the least particle.

Object. 8.
(9) Pag. 128.
1555.

8ly. The next Charge urged against me, Is *The Kings Declaration for the use of sports on the Lords day*, prescribing the observance of Revells, Wakes, Feasts of Dedication likewise, formerly suppressed, where I am (9) accused.

1. For causing this Booke to be enlarged, reprinted in his Majesties name to prevent the petition of the Iustices in Somersetshire, and make way for Mr. *Prynnes* censure.

2. For pressing Ministers to read it in their Churches without any Warrant, suppressing of Sermons, censuring those who refused to publish it, (as Mr. *Wilson*, Master *Player*, Master *Heiron*, Mr. *Snelling*, with sundry others) encouraging other Bishops to suspend, silence many Godly preaching Ministers for this cause, pressing this Book, and ordering Churchwardens to present such who refused to publish it, by Visitation, Oathes and Articles.

3ly. For reviving disorder, by wakes, Revels, and causing the Judges Orders to be reversed:

Answer.

To the first of these I answer, That the *Kings Declaration for sports*, was printed and published by his Majesties speciall command. Yea I had a Warrant under his hand to see it printed and there is no prooffe at all that it was printed, published or enlarged by my procurement. Besides, the Declaration is but for the use of lawful Sports, and that only after evening prayer ended: and the cause of publishing it at that time was, partly *Barbours* Book of the Sabbath, who would revive the Jewish Sabbath, and the Jewish rigidities positions of others

thers touching the Lords day, whose positions drew *Brabourne* into that Error. In *Geneva* it self (as I have bin credibly informed by Travellers) they use shooting in peeces, long bowes Crosse Bowes, Multers, and throwing of the bowle too, on the Lords day as well before as after Sermons ended, and allow all honest recreations without reproofe of their Ministers; yea, Mr. *Calvin* the great professor there *Instit. l. 2. c. 8. sect. 34.* blames those who infected the people in former ages with a Judaicall opinion, that the morality of the 4th. Commandement, to wit, the keeping of one day in 7. did still continue; which what else is it then in dishonour of the Jews to change the day, and to affix as great a sanctity to it, as the Jewes ever did. And that those who adhered to their constitutions who broached this Doctrine, *Crasa carnalique Superstitioe Judaeos ter superant*: Men may be too strict as well as prophane herein. Yet I for my part have ever strictly observed the Lords day in point of practise: And whereas it was attested by Mr. *Prynne*, that this Declaration was published to prevent the Petition of *Somersetshire* for the reviving of Iudge *Richardsons* forecited order: Sir *Robert Philips* and many other Gentlemen of that County complained against the order to the King, whereupon the Iudge was ordered to reverse it, and the Declaration was not published till after the reversall.

2ly. The Declaration was ordered to be published in the Church; and that was sufficient warrant to enioyne Ministers to publish it there, & although no penalty be prescribed in it to such who should refuse to publish the same, yet it is implied, otherwise, the command were idle in case of disobedience. That it was published with intent to suppress afternoon Sermons, that so the people might have more time for Sports; This could not be, since none were to use any Recreations till after Evening Prayer ended. That I gave my Visitor command to suspend those who refused to read it, was only within my Diocese of *Canterbury*, not in my Metropolitall Visitation throughout my province; I suspended but three Ministers in my whole Diocese, who had first time of consideration granted them, to wit, Mr. *Wilson*, Mr. *Culmer*, and Mr. *Player*, only suspended *ob officio* for their contumacy being men of factious Spirits. For Mr. *Wilson* and others being brought into the High Commission for not reading this Declaration, it was the act of the Court, not mine. As for Mr. *Snelling*, he was excommunicated by Dr. *Woode* not me, and he was questioned in the High Commission; for not bowing at the name of Iesus, and as well as not reading this Book, Besides I was not present at his censure there, neither did I expunge his answer. Nor did I presse the reading of the Declaration in my Visitation Articles, if other Bishops did it, tis nothing to me; themselves must answer for it, not I.

3ly. Feasts of dedication have beene of great Antiquity, and in general use in some Counties; and there is a lawfull use of them for Hospitality, and increase of love among Neighbours and friends, as the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, with divers of the gravest Clergy in the county of *Somerset* certified his Majesty, who desired their continuance:

If some abuses crept into them as they did in some places, and it seemes in *Somersetshire*, yet this was no good reason to take away the feasts and meetings themselves, as Iudge *Richardson* did by his order (for which there were great complaints made by men of quality) but only to regulate them, and take away their abuses, which this Declaration doth without countenancing any disorders.

To this was replied, 1. That it is cleare by the evidence given, and his Letter written, to the Bishop of *Bath and Wells* that this Declaration was enlarged by himselfe, and republished by his instigation and procurement: That himselfe put his Majesty upon the reprinting of it, the warrant being written with his owne hand and being without any date at all makes it probable it was procured since the Declaration printed. The later end of the Declaration it selfe concerning Wakes and Revells, compared with the juncture of time when it was published, manifests that it was thrust out to crosse Iudge *Richardsons* order, and forestall the Petition of the *Somersetshire* Justices for its continuance, immediatly after its reversall, it having no relation at all to *Brabournes* Booke.

Besides

Reply.

(r) See Sunday a Sabbath
The Divine
Tragedy and
Histriomastix.

(f) Page 149.
150.

(e) Page 151.

Besides the publishing of it, just when Mr. Pryne was questioned for his *Histriomastix* (wherein he censures mixt dancing Sports & Pastimes on the Lords day) and reciting it in the very information against him, manifests, that it was likewise reprinted to make way for his first censure in *Star Chamber*. Moreover some of the recreations mentioned in it are not very lawfull upon any day, though the Archbishop affirms the contrary, but certainly unlawfull on any part of the Lords day, even after evening Prayer, as (r) *Fathers, Councells, Imperiall Lawes*, and both Protestant and Popish writers have resolved. The pretended Practise of *Geneva*, which he alleageth, is but a Hearesay without prooffe, borrowed from *Peter Heylins* prophane *History of the* (he should have said, NO) *Sabbath*. part. 2. c. 6. sect. 6. 8. 9. who yet informes us sect. 9. that *Dancing hath bin condemned by French Synods and writers* (as well Protestant as Popish) which yet the Declaration for sports in *terminis* allowes of on the Lords day, contrary to the practise and judgement of *Geneva*. As for Mr. *Calvin* himselfe though he differs in some particulars touching the Morality of the 4th. Commandement from other of our Divines; yet he in expresse words condemnes *Dancing and Pastimes on the Lords day*, not deeming it a Jewish Superstition or rigidity to prohibit such sports thereon, especially *Dancing*, as his 71. Sermon upon *Iob*, proclaimes to all the worldly and other *Geneva Ministers* since him, have done the like. That this Declaration did *de Facto* put downe afternoone Sermons on the Lords day in most and forenoone too in many places, by suspending sundry preaching Ministers who durst not publish it out of conscience, is apparent to all. Wherefore to affirme this one part of the Archbishops design in reprinting thereof, is a certaine and more then probable truth; and the words of it, that they should use those Pastimes after Evening Prayer, (not evening Sermon) import as much, some Bishops grounding their suppressing of Afternoone Sermons on this exprellion; which Sermons *Peter Heylin* in his *History of the Sabbath*. part. 2. c. 6. sect. 9. and c. 7. and 8. makes to be meer innovations, as doth Doctor *Pocklington* in his Sunday no Sabbath, both published by this Archbishops command and approbation. For his owne strict observation of the Lords day, it is an averment without truth. Certainly he that made conscience of its strict observation himselfe, would never give way to such a Declaration encouraging others to prophane it, who were apt to do it without such an incitement; nor suspend such Godly Ministers, who durst not publish it out of conscience, for feare of encouraging others to prophane it. Yea, his pretended strictnesse of late times was such, that himselfe and his servants made it an ordinary practise in the Sommer to go to Bowles and use other pastimes on it, and he sat constantly thereon at the Councell Table about worldly businesse. 2ly. That there was no warrant at all in the Declaration that Ministers should publish it, or to punish any who refused it, hath bin formerly proved at large, and where there is no penalty prescribed in a Law (much more in a Declaration) no punishment can be inflicted. That he gave expresse order for silencing Mr. *Wilson*, Mr. *Cutmer*, and Mr. *Player*, is proved by severall Oathes; and that they were suspended divers yeares not only *ab officio*, but *beneficio*, having nothing left to support their Wives and Families. That they were obstinate or factious is a groundlesse scandall, not proved, they were only conscientious and would not disobey God to humour men. That he silenced only these three in his Diocese was but casual, because others submitted to read the Booke; but his command was general, to suspend all who refused to read it, and those three in speciall. That he put not any Article of Inquiry touching the reading of this Declaration into the Articles for his Metropolitall Visitation, was his Jesuitical Art and cunning, to conceale his wickednesse and prophane-nesse from publique view, but that he gave private Instructions to his Vicar Generall in this his Visitation, to convent and question such who had not read it, who thereupon did accordingly question divers good Ministers for this very cause, you have heard it proved at large by the very Abstracts of his Metropolitall Visitations, under his owne and his Visitors hand. That other Bishops inserted such an Article into their printed Visitation Inquisitions, we have fully proved, as also that they gave an Account to him of the Ministers they had suspended for not Reading the Declaration according to his Injunctions. Therefore their Articles of this nature proceeded meerely from him, and must be charged on him, as well as on themselves. That it was the Act of the Court, not his to bring any into the High Commission for not reading this Book is a most false averment; for Mr. *Wilson* [now a Reverend Divine of the Assembly] was brought into the High Commission by his owne expresse command and no others, as himselfe deposeth, who personally suspended him before at *Lambeth* for that cause both from his Office and Benefice: and Mr. *Page* was by his speciall order brought into the High Commission as appears by his owne Subscription to *Francis Thompsons* Petition. That Mr. *Snelling* was there questioned, and severely censured by the Archbishops meanes, who gave Order not to accept either his Answer or defence, and threatened to burne it; is cleare by the proofes [e] forementioned. That his censure was only for not publishing the Declaration, is evident by the Sentence it selfe, if well observed, his not burning of the name of *Jesus*, being put in only for a Cipher, but not insisted on at the hearing.

And whereas he pretends, he was not present at his censure, which he proves not; we know he was virtually, if not personally present thereat; yea, his unjust suppression of his tendred Answer and defence, was the onely cause of his censure; which if received were so learned, solid, satisfactory, that prophanenesse and injustice it selfe could not have imposed such a censure on him. Thirdly, annuall Feasts of Dedication of Churches are not so ancient, but that we know their Originall: The Feast of Dedication of the Altar, instituted by *Judas Maccabeus* was the first of this kind we read of: Indeed *Solomon* kept a Feast for * seven dayes space when the Temple was dedicated: And *Constantine* the great, with some others in his dayes, when Churches were dedicated, made a great Feast; but that those Feasts continued annuall in perpetuity, I find no mention in any approved Antiquity. These annuall Feasts of dedication were first invented by the spurious popish Decrees of Pope *Felix* and *Gregory*, thus recorded by *Gratian*; *Solennitates dedicationum Ecclesiarum, Episcoporum & Sacerdotum per singulos annos sunt celebranda: Solennitates Ecclesiarum dedicationum & Sacerdotum per singulos annos solenniter sunt celebranda, ipso Domino exemplum dante, qui ad festum dedicationis Templi, omnibus id faciendi dans formam, cum reliquis populis eandem festivitatem celebraturus venit, sicut scriptum est; Facta sunt Encenia in Hieru'solymis, & hyems erat, & ambulabat Iesus in Templo in porticu Solomonis. Quod autem octo diebus encenia sint celebrando in libro Regum perfecta dedicatione Templi cernas.* Other Decrees then these of these two Popes (the latter whereof is built upon cleer mistakes of Scripture) cannot be produced. These Bacchanalian feasts are thus censured by *Aretius*, Problem. 126. *Hodie vero Solennitates instituuntur; tote die bibitur, tote die luditur, saltatur, lascivi cantus audiuntur; que omnia magis spirant Bacchi quoddam festum a Menadibus celebrandum, quam piam Christianismi antiquitatem: And were wholly abolished among us by the Injunctions of King Henry the eighth, and Statute of 6 Edw. 6. c. 3. by reason of the idleness, excesse and great mischiefs they produced to mens soules; Yea, many Judges riding the Westerne Circuit, suppressed the Wakes and Revels kept upon them from time to time for these abuses and other weighty Reasons.* Yet this prophane Arch-prelate revives, re-establisheth them by this DECLARATION, causeth those Judges Orders to be reversed with a strong Hands, by a Plot and Certificate from Bishop *Pierce* and others, checks, may punisheth Chiefe Justice *Richardson*, removes him from that Circuit, and lets loose the Reines to all Licentiousnesse, prophanenesse, whereby infinite mischiefs ensued, as we have fully proved: So that this whole Charge sticks still upon him.

Ninthly, from these ceremoniall and practiell, they proceed to doctrinall innovations in matters of Religion; wherein I am charged; First, with an endeavour to introduce and propagate *Arminianisme* in our Church, the rediest inlet to Popery and a part thereof, though I knew it to be a plot of the Jesuits to subvert our Religion, as appears by the Jesuits Letter; and that principally; First, in being a common Patriot of Arminians, together with their Books, Tenets, and a preferrer of such; by name, of Bishop *Mountague*, and his Appeals complained of in Parliament, Doctor *Jackson* and others; for which I was taxed by a Declaration of the Commons in Parliament: Secondly, in censuring the Commons Declaration in Parliament against the Arminians, and their Vote too: Thirdly, in calling in and suppressing Books against Arminianisme, though licensed, and questioning, censuring the Authors, Printers, dispersers of them in the high Commission, as Bishop *Carltons* and Bishop *Downes* Books, Doctor *Featlies*, Doctor *Goads*, Master *Rouses*, Doctor *Sutcliffes*, Master *Prynnes*, Master *Burtons* Books, and others; when as the Arminian Authors went unquestioned, and their Books printed by authority, as Doctor *Jacksons* Book, and the *Historicall Narration*, licensed by my owne Chaplaine Doctor *Martin*: Fourthly, In abusing his Majesties Proclamation, his Declaration before the 39. Articles of our Church, with the subsequent Instructions, prohibiting controversies

* 2 Cor. 7. 8.
v See Aretii
Problemata Lo-
cus 126. de
Enceniis.

w De Conser-
vatione Di-
stinct. 1.

Object. 10.
2 Pag. 154. to
178.

against the Article, especially in the controverted points of Arminianisme, to suppress all preaching against Arminian errors, and punish such as durst oppose them, by silencing, suspending, censuring them in the high Commission or elsewhere, and conniving at the Arminians to vent and preach their errors freely under pretext thereof, without restraint or opposition, both in the University and City: Fifthly, for purging passages against Arminianisme and Arminians out of Books tendred to the Presse, and particularly out of Bishop *Hals* and Bishop *Davenants* Letters; with some other incident particulars which fall under these heads: Sixthly, in repealing the Articles of *Ireland* against Arminianisme, which King *James* declaimed against as damnable heresie.

Answer.

To this I answer in generall, that I never endeavoured to introduce Arminianisme into our Church, nor ever maintained any Arminian opinions. For the *Jesuits Letter*, it is nothing at all to me, it layes nothing to my charge in particular, and it was lawfull for me to read and keep it; it containes many strange vile things in it against the Parliament, which I approve not, but detest. To the particulars, I answer; First, that I did neither protect nor countenance the Arminians persons, books or tenets; for Bishop *Mountague*, I had no hand in his Book, I countenanced it not, it was suppressed and called in by Proclamation; he was preferred by Sir *Dudly Carletons* meanes, not mine, who was then a stranger to me: True is it, I was in a Declaration of the Commons house, taxed as a favourer, advancer of Arminians and their opinions, without any particular proove at all, which was a great slander to me: Secondly, I answer, that being publickly traduced in that Declaration, I did returne an answer to vindicate my owne innocency, as was necessary for me to doe, to free my selfe from that scandall, without any derogation to the Parliaments authority: Neither did I this till I was expressly commanded by the King himselfe, as appeares by the endorment, whose command it was lawfull, yea necessary for me to obey; and I durst not have done it without such his Royall command: After which I penned it, with all due respect to the Parliament, and it was never published. For my answer to the Parliaments Vote, it was onely a private paper kept in my Study, and communicated to none, written for my owne private satisfaction, and derogating nothing from the power of Parliaments, it belonging properly to the Convocation and Church of *England* by the Lawes and Statutes of the Land, to make Canons and settle controversies in Religion, as the Statute of 25. *Hen. 8. c. 19. & 1. Eliz. c. 1.* evidence: Thirdly, the calling in and suppressing of these Books, and prosecuting the Authors, Printers of them in the High Commission, was the Courts act, not mine: For Bishop *Carltons* Book, it was called in by the High Commission, and attested onely by Master *Sparke*, a single Witnesse; Bishop *Downhams* Book was called in by the Kings speciall command, both in *England* and *Ireland*, because published contrary to the his Royall Proclamation, and Declaration: For Master *Prynnes Perpetuity*, I doe not know that it was burnt in private; if it were, it was by the censure of the Court, there being some things in it liable to just exceptions: Doctor *Satcliffes* Book is not proved to be called in by me: For Master *Prynne*, Master *Burton*, and those that printed their Books, they were not censured in the High Commission, but dismissed thence without censure: For Doctor *Jackson*, he was a learned discreet man, I licensed not his Book, nor doe I know he professed himselfe an Arminian: True it is, the *Historicall Narration* was licensed by my Chaplaine Doctor *Martin*, without my privy, for which I turned him out of my service, and the Book it selfe was called in and suppressed.

Fourthly, the Kings Proclamation and Declaration before the Articles, were his owne, not mine, both published to settle peace in the Church, by silencing those controversies which disturbed it by printing or preaching, which unquiet spirits would not submit to, and the Authors of the Books forementioned, among others

others, with some other Preachers about the City and University, for which they were justly questioned, suspended, and some that broached Arminian Tenets in Oxford, were brought in question, and ordered to recant, as well as those that preached against it: The censure of Master Ford and his complices in Oxford, was by the King and Counsell upon a solempne hearing at Woodstock, not by me, and they well deserved it, for kindling such a fire in the University, as was like to set all in combustion: For the University of Cambridge, I medled not with it: The considerations was not my paper, but Bishop Harsnets, who drew them; and I did but transcribe them, and the end of them was not to suppress preaching against Arminianisme, but to preserve peace and order in the Church. For the Instructions, they were the Kings, not mine, and they were sent to me in a Letter by my Predecessor Archbishop Abbot, and brought to me by his Secretary Master Baker, with command to see them put in execution within my Diocesse of London; to prove which, I have produced the testimony of Master Dobson, who affirmed it to be true. Fifthly, for the purging some passages out of Bishop Hals and Bishop Davenants Letter, and imprisoning Master Butter for printing them. I answer, that the same was done by my Chaplaine, as being contrary to his Majesties Proclamation and Declaration, and Bishop Hall himselfe at last consented to it, and was well satisfied upon the reason given him by my Chaplaine, that it was for the quiet of the Church; and therefore for the Printer of his owne head to put it in, deserved exemplary punishment. Sixtly, there is no prooffe that the Articles of Ireland were reversed by my procurement, it was done by the Convocation there, where I was not present.

To this was replied in generall, That his endeavours to introduce Arminianisme were so fully cleared by the premised evidence, and his protection both of the Authors, and fomenters of it, that impudency it selfe would blush to deny it. That the Jesuits Letter which he had in his custody endorfed with his owne hand did fully discover to him, that the planting and introducing Arminianisme here in England, was their Plot and chief Engine to subvert our Religion: And though it makes no particular mention of him, yet it informes their Superiour and others, that the Arminians had locked up the Dukes eares already; a Periphrasis of himselfe (the Dukes Earwig, as he was then stiled) who had his eare more then any: His compliance therefore with the Arminians, notwithstanding they were but the Jesuits instruments to drive on their designes, as he certainly knew by this Letter, much aggravates his crime, and makes exceedingly against him: True it is, there are some strange passages, concerning Parliaments in this Letter, but himselfe hath as bad or worse in his Diary, and Answer to the Remonstrance of the Commons Anno 1628. therefore certainly he disliked not these in this Letter.

Particularly, this replication was retorted to these his answers; First, that he was a professed patriot of the Arminians persons, Books, Tenens, and particularly of Bishop Mountagues; of whose cause he was most anxious and inquisitive, whom he acquainted with his Majesties speciall favour to him while he lay under the cloud of the Parliaments displeasure, his receiving all informations or speeches against his Erronious booke; whose proceedings in Parliament, when there questioned, were daily represented to, and reserved carefully by him; whose ill book and opinions were in sundry conferences particularly justified by him, whose preferments proceeded originally from him, and with whom he held most intimate correspondency till his death, as the forecited passages in his owne Diary, and alleaged evidence proves most fully: For his advancement by Sir Dudley Carltons meanes, it is but a bare surmise, contrary to the Dockquet Book to excuse himselfe: The Proclamation for calling in his Bishops care, who ordered it so, that it proved the chiefe instrument of promoting Arminianisme, by hindring all writing and preaching against it what in him lay, he informing the world in the very Proclamation it selfe, that the Author was punished onely with a good

Reply.

Bishoprick for writing this Book, & highly advanced maugre three severall Parliaments complaints and opposition; In brieft, the Commons *Remonstrance* is a sufficient evidence of his guilt and no slander at all (as he slanderously tearmes it) being verified by so many proofs: Secondly, his answer to the *Remonstrance* of the Commons is full of bitternesse, sawcinesse, scandals against the Parliament, charging them with untruths in the highest degree, onely for speaking that which was most true: That he was commanded to returne this answer to it by the King himselfe, without any suit of his owne, is very improbable, and rests on him to prove, which he hath not done: However, he proves not that he did exceed his Commission. And whereas he alleageth by way of excuse, that his answer to it was never published, truly this was his griefe, as appears by his owne endorment of it, and no act of his, who desired to have it printed then. Whereas he pretends he durst not have answered it, had not the King commanded him; certainly he that durst controll the Kings owne Letters Patents, under his Seale, (as he did in the case of the collection for the *Palatinate*, and sundry other particulars given in evidence against him,) revoke the Kings own pardons and prohibitions to the high Commission, saying, they should not serve the turn; yea, deprive the King of his Sovereignty, that he should not relieve nor pardon any man censured in the high Commission, though never so unjustly; that hath presumed so frequently to break off Parliaments, yea, to resolve to dissolve them before they were called, *In case they prove peevish, &c.* and to write so of Parliaments as he hath done in other papers, durst write such an answer as this without any royall mandate to encourage him: And this his answer to the Commons Vote against Arminianisme demonstrates, which is fraught with transcendent contempt of their authority and proceedings therein basely scorned, scoffed at: And the reasons given therein, prove that it was no private note to satisfie himself alone, but a paper purposely complied to incense the King & others against the Commons, as the comparing it with some passages of his Diary, and dissolving of that very Parliament in discontent soon after, will easily demonstrate: For the Statutes objected, they prove no such thing as is pretended, our Parliaments in all Ages (not the Convocation, who are but onely assistants to the Houses in matters of Religion, when their advice is required) having been the sole Judges, Law-givers, determiners of all Ecclesiasticall affaires, matters of Religion, as we can prove by ^a *infinite Presidents*: Thirdly, the calling in, suppressing, burning of all the forecited books against Arminianisme, with the questioning of the Authors and Printers of them in the high Commission, is directly sworn, proved to be his act, and the Courts onely mediately, by his procurement; the Warrants for their Citation, Commitments, were signed with his hand, he was the onely violent man against them in open Court, upon all occasions; and though many of them were not censured, but got off, yet it was onely by prohibitions, full sore against his will, for the bringing whereof he threatned to lay them by the heels: However, those that escaped best were there prosecuted sundry yeers, put to great attendance and expence, many of them imprisoned, and their books all lost or privately burnt by his direction, without any censure of the Court at all; as Bishop *Carltons* Book against *Mountague*, and Master *Prynnes* *Perpetuity*, though both publikely licensed by Archbishop *Abbots* Chaplaines; Bishop *Downhams* Book (as this Archbishops owne Letter to Bishop *Usher* manifests) was called in by his instigation onely; to colour which he procured a mandate from the King; and his owne endorment proves, that Doctor *Sutcliffes* Book was suppressed in the Presse by his procurement: For Doctor *Jackson*, he could not but know him to be a professed Arminian, being so reported by all, and declaring himselfe to be one both in his Epistle and Book, which, though complained of, was never suppressed nor questioned, notwithstanding his Majesties Proclamation and Declaration: For the *Historicall Narration* (the vilest impostor ever thrust upon our Church) it was licensed by his

^a See Truth
Triumphing
over Falshood:
where this is
largely pro-
ved.

his Chaplain Doctor Martin, with his owne privity; the calling of it in was the act of Archbishop Abbot, upon Master Prymes complaint; and the publike scandall it gave, much against this Bishops will, who hath ever since connived at the sale of them. The turning away this his Chaplaine for it, is but a false surmise, for he promoted him to the Headship of *Queens Colledge in Cambridge*, and a very great living to boot, instead of bringing him into the high Commission; and was he not then severely punished for so grand a crime? Fourthly, though the *Proclamation and Declaration* prohibiting preaching and writing on these controversies, were the Kings in name and title, yet they were originally this Bishops meer plot and contrivance, to suppress all Books, *Disputes, Sermons* against *Arminianisme*, to usher it in the faster without any opposition; the *Arminians* under pretext hereof, having liberty to preach, to print their errors, without check or censure, as our evidence abundantly proves, he making them meer snares to entangle all consciencious, zealous, orthodox men, Ministers and others, whose zeale excited them to appeare against these dangerous disturbers of our Churches and Kingdomes peace, in Presse, Schooles or Pulpit: For Master Fords and his complices severe censures in Oxford, even to expulsion and banishment, they proceeded meerly from his own violent prosecution, as the Evidence unanswerably proves; the Kings and Counsels censures being principally steered by his compasse, the chiefe actor, prosecutor, and Judge in this cause: And whereas he pretends, that those who preached or printed *Arminianisme* were convented, censured in the *Unversities* and elsewhere, as well as those who preached against it; let him name but one Scholler, Minister, that was ever imprisoned, deprived, silenced, prosecuted in the high Commission, or cast out of favour for preaching, writing, printing *Arminianisme*, and then perchance he may be credited; but surely not one such president can be found: Whereas Master Mountague was made a Bishop, Doctor Harsnet an Archbishop, Doctor Linsey promoted to two Bishopricks, Doctor Potter made a Deane, (to omit sundry others) and Doctor Dappa made the Princes Tutor, Deane of Christ-Church, and a Bishop too, because he was an *Arminian*. True it is, that we find in the University Register of Oxford, pag. 50. that one Master Robert Rainsford (since a Doctor) teaching divers *Arminian Tenents* in a Sermon at Saint Maries, in defence of *Election from foreseen Faith*, and *Universall Grace*; was upon Doctor Prideaux his complaint, not long after the expulsion of Master Ford and Master Hodges, convented before the Heads, and enjoyned a very slender *Recantation*, in as partiall terms as might be; not of his *Arminian errours* (which he hath oft since broched) but of his disobedience to his Majesties Declaration, recorded in these tearmes:

W^Heras I Robert Rainsford preaching at Saint Maries in Oxford the 12. day of August 1632. and falling upon some poynts, which by reason of the agitation of them, have caused trouble in the Church, have been forbidden to be preached on, both by his Majesties Declaration, and by his expresse Order to the Vice-Chancellour at Woodstock, (whereof having left the University for the space of two yeers and upwards, I was altogether ignorant) have thereby incutred his Majesties displeasure, and was therefore worthily convented by the Vice-Chancellour; I doe freely and humbly acknowledge my disobedience, and am hartily sorry for the same, desiring those that are to be my Judges, upon my promise of better behaviour hereafter, to accept this my unfained acknowledgement, and to be favourable unto me. 21. August 1632.

Robert Rainsford.

This was all his censure, farre different from Master Fords and Master Hodges, though

though after their punishment, and so his offence farre greater then theirs, who did not begin the quarrell, nor kindle the fire of the *Arminian Controversies* in Oxford; but their Opposites, who escaped scot-free, and were promoted by this Archbishop himselfe for opposing, when they were thus severely handled for maintaining the truth. So in London the *Anti-Arminians* were generally silenced, suppressed, the *Arminians* connived at, advanced, encouraged by this Prelate, under pretext of this *Declaration*, as the Commons in *Parliament* complained in their forecited *Remonstrance*, and as we have proved by sundry instances, to which he returnes no answer, and so stand confessed by his silence. For *Cambridge University*, we know he was Visitor there, though not Chancellour, and had as great an influence upon it, if not power and activity in it, as in Oxford; giving all encouragement to the *Arminian* party there, advancing them to Headships and other preferments. For the *Considerations* they are written with his owne hand, favour of his stile, spirit: That Bishop *Harsnet* was the compiler of them, is but his owne averment, without prooffe or probability; and admit they were his in the penning, yet certainly they were his owne in the contriving, executing; and so were the *Instructions*, though drawne up in his Majesties name, and sent to Archbishop *Abbot*, who must be ordered to send them inclosed in a Letter unto him, onely to colour the Plot, as if it were not his; whereas the Originall under his owne hand discovers the contrary.

Fiftly, the purging of those objected innocent, orthodox passages, even out of two Bishops Letters by his Chaplaine, was certainly by his owne command, else his Chaplaine durst not be so bold with his Superiours of such note and eminency, who if they consented to this purgation at all, it was onely as Mariners consent to throw over some of their goods into the Sea in a storme, least the whole Ship and freight should be lost; either this must be expunged, or the whole Book suppressed; and all under pretext of his Majesties *Declaration* and the *Churches peace*; neither of which could restraine *Arminian* Books from the Presse: And whether the Stationer, *Butter*, deserved to be imprisoned without Baile or Mainprize in the *Fleet*, to be Articled against in the *high Commission*, to sustaine the losse of all his Books, and suffer other penalties for printing these passages, the best part of his Book; (without which, the Letters themselves were meere *Ciphers*, fragments,) let the indifferent judge, till the Archbishop can produce an *Arminian* Stationer, punished in this sort for printing *Arminian* Treatises, contrary to the Kings *Proclamation* and *Declaration*.

Sixtly, our Evidence sufficiently proves, that the revocation of the *Articles* of Ireland proceeded orinally from him, who was virtually, though not corporally present there in Doctor *Bramhall*, Master *Chapple*, and his other *Arminian* instruments, and the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, who had neither power nor malice sufficient to effect such an Arch-exploit without his omnipotent concurrence and abuse of his Majesties authority: For that of King *James*, that he never censured *Arminius* for an *Heretick*, nor his opinions for *Heresie*, but onely *Vorstius*, the contrary is most apparent by his very words, in his *Declaration* against *Vorstius*, pag. 15. to 33. where he stiles *Arminius*, that Enemy of God; *Arminianisme* HERESIE; *Arminians*, *Heretiks* and *Atheisticall Sectaries*: *Bertius* his Book of the *Apostacy* of the *Saints*, a blasphemous Book, and this his Doctrine a wicked Doctrine, an abominable *Heresie*: So that all particulars of this his heavy Charge stick still fast upon him.

Object. 10.

b Pag. 178, &c

Tenthly, I am charged^b with various attempts and endeavours, to undermine the true Protestant Religion, established in our Churches, and set up Popery in its stead, by maintaining, Printing, publishing all kind of doctrinall points of Popery, and hindering all publike opposition against them; which generall was branched forth into sundry particulars; which I shall answer in their Order.

The first is, The authorizing, printing, disperfing of sundry popish Doctrines, Books,

Books, and the prohibiting the contrary impressions to refute them; by vertue of a Decree made in Star-Chamber by my Procurement, the 1. of July 1637: by colour whereof, it is objected, divers old printed Books were prohibited to be reprinted, imported; as the *English Geneva Bible* with marginall Notes, the printing whereof I endeavoured to suppress abroad in the *Netherlands*, as well as at home: The questioning of Master *Gellibrand* in the high Commission for his mans publishing an *Almanack* according to Master *Fox* his Calender in the Book of Martyrs, wherein our English Martyrs names were inserted in stead of popish Saints, whom Doctor *Pocklington* abused in print; my checking, threatening of Mistris *Griffin* for reprinting *Thomas Beacons* Display of the *Popish Masse*; my calling in of the *Palgraves Religion*; the deniall of reprinting Master *Fox* his *Acts and Monuments*, Bishop *Jewels Works*, and some part of Doctor *Willems*; for refusing to license new Books against Popish errors, and calling in of Mr. *Prynnes*, Master *Burtons*, and others Books against popery, yea questioning them with sundry Printers and Stationers, in the high Commission, for printing, publishing Books against the Papists and Arminians; my licensing, countenancing divers popish bookes, lately printed, dispersed, to infect and poyson his Majesties people with popish errors, as *Francis Sales* his Book, *Christs Epistle to a devout Soule*, Bishop *Mountagues*, Doctor *Pocklington*, Doctor *Heylins*, Doctor *Lawrences*, *Reeves*, *Shelfords*, *Chownaues*, *Staffords* Books and Sermons; *The lives of the Emperours*, the popish *Index Biblicus*, my owne *Speech in Star-chamber*, and others, wherein divers grosse points of popery and superstition, mustered up under divers heads, are comprized; many of which were complained of by Master *Prynne* in his Crosse Bill in Star-Chamber, suppressed by my meanes, and by Master *Burton* in his *For God and the King*; for which they were unjustly censured in the Star-Chamber; to which Master *Croxtons* Letter to me, with a crosse in the front, approving most grosse Auricular confession in the open Church, is subjoyned.

To which I answer; First, That the Decree in Star-Chamber was the act of the whole Court, who likewise ordered it to be printed; not mine: That it was made onely to regulate the abuses of printing: That the Stationers themselves desired, approved, and gave me thanks for it. Secondly, That the *English Bible with Geneva Notes*, was onely tolerated and connived at, not allowed heretofore; that some passages in it were abused, and very ill use made of them; as among others, that in the first of *Exodus*, which teacheth men not to obey the commands of Kings. King *James* himselfe in the Conference at Hampton Court, pag. 47. publicly declared his dislike of this translation, as the worst of all, and thereupon took care for a new translation to be made, but witball gave this Caveat, that no marginal Notes should be added to it, having found in them annexed to the Geneva translation some Notes very partiall, untrue, seditious, and favouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits: As for example; the first chapter of *Exodus*, and the 19. verse, where the marginall Note alloweth disobedience unto Kings: The endeavour to suppress it in the *Netherlands*, was not any extent of my power thither, but the act of Sir *Will. Boswell* the Kings Agent there, who did but his duty therein. Thirdly, for Master *Gellibrands* Book, it was printed not in forme of a Calender but *Almanack*; it was published to discountenance the old Saints, and was a meer innovation, contrary to all former Almanacks in use among us, and to that in the Common-prayer book: That the Queen sent to me about it, I could not help that: That I told Master *Gellibrand* he laboured to raise a faction in the Court, I remember not the words; and if he did so, he deserved to be censured for it: That the Papists burnt it, I could not help that: Neither did it agree with Master *Fox* his Calender, but he abused it, in leaving out divers Saints allowed by the Church of England, as the Epiphany and Annunciation of our Lady: For Doctor *Pocklington* Book, wherein he abused our Martyrs, it was licensed by his Chaplain, Doctor *Bray*, who was censured for it, as was Doctor *Pocklington* too, in the Lords House.

Answer.

But

Objection.

Answer.

But it is objected, that my Chaplaines act is in law mine owne: I answer not, unlesse I command it: But the Book it selfe was found in my Study, and I preferred Doctor *Pocklington* for it. I know no such thing, and though I had the Book, yet I knew not of this passage in it. Fourthly, for the calling in of *Beacons Book*, printed by Mistris *Griffin*, it is nothing to me what a Jesuit said of it; and if called in, it was because she reprinted it contrary to the Star-chamber Decree. Fifthly, for the *Palsgraves Religion*, I remember it not, and if called in, it was because it was contrary to the *Kings Declaration*, and touched upon some points of controversie prohibited by it. Sixthly, the hindring of the reprinting of Master *Fox*, Bishop *Jewell*, and Doctor *Willet*, was no act of mine. Seventhly, I hindered the printing of no new Books against Popery. Eightly, the questioning of Master *Prynne*, Master *Burton*, and the rest in the High Commission, was no act of mine, but the Courts; nor were they censured, but got off without censure: Master *Burton* said, he was questioned before the Counsell Table for one of his Books, as a Libell: If it were a Libell, there was cause to doe it. He added, he could not be quiet for being troubled in the high Commission; nor could the Church be quiet for him, which was the cause of his trouble. He affirmed, I committed him to the Fleet, and denied him the benefit of the *Petition of Right*. I answer, there was cause enough for his commitment, for printing of Books without license, and for disturbing the peace of the Church, and he had the benefit of the *Petition of Right*, because the reason of his commitment was expressed in the Warrant. Ninthly, I licensed none of the particular books forecited my selfe, nor any of my Chaplains to my knowledge, I am certaine not by my command, and if any of them have transgressed herein, themselves must answer for it, not I; who having many other weighty publike affaires to look after, had no time to peruse or license Books my selfe, and was enforced to commit this trust to their care. Tenthly, to the particular books I answer, First, that though *Sales* his book was licensed by my Chaplaine, yet he was abused therein, by the Translator & Printer, who was punished for it in Star-chamber: The book it self was called in and burnt by Proclamation, and I dismissed the Doctor for licensing it out of my house and service: For *Christs Epistle to a devout Soule*, it was licensed at *London House*, by Doctor *Weeks*, the Bishop of *Londons* Chaplain, not mine, and so nothing to me; besides, it was suppressed before it was published: For Doctor *Heylins* Books, they are nothing to me, I had no hand in them, nor yet in Doctor *Pocklington*, who hath been censured for them himselfe: For Bishop *Mountagues* Impressions, they concerne not me, I did neither advise nor authorize them: For the *Lives of the Emperours*, which commend the *Councell of Trent*, the Book was not licensed, and I know not of it. For the *Popish Index Biblicus* printed in *England*, it is nothing to me, it was without my privity and direction: For the severall popish passages objected out of some new books, the Authors themselves must answer them at their perill, they concerne not me: For the rejecting of Master *Prynnes* *Crosse Bill* in *Star-chamber*, complaining of these popish Books and Doctrines, it was none of my act, but the Courts and Lord Keeper *Coventries*; and so was Mr. *Burtons* censure for his Book, in which I gave no Vote: For Master *Croxtons* Letter to me with a *Crosse*, enjoyning Auricular confession, I could not hinder it, nor his practise of confession being in *Ireland*: And for the passages objected out of mine owne Speech in *Star-chamber*, that they imply and necessarily inferre the popish Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, and the giving of divine worship to the Altar, even the same that is given to God. I answer, that neither of these can be inferred from thence; for my words onely imply, that *Christs body is truly and really present in the Sacrament*; yet not corporally, but in a spirituall manner, and so is received by us; which is no more then Master *Calvin* himselfe affirms on the 1 Cor. 11. 24. where thus he writes: *Neque enim mortis tantum & Resurrectionis sue beneficium nobis offert Christus, sed corpus suum in quo passus est & Resurrexit: Concludo, RE ALITE R (ut vulgo loquuntur) id est, V E R E Nobis in Cena datur Christi corpus, ut sic Animis Nostreis*

Nostris in Cibum salutare; and Master Perkins himselfe saith as much. For my words, that we should bow *DEO ET ALTARI*, which are coupled both together with a Conjunction Copulative, yea both bowed to at the self-same time, in one and the same act; and the worship directed to, and terminated in both alike: *Ergo*; divine worship is given to the Altar herein as well as to God, which is flat Idolatry, or but such civill reverence given to God as is rendred to the Altar; which is to dishonour God, and gives him no greater worship in his house then is due unto a creature: I answer, that though the act of bowing be the same to both, yet the object, mind and intention being different, the worship must be so too; There is a double worship and bowing, one of the body, the other of the heart, as Master Perkins himselfe distinguisheth; which is properly called Veneration; when done but to a creature in a civill respect, and worship onely when given to God himselfe.

To this was replied, First, that this Decree of Star-chamber concerning printing was onely his owne act originally, who projected and put that Court upon it, (whereof he was an over-potent Member) theirs onely Ministerially, to satisfie his importunity therein, as the forecited Passages in the Decree it selfe, and our Witnesses attest: Yea, the printing of it was by his own command, to enlarge his Jurisdiction, which it much advanced: We grant that some things in the Decree were good, approved of by the Stationers, who desired the same, of which we complain not, and some particulars very usefull, had a right use been made of them. But the prohibiting reprinting of all Orthodox Books formerly printed by authority, unlesse re-licensed by him or his Agents, the deniall of any old book to be reprinted even against Popery it selfe, with the suppressing or purging most new Books against Popery, under pretext of this Decree, and the arbitrary punishing such who transgressed herein both in the Star-chamber and High Commission, was a transcendent crime, of which this Arch-prelat and his Confederates (not the whole Court of Star-chamber) were onely culpable: Yea, the Stationers were so farre from being well pleased with, or returning him thanks for this, that they complained to the chiefe Justice, and groaned under the pressure thereof. Secondly, the English Bible with the Geneva Notes, was not onely tolerated but printed and reprinted among us in England, *Cum Privilegio*, during Queen Elizabeths and King James Reignes; and in 15. Jacobi there was an Impression of them printed here by the Kings own Printer; since which time, the new Translation without Notes being most vendible (the Kings Printers forbearing to print them for their private lucre, not by vertue of any publike restraint) they were usually imported from beyond the Seas, and publickly sold without any inhibition or punishment, till this Archbishops time, who made it no lesse then a High Commission crime, to vend, bind or import them. For the Notes, they are generally approved by all our Protestant Divines, which fled hence for Religion in Queen Mariess dayes, who dedicated the same to Queen Elizabeth. For the Note on Exodus 1. it is both sound and Orthodox, condemning onely obedience to the arbitrary, tyranicall, unjust (not lawfull) commands of Kings, contrary to the Lawes of God, nature, men, being warranted by the example of the Midwives, who disobeyed King Pharaohs bloody Mandate, in not murdering all the male Children of the Israelites, by sundry other Scripture Texts; yea, warranted by the Fathers and Canonists themselves, who speake as much or more then this Annotation doth. For King James his censure of this Translation and Notes upon it, no doubt it proceeded from some Prelats mis-information: However, we are certain that his own inserting of popish Pictures of the Birth, Life, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Apostles, yea the very Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and the like, into our English, and of a Popish Index into our Latin Bibles, was farre worse, more dangerous then any Geneva Notes; and the prohibition of inserting Marginall Notes into the Bible, a policy learned from our English Prelats in King HENRY the eighth his

Reply.

X x x

Reigne,

d Fler 3, 2, 3.
Dan. 2. 5. to 17
cap. 3. 3. to 30
cap. 6. 5. to 21.
1 Sam. 22. 17.
18. 2 Sam. 1.
2, 10. Acts 4.
18, 19. cap. 5.
28 to 41.
e See Gratian
Causa 11. qu.
3. Bernard. de
Modo bene vi-
vendi, cap. 19.
Tertul. Apolog.

Reigne, who when they could not hinder the printing of the Bible it selfe in English, of Master Tyndals Translation; yet procured an Act of Parliament for the Obliterating of his Notes thereon; as the Statute of 35. Hen. VIII. cap. 1. and Master Fox informes us: And his endeavour to hinder the importation of Bibles with Notes from Holland, of which he had information by two Letters sent from thence, discovers his vigilance, yea, spite against this Translation and the Notes upon it.

f Acts & Monuments, vol. 2. p. 586. 587.

Thirdly, for Master Gellibrands Almanacke, set forth by his servant, it was agreeable to Master Fox his Calender; onely inserting our English Martyrs in the place of popish Saints; no High Commission crime by any knowne Law; That it differed from other Almanacks herein, is no greater offence, then for one Almanack-maker to vary from another in calculating the Weather, or other Astronomicall Observations, who better deserve an High Commission censure for retaining the names of sundry Popish Saints, (yea arrant Traytors, as Becket, Anselme, with sundry others) omitted in the Calender of the Common-Prayer Book, and agreeing Verbatim with the Calender in the Roman Missall, then he, for omitting the names of Romish Saints, whom God never Canonized, but the Pope alone, for their zeale or sufferings for the Papall Cause and Romish Superstitions. The Queens sending to him about this Almanack, shewes, that the Papists took it to be a great blow to their Religion; and though he could not hinder the message, yet certainly he might have surceased all prosecution of Mr Gellibrand upon the Queens and Papists complaints for this act of his, where as he pursued him with al violence to gratifie them. For the words he remembers not, our Witnesse swears them precisely, and his threatening Master Gellibrand upon a meere groundlesse supposition, that he had raised a faction in the Court, because they acquitted him full sore against his will; argues both his violence and injustice: That the Papists burnt it, when he could not attaine the burning of it in the High Commission, argues their malice, and his owne readinesse to comply with them against so good a work, in honour of our owne English Protestant Martyrs. For his omission of some Saints, viz. the Epiphany and Anunciation, no man knew them to be Saints till now, but onely Festivals, which other Almanacks mentioned, and it is onely alleaged not proved that he omitted them. For Doctor Pocklington's Altare Christianum, it was licensed by his owne Chaplaine Doctor Bray, yea published by his owne command, without the Authors privity, if we beleve his Petition to the Lords; and their two punishments, censures in the Lords House for this Book, adjudged to the fire and burnt, is no extenuation, but aggravation of his guilt, the most culpable of all three: Himselfe confesseth, that his Chaplaines act is his owne in Law, if he command it, and this Doctor himselfe affirms, that he did command its printing; therefore the act is his more then the Authors or his Chaplains, who did but obey his superiour command. That Doctor Pocklington did present him with both the printed Impressions of this Book, curiously gilt, he cannot deny, they being found in his Study endorsed with his owne hand: That he knew not of this passage in it against our Martyrs, and in honour of Popish Saints, is not probable, yea, impossible; since generally complained of in print, and particularly by Master Prynne at the Pillory, who desired all to take notice of it; of which the Archbishop had present information, yet neither recalled the book nor obliterated the passage.

Fourthly, the calling in of Mr Beacons book against the Masse, upon the complaint of a Priest or Jesuit, with his words and threats to Mistris Griffin, for reprinting it at such a time as this, reflect as foully upon him as possible yet he puts it off with this impudent common shift, *It is nothing to me*: For the reprinting and his calling of it in, it is directly sworne to be before the Star-chamber Decree, therefore not done in pursuance of it; and were it done after, yet not justifiable without highest impudency by any true Protestant Prelate.

Fifthly,

Fiftly, for the *Palsgraves Religion*, it is proved to be called in by him, who hath the happinesse to forget all the evil deeds which he cannot justifie, though others sweare them: And it was not contrary to the Kings Declaration (which himselfe originally contrived) in the Kings intention, but in his owne perverting of it, to suppress the truth. Sixtly, the hindering of the reprinting of Master Fox, Bishop Jewel and Doctor Willets Works, was certainly his owne act, because done by colour of this *Star-chamber Decree*, procured by himselfe for this very purpose, and the reprinting of them was stopped by his owne Officers, creatures meanes, who knew his mind; if not received his command herein: Seventhly, himselfe, if not immediatly, yet originally and mediatly hindered the printing of all the new Books against Popery, refused at the Presse, and denied license by his Instruments, Chaplaines, Doctor Bray, Doctor Haywood, Doctor Weekes, Doctor Baker, unlesse first purged by them.

Ninthly, the questioning of Master Prynne, Master Burton, with their Printers and Stationers in the High Commission, for their Books against Doctor Cosins his popery, *Babel no Bethel*, *Baiting of the Popes Bull*, and the like, was originally his act alone, not the Courts, which did naught in it but by his instigation: Their getting off thence was by *Prohibitions*, sore against his will, where else he resolved to ruine them. Master Burtons answering the *Popes Bull* by license, deserved no questioning at the Counsell Table, and was certainly no *Libell* at all, unlesse the Pope or his *Partisans* deemed it such to them: His Books then were no trouble to the Church, and therefore it was strange and most unjust he should be troubled for them; yea, his imprisonment without Baile (which he tendered) whenailable by Law, was contrary to *Magna Charta* and the *Petition of Right*, though the cause of it (not warranted by Law) was expressed in the Warrant. Tenthly, his owne Chaplaines oversights and offences in licensing popish Books, even with this speciall *Encomium*, that there was nothing in them contrary to faith and sound Doctrine (the forme of licensing himselfe prescribed them under his owne hand) is certainly both in law and justice, his owne crime more then theirs, who must answer for it much more then they; the trust of licensing books being originally reposed in himselfe by the State, and in his Chaplaines onely by his owne Deputation, for whom he must answer at his perill: To prove this, and take away this poore evasion, which he so much insists on, we shall put but these few cases & adjudged in Law; ^h If a Bailiffe, under Tylor, or under Sheriffe suffer a prisoner to escape, or any way to misdemean themselves in their office, an action of escape, debt (an fine in cases of felony and treason,) and action of the case lyeth against the high Sheriffe and chiefe Tylor for it, who must undergoe the penalty and blame, because they are their servants, entrusted by themselves: And to put a case, which comes neerer home, and is farre stronger then this of a Chaplaine, 21. E. 1. membr. 3. Dorso Clauso, and in the Pleas of that Parliament, placit. 17. John Archbishop of Yorke was questioned in Parliament, for excommunicating William of Willicon, and John Rowman, servants to the Bishop of Durham, then employed in the Kings service; the Archbishop pleaded just as this Archbishop doth now, That they were not excommunicated by himselfe, but onely by his Commissary, who must answer for it, and so no act of his for which he ought to answer: But yet notwithstanding, it was upon serious debate resolved in Parliament, that the Act of his Commissary being his owne immediate Officer, was his owne act, for whose misdemeanour he must answer, and thereupon he was fined 4000. markes to the King, and forced to pay it, (a great fine in those times for such an offence) yea gladed to make many friends to the King to avoid a further censure: which is farre stronger then the case of this Archbishop: For this Commissary was an Officer established by Law, which the Archbishop could not remove at pleasure without just cause; but his Chaplaines were no Officers by Law, but meer meniall servants, under his immediate command, and removable at pleasure; therefore certainly, they durst license nothing especially against our established Religion, without his privity and command: Besides, there were never any such popish Books authorized since the beginning

g See 27. Ed. 3
Stat. 2. c. 19.
h 5. E. 3. c. 8.
19. H. 7. c. 10.
Brooks & Fitz
herberts Abridg
ment. Tit. Esca.
See the Sher
iffs Oaths in
Daltons Of
fice of Sheriffs
and Register,
f. 301. b. Quo
ne prendres nul
Bailleif en vo
stre service, par
quoy vous ne
voylles respon
dre.

5: E. 3

of Reformation in any of his Predecessors times, by themselves or their Chaplaines, neither durst such erronious pamphlets appeare publickly amongst us, till he grew great to patronize them; yea, when they were thus licensed, and publickly complained against, as *Popish, erronious, and destructive to our Religion*, he censured, persecuted such who durst complaine or write against them, never questioning nor punishing the Licensers, Printers or Authors of them exemplarily as he should have done, to discharge the trust reposed in him, and vindicate his sincerity herein; whereas if any new Book against *Arminians* or *Popish Innovations* did but privily passe the Presse by license of his Predecessors Chaplaines (as Bishop *Carltons* Book against *Mountague*, Master *Prynnes* *Perpetuity*, his *Survey of Master Cozens* his *Cozening Devotions*, *Histrionastix*, with other forenamed Impressions did) he presently suppressed, burnt them, questioned the Authours, Printers, Dispersers, Licensers of them, both in the *High Commission* and *Star-chamber* too, where Master *Pryne* by his meanes, was censured in the highest degree of extremity for his *Histrionastix*, a licensed Book, and Master *Buckner* too, who licensed it, fined by this Archbishop himselfe and that Court; therefore this act of his Chaplaines must rest upon his own head, and the guilt thereof lye heaviest upon him, whose fault it was to make choyce of such, and to entrust them in this kind. As for his excuse of his many other grand employments, which so engrossed his time, that he had no leisure to peruse what Books were tendred and licensed for the Presse, it is so farre from being any excuse, that it aggravates his crime: Certainly the preservation of our Religion in its purity, the keeping out all Popish innovations in Ceremony, Doctrine, Worship, and the suppression of Popish errours, Books, Doctrines, were the principall things of all others, which his Place, Calling, yea, his Majesties trust engaged him to look unto; for him then to neglect this principall part of his Episcopall duty, the frequent preaching of Gods Word (he seldome appearing in the Pulpit after he became Archbishop and a Privy Counsellour) to drowne himselfe in all manner of secular employments in the *Star-chamber*, *Counsel-Chamber*, *Exchequer*, spending his time in proling about *Tobacco*; *Licenses*, illegall *Taxes*, *Projects*, *Monopolies* of all sorts, contrary to the Lawes and Liberties of the Subjects, in undermining Parliaments, oppressing the people every where, and managing the Kings Revenues, (things no way suitable to his spirituall Function;) is so farre from extenuating, that it puts the highest degree of aggravation upon this his negligence and Chaplaines misdemeanours, which he should have better looked too: But admit the reall duties of his Place alone had been overburthensome to him, he should then have intrusted, employed such in Licensing and perusing Books, who would have discharged the trust reposed in them, in farre better manner then his knowne Popish and Arminian Chaplains did. Tenthly, to his excuses touching the particular Popish Books objected: We answer, first, that *Sales* his Booke was Licensed by Doctor *Haywood*, his own Chaplain: that he was not abused in it, but the Printer, whom he checked for complaining to him of the Popish passages in the Booke, and encouraged to proceed in the printing of it, which otherwise he durst not have printed. That it was afterwards called in and publickly burnt, was no thanks to him or his Chaplain, but to Master *Prynnes* crosse Bill against him and his Chaplaine in *Star-Chamber* for licensing it; As for the *Proclamation* for calling it in, it was but a meere device to abuse the King, Kingdome, to justifie or excuse his peccant Chaplain and himselfe, by a most false relation of the carriage of the businesse. Besides, if his Chaplain was innocent, Why then doth he pretend, he punished him by turning him out of his service? If guilty, Why doth he justifie him to the King and Kingdome by this *Proclamation*? But indeed this pretended punishment was but a meere pretence; for he punished him onely with a good Living, to wit, *Saint Giles* in the Fields, sending him from *Lambeth* thither to infect that Parish with his Popish Leprosie, or to please the Papists, Priests, Jesuits, of which there were more residing in that Parish

rist alone, then in all the Parishes about London. For *Christs Epistle to a Devout Saule*, that it was licensed by Doctor *Weekes* at *London-house* the self-same day that *Sales* was at *Lambeth*; is true, but yet it is as true that Doctor *Weekes* was this Arch-bishops owne Chaplaine, and the Bishop of *London* his meer creature Servant, yea it appears there was a strong confederacy between the Chaplaines of *Lambeth* and *London-house* in licensing both these Popish Books for the same Stationer the self-same day, to propagate and license Popery with a witnesse, even just at that very season, (which makes it more remarkable) when Master *Prynne*, Master *Burton*, and Doctor *Bastwicke* were prosecuted by their good Lord and Master *Canterbury* in the Star-chamber, for opposing their Popish Innovations, Impositions, Doctrins, and just when the gaudy *Crucifix* was erected by him at *White-hall* in the Kings owne Chappell in Passion week, they then thinking all cock-sure on their side: That this Epistle was suppressed, we may thank, not the Archbishop, but Master *Prynne's* *Crosse-bill*, who but a few weeks after was ill requited with a bloody barbarous censure for his paines, and sent away hence close prisoner, first, into *North-Wales*, then into *Jersey*, where none must have access unto him, to prevent any more such oppositions, discoveries of popish Bookes and Bills against them. For Doctor *Heylins* Books complained of, they were some of them purposely written by the Archbishops owne command, as he hath confessed (to wit, that against Mr. *Burton* & *Antidotum Lincolnenses*) & licensed by his own Chaplaines; therefore they concerne him much: For Doctor *Pocklingtons* Popish Impressions, they were perused by himselfe, yea, published by his direction without the Doctors privy, as his Petition manifests; therefore his censure for writing them, will be no excuse for his owne publishing, or his Chaplaines authorizing them without the Doctors knowledge or desire: For Bishop *Mountagues* Books, they were all bound up (most of them with his Armes very rightly gilt) and presented to him by *Mountague* himselfe; after that, entertained by him in his Study, justified by him in private conferences, yea, the later of them expressly submitted to his judgement, dispose, and licensed by his Chaplaines; and yet are they nothing to him? For the Epitome of the *Lives of the Emperours*, it was licensed by his owne Chaplaine Doctor *Weekes*, at *London-house*, as the license and entry of it in the Stationers Hall (which we have here ready to produce) attests: That he took no notice of it, nor of what was in it, was his owne voluntary negligence, who could take notice of any the least pretended Puritanicall, Anti-episcopall, or Anti-Arminian passages in all new printed Books whatsoever; yea, of any harsh passages against the Pope, Papists, Jesuits, and cause them to be suppressed, expunged, and the Authors of them sometimes to be deeply censured: For the Popish *Index Biblicus*, being printed here in *London*, then publicly bound up with our Latin Bibles of *Junius* and *Tremelius* translation (with which they as well accorded as Fire doth with Water, or Popery with Protestantisme) it concerned him most of any thing to take notice of, and have most severely punished: But this vigilant *Argus* against Protestantisme, or any thing that trenched upon Episcopacy, Popish Ceremonies, Arminianisme, or the High Commission, was here as blind as a Beetle, and could espye no Books at all (though never so grosse) that made for Popery and popish Innovations, or else fell fast asleep, when he should watch against these popish enemies, who sowed their Tares so fast among us.

For the objected popish passages out of these now Authorized Printed Authors, himselfe must answer for them:

First, because many of them were particularly complained against by Master *Burton* in his Sermon for God and the King; by Master *Prynne* in his *Crosse Bill*, which he read, and by sundry printed Books, which he could not but take notice of; yet he neither suppressed the Books, nor questioned the Authors, Printers or dispersers of them. Secondly, because never any such large crop or harvest of Popish Books and Tares appeared or sprung up in our *English* Church before his time, since the beginning of Reformation; it being the chiefe part of his place and Office

Office as Archbishop of Canterbury to suppress and extirpate, whereas he authorized and propagated them all he could. For the rejecting of Master Prynnes Crosse Bill in *Star-chamber* against him, his Chaplaines and Confederates for Writing, Licensing, Publishing these Popish Books and Passages, it was principally his owne Act, who stopped it at the Lord Keepers; was present when it was rejected in open Court (where he sat as one of the most swaying Judges) and endeavoured to have brought him in danger of his life, onely for preferring it in a Legall manner; whereas had he, his Chaplaines, Confederates been Innocent, they would have Petitioned the Court it might have been received, that so they might legally have cleared themselves (if they could) of that, which now (blessed be God) we have fully proved before an Higher Tribunall, for which this cause by Gods providence was reserved, as the fittest Court both to heare and censure it. For Master Croxtons Letter; he was his owne creature, specially recommended by him to the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, who preferred him for his sake: and he that durst preferre such a Popish Priest in that Popish Kingdome, who dared thus openly to put the Masse-Priests, yea Jesuits badge of a Crosse in the Front of his Letter to him, and acquaint him with this open practice of *Auricular Confession*; must doubtlesse be no wel-wisher to our Religion, and assured of the Archbishops readinesse to concur with him in the approbation of his courses, else he durst not write thus to him.

¶ Pag. 203. 204 As for that passage in his *Speech in Star-chamber*; we have^k already proved, that it necessarily implyes a *Transubstantiation*, or corporall presence of Christ on the very Altar. For, there (saith he, not in and to the beleivers heart, receiving him spiritually by faith) *tis*, *Hoc est corpus meum*, &c. and A greater reverence no doubt is due TO THE BODY, then to the word of the Lord. Its true, our 28. Article resolves, That in the Lords Supper, to such as rightly, worthily and with faith receive the same, the bread which we breake is a partaking of the Body of Christs which is given, taken and eaten in the Supper, ONLY after an heavenly and spirituall manner. And the meane whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith. And in this sence Master Calvin writes, that the very Body of Christ wherein he suffered and rose againe, is offered to us, & REALLY & TRULY given unto us in the Supper, in a spirituall manner onely. But did ever our Articles, Mr. Calvin, or any Prorestant writers hold, That Christs body was really or truly present upon the Altar (where it is, saith he, usually present, and the greatest place of Christs residence upon earth) or more present then in his Word. Certainly, never any Protestant Author, but only Papists writ so before himself. And where doth Master Calvin say Christs body is, which we really and truly receive in the Lords Supper? What? on the Altar? there is no such syllable in him; but the very next words, which the Bishop purposely concealed, resolve us, that it is in heaven; ¹ *Christum IN CÆLO MANENTEM à Nobis recipi, sine ut in caelesti sua gloria maneat, & illuc aspici, & inde se tibi communicet.* The like our Common-Prayer-Booke and Homilies also resolve. Therefore they call on us, *Sursum corda*, to lift up our hearts and faith to heaven, and feed upon Christ there; not on the Altar. This Cobweb distinction therefore of his (especially if compared with the^m Alterations and Additions made by him in the *Scottish Common-Prayer-Booke*; where he cleerly maintains a *Transubstantiation*) will no wayes cover his shame, or take off his guilt. As for his *DEO & Altari*, the Argument pressed against him from it is still unanswered: since one and the selfe-same worship in one and the selfe-same act, instance, is given joyntly to both. And whereas he saith, the object distinguisheth the worship; it is most false; sinceⁿ Divine worship is and may be given to an Altar, an Image, a creature, a peece of Bread (as among the Pagans and Papists) as well as to God himselfe. So that this whole part of our Evidence remains unanswered, unshaken in any particular; and is onely aggravated by his poore evasions, his impudent justifications, of what he hath cause to be most ashamed, if not confounded, before such a great Tribunall and judicious Auditory.

^l Calvin in
1 Cor. 11.

^m See A necessary Introduction to the Archbishops Tryall, p. 159. to 163.

ⁿ See Mr. Rutherford's Divine right of church Government, ch. 1. quest. 5.

The eleventh charge against me is, the expunging of sundry passages against Popery, Arminianisme, &c. out of severall printed Books and Sermons, by me and others, before they could passe the Presse, which Passages have been reduced to severall heads: I shall not recapitulate the charges of this kind, but answer them severally in their order.

The first of them is my own^o purging out of Doctor Sibthrops Sermon sundry passages against Popery, evil Counsellours and prophaners of the Sabbath.

To which I answer, First, that the King committed the perusal of this Sermon to four Bishops, whereof I was but one, and these expunctions were made by their consent, not by me alone: Secondly, the first of them seemed to lay an aspersiō on the Emperour, the King of Spaine and France, the Duke of Bavaria and Archdutchesse, as if they had a designe to extirpate the Protestant Religion; therefore it was not thought fit it should passe the Presse, for feare of giving offence to them: Thirdly, the second of them seemed to cast an aspersiō upon the Kings Counsell, and was therefore crossed out: The third gives the name of the Sabbath to the Lords day, which is never so termed in the new Testament; appropriated to the Jewish Sabbath only on the Saturday, now wholly abrogated; and likewise makes Popery to trench upon the breach of the first Commandement: which being a thing doubtfull and disputable, was thought fit to be expunged.

To which was replied, First, that the committing of this Sermon to three other Bishops besides himselfe to be examined, is a bare averment of his owne without any prooffe; that any other perused it besides himselfe, appeares not: All the additions, purgations in it, are made with his owne hand onely, and none others, therefore his alone; yea, if he did it jointly with others, this will not extenuate his fault, since as we must not doe evill alone, so we must p not fol- low a multitude to doe it. His answers to these expunged particulars, are most absurd and false: For the first of them was so farre from being a scandall, that it was then (and yet is) a most^o apparent truth, published to all the Kingdome in the Kings owne Letters to every County throughout the Realme, concerning the Loane in February 1627. to draw it on, and the Doctor in his Sermon to set on this Loane, did but transcribe it out of the Kings owne Letter; if then it were a reall truth, why was it blotted out of his Sermon, more then out of the Kings owne Letter? If a scandall and untruth, why did the King and his Counsell then publish it in their Letters, to delude the people and draw on the Loane? But the truth is, our Religion must be rooted out abroad by the Emperour, Kings of Spaine, France, with their Confederates, and undermined by the Prelaticall and popish party at home, yet we must have no liberty to speak of it our selves, or publish it to others, for feare of preventing the designe: For the second clause, he thought it might reflect on, or rise up in judgement one day against himselfe, therefore it was wisdom for him to rase it out; the Kings evill Counsellours by this meanes must neither be reprehended nor punished: For the third passage, it is true, that the Lords day is not directly stiled the Sabbath in the New Testament, yet it is termed the first^o of the SABBATHS oft times in it; but admit it were not, yet seeing all dayes of sacred rest and worship whatsoever, are stiled^o Sabbaths, both in the Old and New Testament, and the Sabbath in its proper Definition, is nothing else, but a weekly day of sacred rest from worldly labours, pleasures, employments, devoted wholly to Gods publique and private worship; and the Lords day is such a Sabbath as this, and so termed by^o Councils, Fathers, forraigne writers of all sorts, and more especially by our owne English^o Statutes, Homilies, Proclamations, Letters-Patents, Canons, Bishops visitation Articles, and Writers of all sorts; why this passage concerning the Lords day Sabbaths sanctification, and the prophanation of it, should be obliterated by him, no reason can be rendred, but onely the prophane Anti-sabbatarian Disposition of his owne heart, which soon after more publickely displayed it selfe, in the re-publishing and pressing the Declaration for Lordi-day sports:

Object. 11.

Object. 1.

oPag. 245. &c.

Answer.

Reply.

p Exod. 28.22.

q See A necessary Introduction, &c. pag: 86 c. 17.

r Mat. 28.1.

Mark. 16.1.

Luk. 24.1.

1 Cor. 26.1.

s Levi. 16.31.

c. 23.24.32.

32.c.25.2.4.6.

c. 19.3.30. c.

26.2.3.4.35.

2 Cron. 8. 13.

c. 31. Isa. 1.13.

c. 56.4. Lam. 2.

6. Ezek. 46.2.

Hof. 2.11.

Col. 2.16.

t See Sunday a

Sabbath, and

M. Lee of the

Sabbath.

v 13. Eli. c. 16.

x See *Officium Beate Mariae Bernardinus De Bussi his Mariale*. Bishop *ushers* answer to the *Jesuits Challenge Mornay his Ministry of Iniquity*. Doctor *Reinolds de Idolatria Romano Ecclesia*. *Maker Ruthers Divine RIGHT of Church Government*, cap. 1. Sect. 5.

ports: For the latter clause of this deleted period, concerning connivance at Popery, which trencheth upon the first and second Commandment, and making the Lawes concerning it, meer Engines of State, to draw reward for toleration, dispensation and connivance, &c. his excuse is most miserable and ridiculous: For first, it is generally agreed by all Protestant Writers, that Popery trencheth upon the first Commandment, by advancing the *Virgin Mary*, Pope (to omit the Bredden Wafer) into the very Throne of God himselfe, and Deifying them both with divine Titles, Adorations, Attributes, Epithites, Orisons, and the like; therefore no reason to delete this clause, that it trencheth on the first Commandment: the rather, because Paul himselfe affirms it in direct termes, *2 Thes. 2. 3, 4.* as all orthodox Expositors resolve: Secondly, its agreed by all Protestants, yea, by this Arch-Prelat himselfe (in shew at least, when his reputation seemed to be somewhat blasted, as if he were devoted to Popery) and expressly resolved by our *Homilies* against the perill of Idolatry, that Popery expressly trencheth upon the second Commandment sundry wayes, as by adoring Crucifixes, Images, Saints, Angels, Reliques, Altars, the consecrated Hoast, yea, by invocation of Saints departed, and introduction of sundry Idolatrous Superstitious Rites, Ceremonies, formes of Worship, invented by Popes, Priests, Fryars, into the Worship of God: Therefore had he deleted its intrenchment upon the first Commandment as dubious, yet since there is no question of their transgressing the second in all these particulars, his abolition thereof is inexcusable, and displays his popish disposition: Thirdly, however had he deleted this likewise, yet his obliterating that which followes, against connivance at, and suspension of Lawes against Popery and Papists for lucre sake, least God make the gaine gotten by this dividing betwixt him and Idols, to be like that of Solomons, which was recompenced with the losse and dividing of his Kingdome betwixt his Sonne and a Stranger, &c. (the sad effects whereof we have lately felt) with all other passages whatsoever against Popery (especially at this juncture of time, when all forraigne popish Princes had confederated to extirpate the Protestant Religion in forraigne parts, as the first deleted passage informes us) is such an unsufferable execrable crime, in one who pretends himselfe a Protestant Bishop, and had then no legall authority to correct or license Books for the Presse, as deserves the highest censure; yea, displays to all the world the hidden Popery of his heart, if not his secret correspondency with the Romish party to replant their false superstitious Religion and Idolatry in our Church; and from this originall purgation of his, we may visibly discover, that all succeeding expunctions of this kind made by his owne chaplains and other Agents at Lambeth or London-house, proceeded primarily from himself, as the originall cause and Author of them.

Objection 2. The second Objection of this kind is, my alterations of the Prayers appointed for the fift of November, in some particular causes in the Impression of them, Anno 1635.

Answer. To this I answer, First, that these alterations were not made by me, but the Prayers were sent unto me altered by the King himselfe, who commanded me to see them printed according to those alterations; and I have here the Books, with his Majesties hand and Warrant to each of them for what I did: Secondly, that the expressions were somewhat overharsh, and fit to be altered, terming their very Religion, Rebellion, being but the Christian Religion, and the same with Ours, as I have proved at large in my Speech in Star-chamber, to which I must referre, where I have rendred reasons for it, which gave generall satisfaction then, and I hope will doe so to your Lordships now.

Reply. To which was replied, First, that the Archbishop shewes his great undutifullnesse here in casting this and other his unwarrantable popish actions on the King himselfe: Secondly, that for ought appears he procured from the King this Warrant since the alterations were printed, yea complained of, and that by circumvention: Thirdly, that it had been his duty to have dissuaded the King from giving way to such scandalous alterations in favour of Jesuits, Papists, Traitors,

Traitors, and their bloody Religion. Fourthly, that himselfe in his Speech, page 33, 34. confesseth, he made the Alterations himselfe by the Kings command: Therefore the Book was not sent him altered by the King or any other, as now he falsly pretends. Fifthly, as for the grounds of the most grosse alteration mentioned in his Speech, we have ^z already refuted them at large in the Charge; therefore we shall not *actum agere*, but refer you thereunto.

The third ^a objected Purgation made by my selfe is, of some clauses appointed in the Book for the Fast, Anno 1636.

To which I answer, First, that it is not proved that I made these Purgations: Secondly, that I have given a full answer to, and shewed there was reason for the making of them, in my SPEECH in Star-chamber, where they were objected.

To this was replied, First, that himselfe doth both confesse and justifie these purgations in his said Speech, to be made by himselfe, and his confederated brethren, to whom the care of this Fast was committed; therefore he much forgets himselfe here in denying it to be proved; when we undeniably evidenced it, by his owne printed Confession: Secondly, we have already ^b refuted his reasons for those purgations mentioned in his Speech, discovering their absurdity, and fully proving, that they were made meerly in favour of Popery, to which he hath not returned the least shadow of answer; therefore we shall acquiesse therein without further reply.

The ^c fourth objected alterations and purgations ascribed to my selfe, are in Doctor Potters Book, entituled, *Want of Charity*, &c. the second Edition.

To which I answer, First, that he writ to me of his own accord, to alter or correct any thing I thought meet in the second Impression of his Book, and what I did therein was upon his owne request: Secondly, that the expressions I advised him to amend, were either such as were very harsh, as *Beleeve in the Pope*; or somewhat obscure, as *The Idol of Rome*, &c. Thirdly, that his exposition of *Matth. 18. 17, 11. Dic Ecclesie*, &c. concernes not the Parliament, but the *Sanhedrin*, or Civill Court of the Jewes: And whereas it is urged, that I writ, his Exposition of it, seemes to give as much power to the Parliaments, as to the Church (or Convocation) in Church affaires, which is a derogation to the Parliaments Jurisdiction; I conceive it to be none, since it appears by the Statute of 1. Eliz. c. 1. that the Parliament cannot determine any thing in matter of Religion, without assent of the Clergy in their Convocation; this Act, providing, *That the High Commissioners shall not in any wise adjudge any matter to be Heresie, but onely such as hath been heretofore determined, ordered or adjudged to be Heresie by the authority of the Canonickall Scriptures, or by the first foure generall Councils, or any of thom, &c. or such as shall be hereafter ordered, judged or determined to be Heresie by the high Court of Parliament in this Realme, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE CLERGY IN THEIR CONVOCATION.* Fourthly, that I did not alter or rase out those passages, but onely left them to the Doctors owne consideration, who thereupon of himselfe amended and left them out.

To this was replied, First, that Doctor Potter writ to him onely to correct or alter by his servant Master Dell or others, any thing in his Booke OFFENSIVE TO HIM: To which he returned this answer; *I have done that which you have so desired, &c.* So as these very passages against the Pope and Papists were offensive to him, as well as to them; at which (as it seems by the Doctors Letter) he had formerly taken some offence, else why should he thus write to him, to alter and correct any thing in his Booke offensive to his GRACE? It seemes by this, that whatever offended the Pope or Papists (be it but an harsh expression) offended his Grace too, who was all for Charitable expressions towards them, who are so uncharitable towards us.

Secondly, for the expressions themselves: The first of them is not so harsh, as true and fitting, since Papists not onely beleeve the Pops, ^d but beleeve in him too;

Y y y

^z Page 247,

248, 249.

Obje. 3.

^a Here pag.

249, 250.

Answer.

Reply.

^b Page 242,

250, 251.

Objection 4.

^c Page 251,

252.

Answer.

Reply.

^d See Augusti-

nus Triumphus

Bellarmini, &c.

others passim.

viz.

viz. That his Exposition of Scripture is infallible; that he cannot erre in his obaires; that this Lord God the Pope, cannot onely pardon sinnes, and release soules out of purgatory at his pleasure, but infallibly save all such who adhere to, beleve in, and trust upon him for salvation.

^e See Morrey
his Mystery of
Iniquity.

The latter of them, the Idol of Rome, is a proper Periphrasis or Character of the Pope himselfe, who is there ^e idolized, adored sundry wayes.

^f See Truth
triumphing o-
ver Falshood.

Thirdly, the deleting his exposition on Marth, 18. 17, 18. upon the reason rendred by him, is both derogatory and destructive to the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction of Parliaments, in Ecclesiasticall causes and affaires, which ^f our Parliaments have alwayes judged, settled, established in all Ages, oft times without, yea against the Clergies consent, the Convocation onely propounded, advised, and submitted wholly to the Parliaments judgement: Yea, our Parliaments have made Lawes concerning Heresie, its punishment, and matters of Religion, sometimes without the Clergies consent, as it is evident by the Statutes of 25 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10. 35 Hen. VIII. c. 5. 1 Edw. 6. c. 1. 2. & 12. with others: Sometimes upon their Petition and earnest request, as 5 Ric. II. c. 5. 2 Hen. IV. c. 15. (repealed, though never truly a Statute, since the Commons never consented to them) 2 Hen. V. c. 7. Sometimes by their request and advice too, as 31 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 34 Hen. VIII. c. 1. 1 & 2 Ph. & Mary, c. 6. As for the Statute of 1 Eliz. c. 1. it no wayes inferres, that the Parliament it selfe cannot adjudge or determine any Ecclesiasticall matters without the assent of the Clergy in the Convocation (for then they had never cast out Popery and the Popes usurped authority which the Clergy still maintained, nor wrought any reformation of Religion in our present or former Parliaments) but onely Enacts, That the High Commissioners shall adjudge nothing to be Heresie, not formerly resolved to be so (as this Act expresseth) but what the Parliament shall adjudge order and determine to be Heresie by assent of the Clergie in their Convocation; from whence no argument can be deduced, but this Nonsequitur; The High Commissioners can judge no new opinion to be, nor punish it as Heresie, unlesse the Parliament of England first adjudge it to be Heresie with the assent of the Clergy in Convocation, by the expresse provision of this Act: Ergo, the Parliament can make no Ecclesiasticall Lawes, meddle with no Church affaires, nor determine ought to be Heresie unlesse the Clergy in Convocation first assent thereto. Pretty incoherent Logick, and Anti-parliamentary Divinity.

Fourthly, that Doctor Potter himselfe voluntarily corrected them upon his Letter, appeares not; but if he did, it was to please this Archbishop, in deleting those passages which he he signified to be displeasing to him, the better to obtaine the Prebendary he sued for to him in this Letter: Wherefore these purgations must rest still upon his score.

To the Popish Alterations and Deletions, under his owne hand made in the SCOTTISH COMMON-PRAYER BOOKE, which the Commons desired to presse, he pleaded the ACT OF PACIFICATION AND OBLIVION, against the very reading of them: Whereupon they did forbear, and wave the reading of them for the present, though cleane out of the Act, alleaging onely, that this Plea of his was a plaine confession of his Guilt.

Obje. 5.
g Page 252,
253, 254.

The fifth sort of purgations ^g objected to me are those in SIR ANTHONY HUNGERFORDS Books, which DOCTOR BRAY my Chaplaine would have expunged: Of which SIR EDWARD HUNGERFORD his Sonne complained to me, as he deposeth, after he had expostulated with my Chaplaine, who would crosse them out, or not license the Bookes: Whereupon I told him, I having many other employments had trusted my CHAPLAINES with those things, which I wholly referred to them, therefore what they thought fit to leave out, you must Submit to: And thereupon would not redresse his Grievance herein.

To this I Answer, First, that if there were any Errour herein, it was not

not mine but my Chaplaines, since dead, who if he were alive, and might have been heard to speake for himselfe, would doubtlesse have given a good account and reason to your Lordships; why he thought these passages unfit to be printed. Saint *Augustine* saith, that oft times infinite harme did accrew to the Church, per temerarios veritatis assertatores; and every Treatise written against Papists is not so satisfactory, but that it may prove so disadvantageous to the Cause, as to be unfit to be printed: It may be these were such; however, God be thanked, the Books were printed with those passages in them, and so no harme done by my Chaplaine. Secondly, for my answer to Sir *Edward*; it was true, I had so many publick busineses then upon me, that I had no leisure to peruse Books for the Presse, and thereupon referred that trust wholly to my Chaplaines; therefore if they offended, they onely must answer for it, not I: and should I herein controll what my Chaplaines had done in this kind, it would have so discouraged them, that none of them have undertaken the office of a Licenser afterwards: Besides, I should have been perpetually troubled with clamours against that which my Chaplaines thought fit to be blotted out of Books tendred to them to be licensed, for them every man would have appealed from them to me in this kind, so as I should have had no quiet.

To this was replied, Firſt, that we have formerly proved at large, that his Chaplaines errours and delinquencies in this kind are his owne, because the care of licensing Books was originally vested in himselfe, and they were but his entrusted servants, for whom he must be responsible at his perill; and the rather in this case, because he confesseth his Chaplaine is dead and cannot be punished for it, who if alive, could give no reason for not licensing those Books, unlessse these passages against popery were expunged; but onely this, that it was by his Lords owne speciall directions, who would suffer no harsh passages against popery or Papists to passe our Presses unexpunged; as appeares by those himselfe purged out of Doctor *Sibthorps* Sermon, the Prayer for the Fast, Doctor *Potters* Treatise; and that himselfe was every way as Popish, as good a friend to Popery as his Grace. Secondly, for Saint *Augustines* saying, we approve it, confessing, that every Pamphlet weakly written against Popery is not fit to passe the Presse: But this concerns not those two Treatises, written by a converted Papist of eminent rank, with excellent solidity, judgement, learning, which must not be licensed; not upon any pretext of weaknesse or want of solidity in them (never so much as once objected;) but onely because Sir *Edward Hungerford* would not condescend that the forecited clauses against the Pope and Popery (some of them taken out of Popish Authors themselves) should be expunged out of his Fathers Works, to martilate them. That these Books were since printed without those purgations, is no thanks to the Archbishop nor his Chaplaine, who would not license them vnlesse first purged, and the licensing of them without such purgations by others, proves strongly, that there was no just grounds of purging them, but onely to gratifie the Pope and popery. Fourthly, we beleevè his answer true, that he intruded himselfe out of a polypragmaticall humour into so many secular imployments, as he had little time to peruse Books or preach the Gospell; but this is only his crime, not his excuse: However, since he could find so much leisure upon all occasions to persecute godly Ministers, suppress Orthodox Books, Lectures, Prayers, advance Arminianisme, Popery, and popish designs, he might by like reason have found out time enough to have perused these small Treatises or at least the clauses excepted against by his Chaplaine upon Sir *Edward Hungerford's* complaint, being a Gentleman of quality and fortune. Fifthly, the latter part of his answer proves, that it was altogether bootlesse for any man to complaine to him of his Chaplaines abuses in purging out passages against Popery, and that he was resolved to heare no complaints of this kind, much lesse not to redresse them: His reasons rendred for it are most absurd. The first is, because this would discourage his Chaplaines from being Licensers: It seemes by this

they were so really, so zealously popish, that they must not be checked or controuled in the least kind for purging out ought against Popes, Popery, Papists, for feare of discouragement, no, not by himselfe; or so waspish and self-willed (like himselfe) that they would fling up their very Office of licensing, if they might not have their wils, to obliterate what they pleased, without any superior controll: But this is but a pretence, for Doctor Bray himselfe rendred this as the true reason of his refusall to license these clauses to Sir Edward; *That they would offend those of the Roman Religion, against whom no harsh phrases must be used, we being now in a faire way to win them (viz. by reconciling our selves to them, not them to us) therefore they must be either exploded, or the Book left unprinted.* The second reason is yet more absurd, taken from his owne ease and quiet, that he should have been perpetually troubled with imployments and clamours of this nature, &c. It seems it was his Chaplaines constant practice by his owne direction, to purge out all sharpe passages against the Pope, popery, and popish Innovations out of new licensed Books, so else the reason would not hold; for did they it but rarely, not usually, he should not have been perpetually disturbed with such complaints as this of Sir Edwards: But be it so or not, yet certainly it was no more then his place and duty required, to heare and redresse all just complaints of this kind against his Chaplains when they did amisse, else Authors, Stationers, Printers, might be most injuriously handled by them, without knowing where to complaine or seek reliefe; for to whom else should they complaine, but unto him, whose Chaplaines they were, whose place, trust, they herein executed by his own appointment? Or who else should or durst right them herein if injured, but himselfe? and if it were no trouble for him to spend whole dayes, weeks, yeers, in advancing unlawfull oppressive Loane, Monopolies, Projects, Impositions, Taxes, to oppresse the Subjects, contrary to, and inconsistent with his Archiepiscopall function; with what face could he deem it any trouble or vexation to spare one hour or two each moneth or yeer in hearing, examining such just complaints against his Chaplaines, when they so grossly offended? This answer therefore plainly remonstrates, that he was inflexibly resolved his Chaplaines should purge out all notable passages against the Pope, Popery, and popish errors, no doubt by his owne speciall direction given to them: Therefore let who would complaine thereof, he must goe without redresse, and submit to his Chaplaines pleasure, else his whole Volume must goe unlicensed, be it never so usefull, so necessary for our Religions just defence; which manifests the transcendent height of his and his Chaplaines resolutions, their arbitrary, uncontrollable proceedings to set up popery without opposition, by these Purgations.

Obje. 6.
Here p. 108.
254.269.270

The sixth purged Book is Doctor Featlies Sermons, ordered by my command (after they were printed by an ancient License) to be carried to my Chaplain Doctor Bray, who gelded out of them divers of the smartest and most masculine passages against Popery, Arminianisme, toleration of Papists, Priests, Jesuits, and a passage against Adoration of Images by Papists, taken out of the very Homily against the perill of Idolatry; whereof he complained to Sir Edmond Soot, desiring him to acquaint me with it; who told him, he conceived it would be in vaine, because he thought my Chaplaine had directions from me for what he did, and that I would not alter any thing in this kind done by my Chaplaines.

Answer.

To this I answer; First, that though it be the place and office of the Archbishop of Canterbury to have a care what Books are Licensed, yet Doctor Featly himselfe (who hath been a Chaplaine and Licenser of Books under my Predecessor) can attest, that the Archbishop himselfe did seldome or never use to peruse or license Books in person, but onely by his Chaplaines. Secondly, these purgations were made by my Chaplaine, who is dead and cannot answer for himselfe; not by me: and Doctor Featly never complained to me of them; neither did Sir Edmond Scot ever acquaint me with any complaint the Doctor made to him about it.

it. Thirdly, though some few smart Passages of this kinde are expunged, mitigated, and left out; yet there are in his Sermons, yea in those very Pages complained of, many sharpe passages against Popery left in (two or three whereof he read) as one against Prayer to Saints, p. 787. where he compares the Papists with the *Baalists*, p. 808. where he avers, that the Pope is *Antichrist*; and p. 810. where he calls the Pope, *the whore of Babylon*. Therefore these could not be thought to be crossed out in favour of Papists and Popery, but because the expressions in them were such as might give just occasion of distaste. Fourthly, I shall by your Lordships favour demand of Doctor Featly himselfe two questions, and desire his answer to them. First, Whether when he was a Licenser in my Predecessors time, it was not usuall for his Chaplaines to qualifie or rase out some unfitting expressions when they saw cause, out of Books tendered to them to license? and whether they were not liable to censure, if any such escaped them, upon complaint? Secondly, Whether himselfe, since the sitting of this Parliament, hath not written a Book, afterwards licensed? and whether the Licenser did not alter and blot something out of it? what was it, and who did it?

To which sodaine questions the Doctor being commanded by the Lords to give an answer; replied to the first Question; That he and his fellow-Licensers did sometimes use to qualifie or obliterate some passages favouring of Puritanisme, or in favour of it, (especially after the burning of Doctor Mockets Booke, for which the Licenser was reprehended) and that himselfe was once questioned before King James for a Booke licensed, about a passage concerning the calling of the *Jewes*, and for Master Eltons Booke upon the Commandements, favouring of Puritanisme; but he never knew in his time of any Passages against the Papists, Popery, Arminianisme, or the like, expunged out by Archbishop Abbot, or his Chaplaines; nor any one questioned for licensing any such, but rather encouraged, till of late times. To the second, he confessed that he and Master Rouse did joyntly write and publish a Booke since this Parliament, intituled *Vertumnus Romanus*, and that Master Rouse caused him to strike out a Passage in it that was somewhat sharpe against the *Separatists*, which he did at his desire. Whereupon the Archbishop urged, that then he hoped his Chaplaines might have the same liberty to crosse what they thought fitting out of the Books they licensed, though it were against Popery.

To this was answered: First, that by *Queene Elizabeths Injunctions*, Numb. 51. Reply. The Archbishops of Canterbury, York & Bishop of London themselves (not their Chaplains) are appointed to License Books, and trusted with this charge: which they personally performed, as appears by sundry Entries of Books licensed by them in the Stationers Register of Entries: And why their Successours in these dayes should not personally license Books and discharge this trust, as well as their Predecessours, making use of their Chaplains onely for their assistance, to report the substance of the Books unprinted to them, no reason can be given, but either their carelesnesse, lazinesse, or overmuch intermeddling with secular affaires; no wayes concerning or bebecoming them. Secondly, that his Chaplainie made these Purgations, not himselfe, is no excuse, since he did it by his speciall command and direction, as Sir Edmond Scots words, and Doctor Featlies testimony evidence. Thirdly, his Chaplains death is no excuse of his own guilt. That Doctor Featly complained not to him of these Purgations, is no excuse; for if he had, Sir Edward Hungerfords example; his owne answer to him then, his present expressions at the Barre now, and Sir Edmond Scots words to Doctor Featly clearly prove, it had been bootlesse and he remediesse; *Legem sibi dixerat ipse*, he was resolved to admit and redresse no complaints of this nature against his Chaplaines. Fourthly, the permitting of some Passages against Popery to stand in the Doctors Sermon, is an aggravation of his Chaplaines crime in purging out others of the same nature; for why should not all stand as well as some, especially that against Popish worshiping of Images taken verbatim out of our Homilies there quoted, and the very words of

of the Scriptuze it selfe against conniving at Popish Seducers to Idolatry? Indeed those that remained are more generall; these obliterated more particular, sharpe, piercing, and more concerned our present times, practises; therefore lesse reason to be expunged. Fifthly, these expunctions out of the Doctors Sermons were so many that the Printer was enforced to new print some 16. or 18. sheets in folio, to his great prejudice. That those Passages he cites escaped their purgation, was because the Booke being large; they passed undiscerned till after its publication, else doubtlesse the Archbishop and his Chaplaines would have crossed them out in Doctor Featlies Sermons, as well as in Doctor Sibthorps, or in Doctor Potters, Bishop Hals owne Booke, Doctor Jones and Doctor Clerke; and not have permitted his Brother Pontiffe of Rome, to be stiled *Antichrist*, and the whoore of Rome, and his Priests compared unto *Baalists*. Sixthly, Doctor Featlies testimony is a very strong evidence against the Archbishop; for before his time, there were never any such Purgations made, but onely of Passages in favour of Puritanisme, nor any Books questioned, or Passages deleted that were against the Pope, Popery, Arminianisme, Jesuits, Seminary Priests, or Papists, which the Archbishop and his Chaplaines first introduced. As for his *Vertumnus Romanus*, being joyntly written by Master Rowse and himselfe; it was just that Master Rowse should have liberty to crosse out by the Doctors consent any passage he disliked, and the Doctor consented to have this deleted; this Passage therefore not being obliterated by any Licenser, but by the Authors themselves by joynt consent, and being not against Popery or Papists, but Separatists onely (who professe the same Doctrine with us, and were then ready to joyn with us in one way of Worship, of Government) is no extenuation or justification of his and his Chaplaines purging this Doctors Booke so grosely as they did of Passages against the Pope, Popery and Arminianisme.

Obje. 7.
i Here p. 254.
255.
Answer.

The next Purgations i objected, were made in Doctor Clerks, Doctor Jones, and Master Wards Books, by Doctor Heywood, Doctor Baker, Doctor Weekes.

To this I answer: First, that there are divers sharpe Passages yet remaining in Doctor Clerkes Sermons against Papists: that they were licensed part of them by Doctor Weekes (none of mine but the Bishop of Londons household Chaplain) and part of them by Doctor Heywood my Chaplain: That Master White distinguished not what Sermons were Licensed by the one, what by the other. Besides, Master White is but a single witnesse. Secondly, Doctor Jones his Commentary on the Hebrewes was licensed and purged by Doctor Baker, the Bishop of Londons Chaplaine, and Master Wards Booke by Doctor Weekes, not by me or my Chaplaines; therefore they concerne me not.

Reply.

To this was replied: First, that the most pungent and pregnant Passages in Doctor Clerkes Sermons against the Popes Authority, tyranny, pride, Jesuits, Priests, Papists, Arminians, Arminianisme, Popery and Popish errours, are totally wiped out by the Licensers, and very few such escaped their sponge. The leaving therefore of a few inconsiderable Passages against them unexpunged, will no more excuse the obliterating of the rest; then a thieffes leaving of a true mans cloathes on his backe, or sparing his life, will justifie or extenuate the taking away of his purse, or the leaving a few Cottages standing excuse the burning of a whole City besides. That Doctor Weekes and Doctor Heywood joyned in expunging these Sermons, proves their confederacy onely, not lessens but aggravates their iniquity. As for Doctor Weekes he was his owne Chaplaine as well as the Bishop of Londons, as appears by his owne hand and Diary; therefore he must answer for his misdemeanours in this kinde, for purging both Doctor Clorkes Sermons and Master Wards Commentary: For Doctor Baker, he was his owne great favourite, advanced by him to a Prebendary, as appears by the Docquet Booke. Therefore his *Index Expurgatorius* on Doctor Jones his Commentary (proceeding doubtlesse from this Archbishops antecedent directions) must remaine upon his score, notwithstanding all his shifting evasions. To the particular passages purged

ged out of these Authors, he returned no answer at all; onely by these his severall answers to these Purgations, all the world may cleerly discover his shamelesse impudence and Popery in justifying them, his brain-sick folly in his extenuations of them; his palpable Romanizing in practising many of them himselfe, and the whole weight of all the Branches in this charge falling heavily upon him, notwithstanding all his shifts to ward them off.

The twelfth charge^k objected against me is, my connivance at the importation of popish Books, and restoring them to the owners, when seized by the Customers and Searchers, contrary to the Statute of 3. Jacobi c. 5. Object. 12.
Page 349.

To this I answer, I never connived at their importation, and that the restoring of them when seized, was not by any direction of mine, but by order of the High Commission Court. Answer:

To which was replied, First, that he doth so much as once alleage, he ever gave any order for seizing any Popish Books imported, whereas the Customers, Searchers, Pursivants, and other Officers had strict Warrants and speciall Commands from him to seize all imported Bibles with Notes, with all Books favouring any way of Puritanisme, as he deemed it, or tending against Arminianisme and popish Innovations. Secondly, he confesseth, that popish Books when seized, were usually restord by order of the High Commission Court to the owners, contrary to the Statute, whereas that Court never restored any Bibles with Notes, or Books against Arminianisme or popish Innovations seized by their order, but burnt them privately, or otherwise destroyed them. Thirdly, he proves not that any of them were restored by Order of Court, whereas Egerton sweares, that *Motterhead* averred, they were restored by the Archbishops owne order, without the Courts: But be it by order of Court, yet his crime is still the same, since himselfe late President and chiefe Controller in the High Commission, and consented to these Orders, if not commanded them to be made; whereas in duty he should have crossed them; that Court not daring to make any such Orders of Restitution without his consent, who had such an over-ruling power in it. Reply.

The thirteenth particular^l objected against me is, my advancing of Arminians and Clergy-men superstitiously and popishly affected, to Bishopricks, Deaneries, Headships of Houses, Prebendaries, and all other Ecclesiasticall preferments, yea Chaplainships, not onely about my selfe, but about his Majesty, and the Prince: with my encroachments herein upon the Lord Keeper, the Lord High Chamberlaine, Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries; and my disgracing, persecuting godly Orthodox Ministers, and keeping them from preferment, for opposing Arminianisme, popery and popish Innovations; of both which they have given sundry particular instances, to the chiefe whereof I shall returne such answers as I am able in due place. Object. 13.
Here page
349 to 354.

To this I shall answer something in generall, First, that to my remembrance I have preferred no such persons to Bishopricks, or any Ecclesiasticall livings and preferments; secondly, if any of those preferred by me were such at the time of their preferments, it was unknown to me; and if they turned such afterwards, I could neither foresee nor prevent it: Thirdly, on the contrary, I have preferred divers worthy orthodox Ministers, free from all exceptions; as Master Taylor of Clapham, now one of the Assembly, Master John Downham, Bishop Hall, and sundry others. Answer.

To which was replied, First, that we had proved the generallity of those he preferred, to be addicted, inclined to Arminianisme, Popery, or both, and so knowne to be when he advanced them, no doubt to himselfe better then others, and this their inclination was one chiefe cause of their preferment. Secondly, that his preferment of Master John Downham and Master Taylor, orthodox men, to petty Benefices, and no higher preferments, was but a meer stale to blind some peoples eyes, or stop their mouths, for his advancing of so many rotten, corrupt, popish, Reply.

popish Clergy-men to Bishopricks, Deanaries, Prebendaries, Arch-deaconries, Masterships of Colledges, and the fattest Benefices ; but no justification nor extenuation of his preferring of so many such. Thirdly, for his advancement of Bishop Hall (*viz.* from one Bishoprick to another) it is yet a meer *non liquet* to us, onely averred not proved by himsele ; but if true, it was rather to corrupt and draw him over to his party, then preferre him for his owne or the Churches benefit ; and how that worthy Prelate hath degenerated, declined since, in case of Episcopacy, the Scottish Warres, the new Canons the *Et cetera* Oath, popish Ceremonies, Innovations of all sorts, and pressing the book of Sports upon the Lords day, we have already manifested by his owne Letters in part, and the residue is so experimentally knowne to most of his Diocesse, that it needs no prooffe. However, his preferring of above twelve *Judas-Bishops* to one true *Aposile*, is a grand disservice to our Church, our Religion, and no justification nor extenuation of his offence therein.

Obje. 1.
m Here page
250 to 256.

For particulars, the ^m first thing I am charged with, is for advancing Master Mountague, Doctor Manwaring, Bishop Neale, Bishop Wren, Doctor Lindsey, and others, to Bishopricks, men publikly complained against, one of them censured in Parliament, and disabled from all preferments in our Church, which was proved by the *Docquet Books*.

Ans.

To this I answer, First, that Master Mountague was not preferred by me to any Bishoprick, neither is the *Docquet Book* any good prooffe thereof, but he was preferred to it by Sir Dudley Carltons meanes ; true it is, I was at his consecration, but that was by command, and I could not refuse or resist it : Besides, he was a great Scholler, therefore thought worthy of preferment by the King. Secondly, for Doctor Manwaring, I did not preferre him, but it was his Majesties pleasure to bestow a Deanary, and after that a Bishoprick on him in regard of his sufferings for his service, notwithstanding his sentence, and he commanded me to consecrate him, which command I had no power to withstand or oppose, being bound by Law and the duty of my Place to obey it. Thirdly, for Bishop Neale he was a worthy man, free from Popery and Arminianisme, who in King James his Reigne, before his preferment to Winchester and York had been preferred to sundry Dignities, Bishopricks, and was in office and good esteem at Court, both with King James and King Charles. Fourthly, For Bishop Wren, when I first preferred him, he was a worthy man, who waited upon his Majesty when he was in Spaine, and did good service there ; if he hath misdeameaned himsele since, it is his owne fault, not mine, he is still alive, and must answer for himsele, to the charge and impeachment exhibited against him. Fifthly, Doctor Lindsey was a very great Scholler, who deserved well, neither did I know him to be an Arminian ; 'tis true, he was preferred to two Bishopricks successively, but it was by Bishop Neale, whose Chaplaine he was, not by me ; there is no Oath nor cleare evidence it was by my meanes, the *Docquet book* being no sufficient evidence, for it mentioned onely the Kings pleasure and order for it, signified by the privy Signet to me, as a servant, but not that I was the author of his preferments ; the King may signifie his pleasure to the Signet Office by whom he pleaseth ; as for Master Smarts testimony of him, there were some quarrels and differences at Durham, between Master Smart and him, which may cause him to speak the worse of him : Master Walker saith onely, he was reputed a great Arminian, which is no Heresie. Sixtly, however these were affected, yet none can charge me with any Popery or Arminianisme.

Reply.

To this was replied, First, that we have as cleerly proved as the Sunne at noon day, that Mountague was protected, advanced by him, and that in contempt of the Parliament, by his owne Diary, the *Docquet Book*, Bishop Mountagues owne Letter of thanks to him for his favour and preferments, which he hath no way answered ; as for his preferment, that it was by Sir Dudley Carltons meanes, it is but a bare surmise of his owne, without prooffe or colour ; and for his presence

at his consecration, it was meerly voluntary to countenance him, not by command for ought appears. Secondly, it appears most cleerly by the Evidence given, that Doctor *Marwaring* was advanced both to his Deanary and Bishoprick by his means & recommendations alone, for the disservice he had done the Kingdome by those Sermons for which he was justly sentenced in Parliament, and the ill offices he had since done our Church, by introducing *Stone-Altars, Copes*, with other *Popish Reliques, Ceremonies* thereinto; that he was thus advanced and consecrated a Bishop by him in direct affront of the Parliaments censure, disabling him from all future preferments, we have fully proved: And whereas he layes the *Odium* of his preferments onely upon the King to excuse himselfe, it is but his owne bare allegation, without any shadow of prooffe, and that in his owne case, for his owne defence, therefore not to be credited: But admit it true, yet since himselfe was present at his censure in the Lords House, upon the Commons impeachment of him, recorded it in his Diary, and was accused for having a finger in his Sermons, and licensing them for the Presse, it was his duty to have acquainted his Majesty with, and minded him of this his censure, disabling him for ever from all such preferments in our Church, to have opposed his preferment, and withstood his consecration and *Mountagues* too; the rather, because every man before any Bishops consecration, hath free liberty to put in any just exceptions against him, there being a publike Instrument solemnly posted up in the Arches at *Bow*, before every Bishops consecration (as a necessary formality) giving publike notice, *That such a one is to be consecrated the Bishop of such a Diocese such a day, and signifying, that if any person can take any just exceptions against him, and shew good cause why he should not be consecrated, he shall be heard.* In regard whereof, this Archbishop *ex Officio*, might, yea ought to have shewed the Lords publike censure of *Marwaring*, as a just legall Plea, why he should not be consecrated a Bishop (as Master *Jones* the Printer did in a legall way object Bishop *Mountagues* Popish and Arminian Books, with the proceedings pending against him in Parliament for the same, is a just cause why he should not be made a Bishop, yet he could not be heard nor prevaile therein:) therefore the neglect of this his trust, duty, contrary to Law, and his recommending, consecrating him to be a Bishop, in affront of the Parliaments Judgement which disabled him, must needs be a transcendent crime, no wayes mittigated, but aggravated, by his false disloyall excuses. Thirdly, for Bishop *Neale*, he was ever reputed a *Popish and Arminian Prelate*, a persecutor of all orthodox, godly Ministers, a preferrer of popish Arminian Clergy-men, making choyce of such for his Chaplaines, for such a one was he accused to his Majesty by the House of Commons in their Remonstrance Anno 1628. and complained of in sundry Parliaments before his advancement to *Winchester* or *York*: For his pretended worth, all the Court knew very well he had little worth or learning in him, being unable to preach, write, dispute, not preaching once in a dozen yeers or more: For his preferments and Court-offices, they were gained, maintained by flattery, symony, and his base temporizing servility, he serving as a ready Instrument upon all occasions to introduce any popish Innovations in the Church, and set on foot any oppressing projects in the State: Therefore his preferment of such an ill Instrument (who first advanced and brought this Arch-Prelat into favour at Court) is no wayes excusable. Fourthly, Doctor *Wren* was before his advancement to a Bishoprick, a professed Arminian, a superstitious, popish, dissolute, impious, corrupt Clergy-man, and so reputed by all; therefore a fit Chaplaine to promote the Spanish Match and Designe, to seduce his Majesty, when in *Spaine*, from our Religion; and his tyrannicall, superstitious, popish proceedings since he was made Bishop, have more fully discovered what he was before: All or most of which being in pursuance of the Archbishops Instructions, Injunctions to him (as his Annuall Account of his proceedings to him evidence) himselfe who promoted him and them, must be more guilty of, and responsible for them, then *Wren* himselfe, who yet may suffer for them in due time.

time. Fifthly, Doctor *Linseys* schollership is not in question, but his Arminian, popish inclination and opinions, which were so much the more dangerous, by reason of his great reputed learning and schollership; the greatest Schollers, if unsound, being the most pernicious seducers, and unfittest to be preferred of all others: That he was promoted by Bishop *Neales* meanes, is a bare allegation of his owne without prooffe; that himselfe preferred him is cleere by the *Docquet Booke*; how much he was tainted with Popery and Arminianisme, Master *Smart* and Master *Walker* have deposed upon Oath, and his presumption in bringing *Sancta Clara* to him, even when he was about to publish his Book, to acquaint him with his person and designe of reconciling us thereby to the Church of Rome, (which himselfe records under his owne hand) is a sufficient confirmation of their testimony and his intimacy with him; after which he yet preferred him; For Master *Smarts* quarrell with him at *Durham*; it was onely for his Arminianisme, popish Tenets, and Innovations there broached, introduced, and so his testimony the more credible, he then complaining against him in Parliament for it; for the *Docquet Booke*, it is not simply, that the King signified his pleasure by this Archbishops for Doctor *Linseys*, and those others preferments, but that it was by Order from the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, therefore no doubt by his procurement, consent and approbation, who had engrossed the sole disposall of all preferments Ecclesiasticall. Sixtly, to that he objects, that however these were affected, yet none can object any Arminianisme or Popery to him: We reply, that his constant advancing and favouring of such persons, is a very strong evidence of his inclination to both; and our evidence already produced to prove it, is so full, that it unavoidably manifests him guilty in the highest Degree of both. Finally, he gives no answer to the other popish and Arminian Bishops preferments by himselfe, and so confesseth it.

Obje. 2.

Here p. 350.

Answer.

The second thing I am charged with, is the preferring of Doctor *Potter* and Doctor *Jackson*, both Arminians, and Popish Doctor *Cosins* to Deanaries.

I answer, First, that Doctor *Potter* was a learned man, and there was no prooffe he is an Arminian, but by hear-say. Secondly, for Doctor *Cosins*, I named four to the King for the Deanary of *Peterborough*, whereof he was one, and the King pitched upon him by reason of his poverty and losses by the Scots. Thirdly, for Doctor *Jackson*, he was a learned man and honest, for which cause I did prefer him.

Reply.

To which was replied, First, that we proved directly Doctor *Potter* was a professed Arminian, by Doctor *Featlies* testimony, and so known, reputed to be by all in the University of *Oxford*, so as none can deny it; yea he preferred him as he was thus inclined, not as a learned man; his learning making him onely capable of doing more mischief in propagating his Arminian errors. Secondly, that he recommended Doctor *Cosins* to the King, and th Deanary, is cleer by the *Docquet Book* and his own confession; that he put any other in competition with him is uncertaine: Aoweever, he carried the Deanary by his recommendation; and for him to advance a person so popish, so superstitious, so infamous, so oft complained against in Parliament for popery, as this Doctor was, who had done so much mischief in our Church, upon any pretext, was, no doubt, a grand offence. Thirdly, Doctor *Jacksons* civill conversation and learning, made his errors and preferment more dangerous, more pernicious; his Arminian errors, not his Learning or Honesty being the ground of his advancement to this dignity, and of those other Deanes preferments, to which he hath given no answer.

Object. 3.

Here p. 336.

337.

Ans.

The third thing objected against me, is my encroachment upon the Lord Chamberlaines Office, and preferring Popish and Arminian Chaplains in ordinary to the King and Prince.

For this, I deny I did ever encroach upon the Lord Chamberlaines Office, or that I preferred any such Chaplains in ordinary to the King or Prince, neither is there

there any prooffe that they were preferred by me; as for Doctor Heylin he was preferred by the Earle of Danby, Doctor Cosins by the Archbishop of Yorke, Doctor Baker by the Bishop of London, Doctor Pocklington and the rest, by I know not whom; as for Doctor Weekes he was none of my Chaplaine, but the Bishop of London, and by him preferred.

To which was replied, First, that Master Oldsworth expressly deposed, and the Earle of Pembroke himselfe averred the contrary, that he encroached on the Lord Chamberlaines Office, and preferred these Chaplaines to the King. Secondly, that many of them were his owne Chaplaines, therefore doubtlesse specially recommended to the King by himselfe, and no other. Thirdly, the King entrusting him with all Ecclesiasticall affaires and preferments, no man else but himselfe could preferre any to be Chaplaines to the King, but by his approbation or assistance first obtained; yea, no other person durst encroach upon the Lord Chamberlaines Office in this kind but he. Fourthly, we shall prove Doctor Weekes to be his owne Chaplaine, by a Catalogue of his Chaplaines, written with his owne hand, affixed to the end of his Diary, which was produced and read; in which Catalogue Doctor Weekes his name was found Registred among others of his Chaplaines; therefore his impudency and falshood in denying it, was most intolerable: Hereupon the Archbishop being so confounded, that he could not deny it; confessed he was his Chaplain, but he had quite forgotten it, by reason he lived at London-house, and was that Bishops household Chaplaine, which the Common Councell said, was a very poore excuse for so palpable, so grosse an untruth, avowed with so much confidence.

Reply:

The fourth thing ^p objected against me is, my preferring of Arminians, and persons popishly affected, in the Universities; as Doctor Jackson and others in Oxford, Doctor Martin in Cambridge, and Master Chapple in Ireland. Obje. 4.
p Here p. 359.

I answer; First, that Doctor Jackson was a learned man, and honest, and for ought I know orthodox. Secondly, Doctor Martin was my household Chaplain for a time, but not knowne to me to be an Arminian. Thirdly, Master Chapple had a great name in the University of Cambridge for a great Scollar, which made me preferre him; what he did maintaine in Ireland is but by hear-say, since I preferred him, and there was no complaint ever made to me against him, by Doctor Hoyle or any other.

Answer.

To which was replied; First, that he answered not to the maine charge, against him, in making ill Vice-Chancellours as well as Heads of houses in Oxford: To that to which he offers an answer, we give this Reply; that Doctor Jackson was a professed Arminian, though learned and honest, therefore no fit man to be President of so famous a Colledge as Corpus Christi. Secondly, that Doctor Martin was a professed Arminian, and declared himselfe so by licensing Arminian Books, and maintaining Arminian errors in his Sermon at Pauls-Crosse when he was his owne household Chaplaine; all which was knowne and complained of to himselfe; therefore unfit to be made Master of a Colledge in Cambridge, or any other of his straine, to which he gives no answer. Thirdly, that Master Chapple had a great name in the University of Cambridge and in London is true, but it was onely for a most dangerous Arminian, who leavened the whole Colledge wherein he lived, and many of the University with his pestilent errors; therefore a most unfitting man for him to make Provost and chiefe Governour of the University and Colledge in Dublin, where Doctor Hoyle expressly deposeth, that he broached not onely Arminian, but dangerous Popish Errors, of which it was in vaine to complaine to the Archbishop, who advanced and countenanced him herein.

Reply.

The fift ^q objection is, my encroachment upon the Lord Keepers and Master of the Wards Rights, of presenting to the Kings livings, with my preferment of divers Arminians, and persons popishly affected to Prebendaries and Benefices of best value; as Doctor Heylin, Doctor Weekes, Doctor Baker, Doctor Bray, Doctor Heywood, and others. Object. 5.
p Pa. 359, 360

Answer.

To this I answer; First, that I encroached not upon either of their rights: True it is, there being a difference between the Lord Keeper *Conventry* and the Lord *Cottingham*, Master of the Court of Wards, about the presentation towards livings in the Kings gift; I took occasion thereupon to informe his Majesty, that till the controversie were decided between them, he might doe well to dispose of these livings himselfe, for the encouragement and reward of such young Scholars that went to Sea as Chaplaines in his Ships, who had nothing to live on after their returne from Sea, till they went forth againe; which motion the King approving of very well, committed the disposing of these livings accordingly to my charge, without my desire or suit. Secondly, I disposed of livings to divers good and orthodox men, as to Doctor *Jackson* of *Canterbury*, and others, as well as to the persons objected, who were not all preferred by me; for Doctor *Heylin* was promoted to his livings by the Earle of *Danby*, Doctor *Baker* and Doctor *Weekes* were preferred by the Bishop of *London*.

Reply.

To which was replied; First, that most of the living belonging to the Lord Keeper, and Master of the Wards, were bestowed by him, of which both of them oft complained; therefore he encroached upon both, which none of his Predecessors did: For those belonging to the Mastership of the Wards, he confesseth he disposed of them by the Kings appointment, but that it was upon the pretended occasion, without his seeking or desire (though occasioned onely his motion) we know not how to credit his bare word, without better evidence, who hath had the impudency to deny his owne hand-writing very often since his Tryal, and afterwards been enforced to confesse it. Secondly, his collation of Livings upon orthodox good men are so few, that he names but one [Doctor *Jackson* of *Canterbury*] and that when he had so farre prevailed upon his weaknesse, by a new Cathedral Statute and Oath, as to induce him to Bow to the Altar, &c. as frequently as other Prebends (which he hath deposed) to his great shame, and re-greet since; this one Swallow therefore will prove no Spring, no proove of his ordinary preferring orthodox godly men to livings, which he commonly bestowed on the most rotten Arminians and popish Clergy-men he could cull out. Thirdly, the *Docquet Booke* is expresse, that Doctor *Heylin* was promoted to his livings and Prebendary by himselfe, not by the Earle; that Doctor *Baker* and *Weekes* too were preferred by him, not by the Bishop of *London*; and *Weekes* being his owne Chaplaine, and *Baker* made a Prebend of *Canterbury* (where no man durst interpose but he) no doubt they were both preferred by him, as the *DOCKET* witnesseth on Record, against his impudent Deniall, without other proove or truth.

Objection 6.

The sixt Objection is, that I usurped to me the conferring of most Bishopricks and Ecclesiasticall preferments in *Ireland*.

Answer.

I answer; first, that I preferred none there, but at the request of the Primate of *Armagh*, and others of that Kingdome, who first recommended them to me by their Letters. Secondly, that I was a meanes, at their request, to recover the Patrimony of the Churches in that Kingdome, which had been long defrauded of it; to restore Impropriations, and increase the Revenues of Bishopricks and Church-livings there, for the encouragement of Learning, and better maintenance of Preaching; in which regard, they were desirous I should be acquainted with the persons they thought meet to have recommended to them. This appears by the substance of most of the Letters that passed between the Lord Primate and other Bishops of *Ireland* and me.

Reply.

To which was replied: First, that we instanced in his bestowing Bishopricks, Deaneries and other Church-preferments in *Ireland*, onely to demonstrate the Papall usurpation, and Patriarchicall Jurisdiction he there encroached even whiles he was Bishop of *London*; and to evidence his power in disposing of all Ecclesiasticall preferments then at home, since he disposed of these in *Ireland*, where he had no Episcopall or Archiepiscopall Jurisdiction. Secondly, that most of those he there preferred, were never recommended from thence, though some of them per-

chance

chance were. Thirdly, that although the recovery of the usurped depopulated Patrimony of that Church in Ireland was a commendable worke, if done in a Legall way; yet to recover it, *per fas & nefas*, as he did it, by the meere arbitrary power of the Lord Deputy & Councell Table there, by oppressing, ruining, dispossessing men of what they had lawfully purchased against their wils, without any consideration or legall proceeding, was a most unjust and wicked act. Fourthly, justly to recover and get in Impropropriations to maintaine Preaching, was a very good worke; had this beene his end; but certainly this was but a meere pretence; for would he, thinke you, set up sincere Preaching in Ireland; who suppressed it all he could in England? Would he who subverted the Feoffees for purchasing in Impropropriations to the Church, to support Preaching and Preaching Ministers in England, recover and get in Impropropriations to the Church in Ireland, to support Preaching and Preaching Ministers there? No verily: He did it onely to maintain the Pompe, Power, Pride, State of the Prelates and Clergy there; as he did in England; not to maintain, or set up godly Preaching Ministers, which he both here and there suppressed all he could.

The fourteenth thing objected against me is, my prosecution and severe proceedings against godly Ministers, for Preaching against Arminianisme, Popery, and its dangerous increase among us; as namely against Master Samuel Ward, Master Chauncy and Master Bernard. Obje. 14.

To this I answer; first, that these persons Censures were the Act of the whole High-Commission (which is but one body aggregate, for whose Act no one particular man is liable to be questioned, but the whole Court;) not mine alone (as an Act of Parliament is the Act of both Houses, not of any particular Member) who gave my voyce alwayes last, or last but one; and so could not sway the Court with my opinion, not knowne to the Court till I delivered it, after all had declared theirs. Secondly, that the Act of Parliament which lately abolished the Star-chamber and High-Commission hath no retrospect to nullifie the Sentences given in them, but admits them good and valid in Law, not subjecting the Judges who gave them to any punishment. Thirdly, their Sentences appeared to me to be just, upon just grounds; and admit the Sentences or Proceedings unjust, yet it is but a misdemeanour in others of the Commissioners that gave them; therefore no Treason in me. Fourthly, the Passages and Sermons for which they were Sentenced were, partly Schismaticall against the laudable Ceremonies of the Church and the Kings Declaration; partly Seditious, to infuse feares and jealousies of the increase of Popery into the peoples mindes, and casting aspersions upon the Governours of the Church; For Master Bernards prosecution it was upon the Complaint of Doctor Cumber, Vice-Chancellour of Cambridge. Fifthly, for other Ministers that were questioned, or fled from hence to New-England; they were Non-conformists, questioned upon just complaints; and most of them fled hence, out of a conscioufnesse of guilt or of a panick feare, before they were questioned or pursued. Answer.

To this was replied; first, that we must not follow a multitude to doe evil; and injustice done by a whole Court, is a greater crime in every particular person who votes or concurs in it, then if he had done an act of Injustice alone; because more dangerous, more inexcusable, a greater perverting of Justice; *framing of mischief by a Law, and making the very throne of Justice, a throne of wickednesse*: Yea, since the injustice of the whole Court flowes from the injustice of each particular Members vote, and is the Act of each particular man who concurs in, or consents to it, he may no doubt be justly censured for it; and others concurrence with him will be no excuse. If twenty men joyne in a Treason, Felony, or Trespasse, any one of them may by Law be severally arraigned and condemned for it, as well as all of them together: We have a notable President to prove this in the Judges censured and condemned in Parliament in King Richard the seconds time, for delivering their opinions contrary to Law against the Members of Parliament, and in the Judges questioned Reply.
Exod. 23. 2.
Psal. 94. 20.
to 24.
x See Stat.
fords Pleas. 1.
1. c. 44. 45.

questioned; impeached this present Parliament for their false Judgement given in the case of *Ship-money*; who might have pleaded as well as the Archbishop, each for himselfe, the judgement we gave in these cases was the Act and Judgement of the whole Bench; therefore we ought not to be severally impeached for it; but none of them were so inconsiderate, as to make such a childish plea, which himselfe refused to admit in the *High-Commission* in the case of the men of *Gloucester*, censured for granting an Annuity to Master *Workman* their Minister, under the *City Seale*; an Act of the whole Corporation; yet they were there Sentenced for it in their naturall capacities, as single men. And if this Plea should be admitted, no corrupt Judges in any Court of Justice should be severally proceeded against for any illegall Judgement or proceedings of the Court; which would be the very bane of publicke Justice, and encourage ill Judges to doe what they list. Secondly, the objected Act of Parliament leaves the Judgments of both Courts as it found them, neither better nor worse; and the Judges that gave them in the same condition as before, not in a better. If the Judgment be unjust, it leaves both them and the Judges, as far forth liable to examination, repeal, censure, as formerly; as appears by divers of them now questioned in Parliament for unjust Sentences therein given. Thirdly, the Proceedings, Sentences against these persons were certainly most unjust, being onely for Preaching necessary Truths; and that which is but a Misdemeanour in others, simply considered as a single offence; may prove high-treason in him, being conjoynded with, and done in pursuit of his other Treasonable practises to subvert Religion, Lawes, Liberties, introduce popery & an arbitrary tyrannicall government, which we have fully manifested. Fourthly, the passages for which they were censured, were neither scismatical nor seditious, nor scandalous, but necessary for those secure times, to mind the people of the dangerous covert encrease of popery, Arminianisme, and undermining of our Religion, which all now visibly discern, but few then observed; and to ruine godly Ministers for discharging their consciences, duties, in warning men of those dangers and speaking for the safety of that endangered Religion, which we all professe, was a most unjust and monstrous misdemeanour, especially in an Arch-prelat, who should have encouraged, rewarded, advanced them for this their faithfulness: as for the aspersions pretended to be cast upon the Governours of the Church therein, they were in truth meer generall censures, without particularizing of such who justly deserved them: And it is no calumny, but a necessary duty for Ministers to tell negligent or unfaithfull Prelates of their duties, and reprehend them for their supinesse when they are faulty, as well as other men. For Master *Bernard* and the rest, they were prosecuted onely by this Archbishops own instigation: for all the passages and proceedings against them were found in his study, endorsed with his own hands; he was the person to whom they made their humble addresses though without relief, and the only inexorable enemy they met with; their unjust censures therefore must rest principally on him, who though he voted last in their condemnation, yet appeared first in their prosecution, and pre-directed their censures in private, before they were given in open Court. Fifthly, all the forementioned godly Ministers were unjustly molested by him, and few fled from hence, but such who were actually prosecuted or threatned with ruine ere they left the Kingdom; most of them being then conformable to all Rites and Ceremonies by Law established in our Church, though not to his popish Innovations, Ceremonies, and Book of Sports, against our Lawes and their consciences too: This charge therefore still rests entirely upon him, notwithstanding his evasions.

Object. 15.

The fifteenth charge objected against me is, my endeavours, practises, proceedings to suppress preaching, Lecturers, Lectures on Lords dayes and week-days; and that first, by a paper of Considerations which I tendred to the King. Secondly, by Instructions extracted out of them, and sent as the Kings, in his name and authority to both the Archbishops and all Bishops of the Realm, to be put in strict execution

execution ; by colour whereof many Lectures, Lecturers were suppressed in my owne Diocesse of London, and in other Diocesses, especially by *Bishop Mountague*, *Bishop Wren*, and *Bishop Peice* ; as appears by their Articles and proceedings. Thirdly: orders for Combination Lectures. Fourthly, the Kings Letters that none should be ordained without a Title. Fifthly, the silencing of Master *Leigh* and others by my own direction and Letters signed by me. Sixtly, by suppressing the Feoffees for Impropriations, alledged to be my act and project.

To this I answer ; first, that these *Considerations* were origiaally drawne by *Bishop Harsnet*, not me, who onely transcribed them out of his Copy. Secondly, that these Instructions of the King were before I was made Archbishop, and were sent unto me by my Predecessour in the Kings name to be put in execution in my Diocesse ; whereupon I was bound in duty to see them executed, being good and necessary ; the intent of them being principally to bring all Lecturers to conformity, to suppress single Lecturers where there were Preaching Ministers, to preserve peace between the Minister and people, betwixt whom Lecturers in many places made great contentions, alienating the peoples affections from their Ministers person, Ministry, and raising divers Schismes, to the disturbance of the Churches peace. As for the Articles, Proceedings and Misdemeanours of *Bishop Wren*, *Bishop Mountague* and *Bishop Peirce*, they are nothing to me ; they must answer for themselves. Thirdly, the Orders for Combination Lectures were none of mine, and tended onely to bring men to conformity. Fourthly, the Kings Letter, that none should be made without a Title, was to prevent unworthy Ordinations, agreeable to ancient Canons, and no harme therein. Fifthly, for Master *Leigh*, I received many complaints against him, that he was a scismaticall & seditious person, wherupon I writ thus to my Vicar-generall; If you can fasten any thing on him, whereby he may be justly censured, then to proceed against him, and he finding just cause did suspend him for his non-conformity ; so as in this I did but discharge my duty, and deserve no blame. Sixtly, as to the Feoffees for impropriations, there was great complaint made to me against them, that their end was to take away the right of patronages from the Church to make those Ministers they preferred independent on the Bishops, & dependent wholly on them, and to engrosse most Ecclesiasticall preferments into their own hands, which I conceiving to be true in it selfe, and that it would prove mischievous to the Church, did thereupon by the Kings command, cause an Information to be exhibited against them, in a legall way, in the Exchequer ; where upon a full and faire hearing, they were suppressed, not by me, but by the Judges of that Court, who gave sentence against them ; which sentence was either legall or illegall, just or unjust ; if just and legall, then there was no wrong nor injustice at all done in the case, and so no cause of accusation or complaint against me, or those who gave it ; if illegall and unjust, the Judges who gave the sentence must answer for it, not I, who prosecuted them onely in a legall way, and left them to judge according to Law and Justice : Besides, some of the profits of the purchased impropriations, were bestowed towards the maintainance of Lecturers at Saint *Antholins*, contrary to the trust and intention, and Parsons not wholly conformable to the Church of England were put into some of them; therefore I conceived that I did but my duty in questioning & suppressing them as I did : For Doctor *Heylins* Sermon; it concernes not me, he spake therein of the Feoffees, according as he conceived of them, and if any thing be mistaken he must answer for it : As for Master *Foxly*, I did onely check him for his forwardnesse in this work, which I conceived would prove mischievous to the Church.

To which was replied ; First, that the originall draught of these *Considerations* was produced under his owne hand ; that it was but a transcript out of *Bishop Harsnets* Copy, the originall Author of them, is but his owne bare surmise, without any prooffe or colour : But admit *Harsnet* first contrived them, yet he was the onely man that presented them to the King, and caused them to be put
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in execution, to the suppression of Lecturers, Lectures, preaching; therefore the mischief produced by them must rest on him alone. Secondly, it is true, the Instructions were sent to him by his Predecessor *Abbot*, as from the King; but we have proved, that himselfe first procured, contrived, presented them to the King, to be put in execution, and caused the King to send them to Archbishop *Abbot*, to communicate them to all the Bishops of his Province; and so zealous was he in the pursuit of them in his owne Diocese of *London*, that he suppressed many Lectures and Lecturers by colour of them; yea, such was his activity in their originall contrivance and subsequent execution, that the Deane and Chapter of *Canterbury* certified all their proceedings on them, not to Archbishop *Abbot*, but to him, being then but Bishop of *London*, and complained to him of the Archbishops remissnesse in seeing them duly executed in such sort as they desired, as we have fully manifested: Therefore all the mischief in suppressing of Lectures and preaching, by meanes or colour of them, must light upon his head, the originall contriver and chiefe profecutor of them; yea, all Bishop *Wrens*, Bishop *Mountagues*, and Bishop *Pierces* Visitations Articles, and suppressions of preaching, Lecturers and Lectures, must be attributed to & charged upon him, because they originally sprang from these Injunctions of his contrivance; because he was acquainted with, and countenanced, approved them in all their wicked proceedings, of which they gave a particular annuall account to him in writing, found in his Study under their owne hands, and never checked but animated them in their persecutions, suppressions of godly Ministers, Lectures, Preaching, *Et qui non prohibet malum quod potest, jubet*, is the very resolution of the *Canon Law*. Thirdly, the Orders for Combination Lectures, tending to suppress or make them meerly superstitious or ceremoniall uselesse Ordinances, though not made immediately by him, did yet spring originally from him, were sent up to, and not revoked, but approved by him, and Sir *John Lambe* his creature, and no Bishops durst to have made or enjoined them without his previous approbation or direction; therefore he must beare the blame and guilt of them. Fourthly, for the Kings Letter touching Ordination of Ministers, we have proved it to be his owne (the Originall thereof being penned, corrected by himselfe) not the Kings, whom he over-reached, abused in it: For though the pretence and letter of it seemed very faire and necessary, yet the intention and execution of it by the Archbishop, was most impious, detestable, to suppress Lecturers, Lectures, Preaching, and deter all pious, conscientious Schollers from the Ministry, as we have plentifully manifested, to which he hath offered no reply; nor yet to his pressing of the Book of Sports, for the like purpose. Fifthly, for his silencing Master *Leigh* and others Lecturers, his answer is very defective, since he cannot prove him factious or scismaticall, nor yet Master *Randall*, they being known to be orthodox and conformable: The onely crime they were guilty of was, that they were diligent, painfull Preachers, and did much good among the people; and therefore his Letter concerning Master *Leigh* is positive, *That if nothing can be fastened on him, whereby he may be censured; HOWEVER let him not obtaine any license to Lecture there, &c. for the Church hath not need of such men*: And Master *Randalls* fault was onely this, that he preached long Sermons on Sundayes in the afternoon, and for this they must be and were suspended from preaching. Sixthly, for the Feoffees to purchase in impropriations, it was a most pious work, to the great benefit of the Church and peoples soules, approved generally by the worst of men, and Bishops; that the overthrow of it was his owne act and designe, we have undeniably proved it by his owne *DIARY*, and sundry witnesses from his owne mouth; that any ever complained to him thereof as dangerous to the Church, is but his owne bare allegation, void of truth; he naming neither the persons complaining, nor the time of their complaint: That it would introduce a Ministry independent on the Bishops, is a false surmise, since none were recommended to officiate or preach at any of the purchased Impropriations, but by speciall license of the Bishops in whose

See here p.
381.

whose they were, and none were presented to them but conformable men, free from all just exceptions, & if he could justly except against ought in their proceedings, Master *White* deposeth, he offered that he himselfe should rectifie it, so as the work might proceed; but this would not content him, but they must be suppressed and criminally proceeded against: That he did it in a legall way, is no justification nor excuse, since those who work and accomplish mischief by colour of Law, are worse then open Tyrants: For the sentence, no doubt it was most unjust, and so the *Earle of Dorset*, who was present at it, told the King himselfe, affirming the buying in of Impropropriations to be the best work that ever was set on foot, for the Churches good; his owne beging the Impropropriations in *Ireland* from the Crowne, for the pretended good of the Church, proves it infallibly against himselfe: But that the Judges onely must answer for this unjust sentence, not he, is a meer Nonsequitur; because the Law resolves, that *Plus peccat Author quam Actor*; and the Judges had never given such an unjust sentence in this cause, had not he by his violence, power, fraud, interressing the King himselfe against the Feoffees, over-awed, swayed the Judges to swarve from the rules of Piety and Justice: That some of the revenues of purchased Impropropriations were contributed towards the maintainance of Saint *Antholins* Lecturers, is true; but that it was a mis-employing by them contrary to trust, or that any unworthy or unconformable Ministers were put into them, is a grosse fallhood, disproved by Master *White* upon Oath: However, had it been true, he should then have reformed the abuse, not utterly destroyed the good work, so much conducing to Gods glory, and the peoples edification: For *Heylins* Sermon, it was presented to, retained, approved, yea himselfe advanced by him, and no doubt he preached it by his direction: As for Master *Foxly*, he did not onely check, but persecute, imprison, and most barbarously handle him to his undoing, onely for his promoting this pious project, even after he had quite overthrowne it, and openly vaunted of this his wickednesse: All which considered, each branch of this charge sticks most immovably upon him, notwithstanding all his evasions to shake it off.

The sixteenth charge urged against me is, That I have endeavoured to cause division and discord between the Church of *England* and other reformed Churches, and endeavoured to suppress the Priviledges & Immunities of the reformed Dutch and French Churches in this Kingdome; wherein it was objected: First, that I esteemed them no Churches of God or Christ at all, because they wanted Bishops which they endeavoured to prove by mine owne *Conference with Fisher*, Bishop *Hals Propositions*, approved by me, and Bishop *Mountagues* Book, authorized by my Chaplaine. Secondly, that I deemed their Religion and ours not to be one, but different, and their Religion not to be the true Religion: Upon which ground I grew angry with Master *Ruly*, and caused the Letters-Patents granted by the King for a Collection for the Palatinate Ministers, to be revoked after they had passed the great Seale, and a clause in them to be expunged, to their great injury and scandall, as Master *Wakerly* and Master *Hartlib* attested. Thirdly, that I caused the Declaration of the Faith and Ceremonies of the *Palsgraves* Church to be called in and suppressed. Fourthly, That I molested the *Dutch, French* and *Walloon* reformed Churches in *England* sundry yeers, and infringed their ancient Priviledges by my Injunctions in divers particulars.

To this I answer in generall, that I deny both the Charge and Article; and that I have endeavoured to promote and preserve peace between the Protestant Churches abroad, and encouraged Master *Dury*, who was employed to make a reconciliation between the Calvinists and Lutherans beyond the Seas, as I could evidence by sundry of his Letters; therefore I had a good affection to these Churches, and no intent to make any discord between them: To the objected particulars I answer;

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Obje. 16.
Ans.

First, that in my Conference with *Fisher*, I cite only *St Jeroms words*, to prove a difference in order and degree, between a Bishop and ordinary Presbyter, and inferre from his words, as his opinion, not mine; *so even with him, no Bishop, no Church*. But it hath been objected, that *Bish. Mountagues Book* determines expressly, that there can be no Church without Bishops, nor Ministers but such who are ordained by Diocesian Bish. distinct from an ordinary Minister, and that no Minister (no not in case of necessity) can be ordained by any other; therefore the forraign Protestant Churches, which have no such Bishops, and their Ministers, being not ordained by Bishops, but other Presbyters, can be no Churches nor Ministers: I answer, that this Book and opinion of his concernes not me, being none of mine but the Authors: Yea, but I maintained and approved the same opinion in effect in *Bishop Hals Propositions* touching Episcopacy, to which I endeavoured to procure a generall subscription, pressing it upon others; and therein I determine, *That there was no Church of Christ upon earth ever since the Apostles times governed otherwise then by Bishops; and that this government is unalterable, and ought to be perpetuated in the Church to the end of the world*: Which doth wholly unchurch all the reformed Churches, and resolve them to be no Churches of Christ. I answer, that these Propositions were sent me by *Bishop Hall*, of his owne accord, that what I did in them was by his consent, neither were any pressed to subscribe them, nor they propounded concludingly: And though Episcopacy be not alterable, yet it may be regulated: That it is unalterable, *Bishop Bilson* hath proved it long since, it continuing so in all Churches at least fifteen hundred yeers after Christ, and is allowed, approved by the Book of Ordination; yea *Master Calvin* himselfe on that of *John*, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*, acknowledgeth the perpetuity of Bishops in the Church.

Secondly, I deny that I esteem the Reformed Churches Religion & ours not to be the same; true it is, we & they differ in some particular points of Doctrine as well as in Disciplin; but this makes us not wholly to differ in Religion, nor did I deny their Religion to be true: As for *Master Ruly*, I used him very civilly with all respect, and promoted the Collection for the Palatinate all I could, having received a Letter from the Queen of *Bohemia* for that purpose: True it is, I caused the objected clause in the first Patent of the Collection to be altered, but it was by the Kings direction, who gave order for it, upon my acquainting him therewith; and I conceive there was ground enough to doe it: First, because some of the Palatinate Divines (as *Paræus* upon the *Romans*) differed from our Church in some points of Doctrine touching the Kings Supremacy, concurring therein with the Papists;) for which his Book was here publicly condemned, burnt, and likewise in some other points,) therefore it could not be properly said that their Religion and ours was the same in all particulars: Secondly, it seemed to determine a great controversie between Protestant Divines among themselves, and likewise between them and the Church of *Rome*; whether the Pope be Antichrist? which was never yet determined by any Councell, and of which there is great doubt and difference in opinion even among the learned: Now I conceived it a very unfitting thing to determine such a doubtfull controversie definitively by Letters. Patents under the great Seale, which is not yet resolved in the Schooles. Upon these grounds the King thought fit to revoke the Patent, though it were under the Great Seale, which I had no power to recall, but the KING onely.

Thirdly, I deny that I called in the *Declaration of the Palsgraves Religion*, neither doe I rememeber any such thing: Fourthly, it is true, that I questioned the *Dutch* and *Walloon* Churches, but not for any ancient Priviledges, but onely for their encroachments beyond their priviledges, to the prejudice of our English Churches and Parishes wherein they lived; yet my Injunctions and proceedings towards them in this kind, were so faire and just, that they rested satisfied with them, and returned me speciall thanks for my favour towards them and their

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Congregations; therefore I much mervaille that this my carriage should be so much blamed, as to make it a CAPITAL CRIME and CHARGE against me.

To this was replied in the generall, that the premised proofes, with his late military proceedings against the Scots, for complying with those Churches in their Doctrine, Discipline, Government, sufficiently evidence his enmity to, his opposition against those forraigne Protestant Churches, because they had no Bishops; insomuch that he blamed Bishop Hall for dealing so mildly with them in his Book for Episcopacy, which he submitted to his censure, where on the contrary he is so zealous of the Popes honour, that he could not but complaine to the King of some harsh passages in it, bestowing the Title of *Antichrist* on his Holinesse, and procured a speciall command from his Majesty to the Bishop to expunge them, to gratifie the Pope; yea, his purging out the objected clause in the Kings Patent, and suppressing of the Declaration of Palatinate Churches Faith and Religion, argues little affection in him to those Churches, and much inward rancour against them, but a very high esteem of Rome: As for his encouraging of Master Dury in his designe of reconciling the Calvinists and Lutherans, Master Dury undertook this worke without his privity or advice, and found so small encouragement from him, that he oft complained thereof to his friends, as we are credibly informed.

Reply:

To the particulars we reply; First, that in his Conference with Fisher, he doth not recite, but misrecite and pervert Saint Jeroms words and opinion; who dogmatically resolves in his very Epistle to Evagrius, which this Archbishop quotes, and elsewhere; That Bishops and Presbyters *Jure Divino*, are both one and the same, as well in Jurisdiction as Office, and that Presbyters have the power of Ordination as well as Bishops: Therefore his appropriating of the word *Sacerdos* and Jeroms saying, *Ubi non est Sacerdos non est Ecclesia*; to Diocesian Bishops, which he cleerly meanes of Priests and Ministers in generall, is a grosse perverting of Jeroms meaning; and his inferene thence: So even with him, NO BISHOP and NO CHURCH, is only a Declaration of his owne private opinion, not of Jeroms, who held no such Prelaticall Paradox: For Bishop Mountagues Book, it was licensed by his Chaplaine, presented to, received, approved by himselfe: Bishop Hals Propositions were not onely interlined with, but allowed under his owne hand, as fit for a generall subscription, and now he justifies them not onely by Bishop Bilsons opinion, but likewise by Master Calvins, as great an enemy to Bishops as Saint Jerome, whose words he wilfully perverts as he did his, in applying that to Diocelian Bishops, which he spake onely of ordinary Ministers, who succeeded the Apostles in their Ministeriall Function: In briebe, his owne Conference, together with Mountagues Book, and Bishop Hals Propositions, approved by him, doe necessarily unchurch all the reformed Protestant Churches, un-minister all their Ministers, and make them no Churches no Ministers of Christ; whereas he averres the Church of Rome to be a true Church, and her Priests to be true Ministers, as we have formerly proved; therefore he must needs be guilty of the extreamest malignity and enmity against them, what ever he pretends to the contrary.

Secondly, he denies, and yet at last justifies and maintains what we charge him with, to wit, that he denies the Religion of forraigne Protestant Churches to be the same with ours, or to be true Religion; & he instanceth in the opinion of Paræus, whose Commentary on the Romans he caused to be burnt as erroneous, when as he writes no more then Bilson did before him (whom himself hath cited in defence of Episcopacy) & other orthodox Writers of our Church have maintained publickly for truth before & since: As for the burning of Paræus his Book, being of a forraigne Nation and no Subject to our King, without summoning him to defend himselfe, it was an unjust, rash, inconsiderate action, to say no more, as his Son hath manifested to the world in print, who hath justified his Fathers opinion to the full, as orthodox: However, the extravagant opinion of one Palatinate Divine, in

point onely of the Kings Supremacy (not about any Article of Faith) cannot make the reformed Churches and ours to be of different Religions, especially since he argues in his Star-chamber Speech, that the Papists Religion and ours are both one, though we differ in some private Tenets: Yea, his deniall of the Protestants Religion in forraigne parts to be the *true Religion*, when as he contends that *Rome is a true Church*, argues his virulency against the one, and good affection to the other. Thirdly, the calling in of the *Declaration of the Palgrave Religion*, is directly and punctually proved to be his act; its impudency therefore in him to deny it, and policy not to remember it. Fourthly, for the purgation and revocation of the Letters-Patents, he not onely confesseth, but shamelesly justifies it (most undutifully laying the blame, the scandall of it on the King himselfe, who did naught therein but by his instigation) and that upon two false, scandalous grounds: First, that the Religion of the forraigne Palatinate Churches and ours differ and are not the same: then which falshood nothing can procure a greater scisme and juster ground of scandall between us and those Churches. Secondly, that no Council had defined the Pope to be Antichrist, of which there was great variety of opinions amongst Protestant Divines touching the same, unfit to be decided by the Kings Letters-Patents. Therefore he purged it out because it intimated the Pope to be Antichrist, and subjection to him an *Antichristian* Take of bondage; both which compared with his Purgations out of Bishop Halls Book of Episcopacy to the same effect) proves him a Papist with a witnesse, and a speciall friend to the Popes Holinesse, of whose honour among us he is extraordinary tender: That the Pope is the Antichrist, all a Forraign & Domestick Protestant Divines (and some Papists too) unanimously agree, except Mountague and Shelford, his creatures: And whereas he pretends, no Council hath so determined; We answer, that the ^b Synod of Gape in France, Anno 1603. the whole Synod and Convocation in Ireland, Anno 1615. in the very Articles of their Religion, Num. 80. with the whole Convocation and Parliament of England, in the Act for the Subsidy of the Clergy, 3^o Jacobi, to omit others, define the Pope to be the *Antichrist*, and Popery *Antichristian*, more fully then those Letters-Patents; and why these new Letters-Patents should not determine them to be such, as well as the old ones both in King James and in King Charles their Reignes, but must now be revoked after they had passed the great Seale of England, because this Archbishop would have it so, transcends any mans capacity to guesse at any other probable reason, except onely this Prelats affection both to the Pope and Popery, or enmity against the reformed Churches and their Religion: For his incivilities to Master Ruly by reason of this clause, our Witnesses testimoniall will outsway his bare deniall of them. Fifthly, the premises abundantly manifest to all, that the Archbishop invaded, diminished the ancient Immunities and Priviledges of the Dutch and Walloon Churches in all parts, not their pretended encroachments onely upon our Churches Priviledges, and that he was so farre from being their friend, that they esteemed him then their greatest enemy: If they formerly returned him any thanks (by way of Court-complement) for not taking away all their priviledges, as well as some of them, after many yeers hot contest, we are certaine they justly complained of him ten times more for invading, depriving them of sundry of their ancient Immunities, which almost brought their Churches to utter ruine: In few words, his owne forecited Papers, and Monsieur Bulheels Booke of the manifold troubles of those Churches by this Arch-Prelats prosecution, will abundantly falsifie this his pretended friendship towards them, and remaine as a lasting Record against him to Posterity. All which considered, the whole Bulk and every particle of all the proofs and evidences produced by us to make good the first branch of the Commons first generall Charge of High-treason against him, remaine altogether unshaken, unavoyded, maugre all his sophisticall evasions, protestations and shifting answers to them. And so much for the first branch of his first generall Charge.

^a See here p. 276. to 279. *Catalogus Testium veritatis*

^b See Doctor Crakenthorpe of the Popes temporal Monarchy, p. 167.



The Archbishops Defence and Answers to the
COMMONS Evidence in the maintenance of the
Second Branch of their first Generall Charge, touch-
ing his *Endevours to reconcile the Church of*
England to the Church of Rome; and the
Commons Reply thereunto.

I Proceed now to the Archbishops Defence against the Second Branch of the Commons first Generall Charge; to wit, his *Endevours to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome.* Obje. 17.

To this he gave some general Answers in his Generall Defence at the Lords Barre, Septemb. 2. 1644. to this effect: My Lords (said he) I am charged for endeavouring to introduce Popery, and reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome: I shall recite the sum of the Evidence and Arguments given in for to prove it. Answer.

First, I have in my first Speech, nominated divers persons of Eminency, whom I reduced from Popery to our Church. And if this be so, then the Argument against me is this; I converted many from Popery, Ergo, I went about to bring in Popery, and to reconcile the Church of England to the Church of Rome.

Secondly, I am charged to be the Author of the, &c. Oath in the New Canons, parcell of which Oath is to abjure Popery, and that I will not subject the Church of England to the Church of Rome. (A more strict Oath then ever was made against Popery in any age or Church.) And then the argument against me is this; I made and tooke an Oath to abjure Popery, and not to subject the Church of England to the Church of Rome. Therefore I was inclinable to Popery, and endeavoured to subject the Church of England to the Church of Rome.

Thirdly, the third Canon (of the late New ones) was made by me, which is against Popery; and then the Argument is; I made a Canon against Popery; Ergo, I was inclinable to, and endeavoured to introduce it.

Fourthly, I was twice seriously offered a Cardinalship, and I refused it; because I would not be subject to the Pope and Church of Rome; Ergo, I was addicted to Popery, and endeavoured to reduce the Church of England into subjection to the Church of Rome.

Fifthly, I writ a Booke against Popery, in Answer to Fisher the Jesuit; and then the Argument is this; I writ a Booke against Popery; Ergo, I am inclinable to Popery, and laboured to introduce it.

Sixtly, it is alledged, I concealed and cherished the Plot of the Jesuits discovered by Habernfeild; and therefore I intended to bring in Popery, and reduce the Church of England to the Church of Rome. I answer, either this Plot was not reall; and if so, then Romes Masterpeece is quite blowne up, and published in vaine. Or else it was reall, & then I was really in danger of my life, for opposing Popery and this Plot. Then the Argument from it must be this; I was in danger of my life for cherishing the Jesuites Plot of reducing the Church of England to the Church of Rome; Ergo, I cherished and endeavoured to effect this Plot.

Seventhly, I laboured to make a reconciliation between the Lutherans and Calvinists; Ergo, I laboured to introduce Popery, and make a reconciliation between the Church of England and the Church of Rome.

The

Reply.

This generall defence and scoffing answer of his at the Lords Barre, seemed very specious to some ignorant Auditors, who took these feined objections of his owne forging, to be the arguments, and maine strength of the Commons Evidence produced, to convict him of a serious endeavour to subvert the Protestant Religion, introduce popery, and reconcile the Church of *England* unto *Rome*; when as the Commons made no such objections from the Evidence and proofs against him: Whereupon they replied, that he did but fight with his owne shadow, and absurd arguments of his owne framing (as he did in his Sear-chamber Speech) instead of repeating and answering their reall Objections and proofs against him, transforming his owne defence into their Charge and Evidence; a meer sophistically, Jesuiticall practice, of which he made use throughout his Tryall, to which we shall reply in order.

First, the Commons never objected, that ever he reduced any from popery, but that many were seduced to, and hardened in it by his meanes: Their Objection being; He was a meanes of seducing many to, and obdurating thousands in popery, by his introducing popish Doctrines, Innovations, Ceremonies, &c. Ergo, he went about to bring in popery, and reduce us back to *Rome*: That he reduced any from popery, is but his owne bare allegation in his first Speech and generall Defence, without any prooffe at all, but his owne bare word, which the Commons denied; himselfe confessing, that some of the eminentest of them presently relapsed after their conversion, and lived and dyed Papists: See then the falshood and fallacy of this mis-repeating Sophister, in the very first entrance and principall argument of his generall Defence.

Secondly, to his second and third arguments we retort; That the Commons never gave in evidence against his making or imposing the &c. Oath, or third new Canon, to prove him guilty of introducing popery, or endeavoring to reconcile us to *Rome*, but to two other different purposes, which he wholly pretermits; therefore his two arguments from them, as the Commons own, are meer forgeries, impostures of his owne: As for the &c. Oath, it hath no such clause in it as is pretended; indeed it hath this clause, *That I will not endeavour by my selfe or any other directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish Doctrine, contrary to that which is established*; which is but a meere pretence and policy, all or most popish Doctrines and Ceremonies being introduced, licensed, established among us when this Oath was made, as the premises evidence, and no Doctrine being then esteemed Popish but what the Archbishop pleased, though truly such: As for the third Canon, it enjoynes onely private conference with popish Recusants, and presentments, excommunications of such of them who are obstinate, and if they conforme not, then that their names shall be presented to the Judges of the Assize, which is no more then other Canons formerly enjoined to no purpose or effect at all, and was but a meer State-policy to stay the present clamours of the people and Scots against the Prelats, for their connivance at popery and confederacy with Papists, against those they stiled Puritans, and a thing not really intended, but pretended onely.

* Can. 63.
Can. 65, 66.

Thirdly, his fourth, fift and sixt arguments are of the same nature, meer Chimeras of his owne forging, which he would father on the Commons, who pressed these particulars against him in a far other manner, to which he gives no answer: His refusing of a Cardinals Cap, was onely because he desired to be an absolute independent Patriarch and Pope within the Kings Dominions: His Book against *Fisher* was published in his owne name upon entreaty of others, onely to blind the world, and stop the clamours against him, in making them believe thereby he was no friend to Papists or popery, when as we have proved the contrary out of that and other of his books. To that of *Habernsfield* we shall answer in due season; some deeming it onely a forgery or plot of his owne devising to justifie himselfe, others a reall truth.

Fourthly, his seventh argument is a most wilfull perversion of the Commons charge

charge, who expressly impeach him for endeavouring to cause division and discord between our owne and other reformed Churches, that so Papists might have the more advantage; which we have abundantly proved. And he makes the charge to be, that he endeavoured a reconciliation between the Lutherans and Calvinists (of which good act he was never guilty in the least degree, for ought he makes appeare, but of the quite contrary) Ergo, to reconcile the Church of ENGLAND to the Church of ROME.

By which strange prevarication and Jesuiticall sophistry, the world may cleerly discern, the sophistry, fallacy, and apparent Legerdemaine of this his generall Defence, and impertinency of his Answers, encountering onely his owne ridiculous fictions, not the Commons reall Objections.

Having recited these his generall Answers, we shall pursue him to his particular evasions to the evidence and proofes produced, to make good the second Branch of his first generall Charge, wherein he thus proceeded.

The first thing objected against me is, That I have ever been generally reputed a Papist, or person popishly affected, both in the University of Oxford, whiles resident there, and ever since; as likewise in Rome and in other forraigne parts; for proofe whereof, the testimonies of Doctor Featly, Sir Nathaniel Brent, Doctor Abbots Sermon, Doctor Hals Letter, Francis Harris his Deposition, with the testimonies of Sir Henry Mildmay, Master Anthony Mildmay, and Master Thomas Challoner have been produced. Obje. 1.
Page 409. to
415.

To this I answer; First, that all these are but hear-sayes or reports, and no convincing Evidence, that I was really a Papist, or inclined unto popery: Doctor Featly's testimony is but a report from one who said he was my Pupill, and that at Paris many yeers since, in forraigne parts: Sir Nathaniel Brent's testimony is but a report from Master Dale, of a thing long since, that my supposition was taken out of Bellarmine, which I deny: His further testimony is onely this, That Browne, with whom I kept company, was but a reputed (not an actuall) Papist during his life, and what he subjoynes, that he was found to be such a one after his death, is very conjecturall; for it appeares not that the Book objected was of his owne penning, though it were his hand-writing, for it might be a transcript: That I petitioned to King James, that I was traduced to be a Papist, is true, and I had good reason so to doe when I was thus traduced; and upon my Petition, the businesse was referred to the examination of divers worthy persons, and I cleared upon full hearing by the King: For Doctor Abbots Sermon, I complained of it, as I had cause, as being traduced by it; he was knowne to be my enemy, and to doe me wrong herein, therefore his words are not to be valued in this case; nor Doctor Hals Letter to W. L. which might be to some other as well as to me, who am not nominated therein: For Francis Harris his testimony, I never knew nor saw the man to my knowledge, and it is but a hearsay from one Ireland many yeers since, and that beyond the Sea; for Ireland himselfe I onely knew, but had no familiar acquaintance with him. Answer.

Secondly, for Sir Henry Mildmay's testimony, it is onely a bare rumour and report from some persons at Rome, unknowne both to me and him, purposely raised by the Papists to blast or wound my reputation, and what he now attested is quite contrary to that himselfe informed me at my Table at Lambeth, immediately after his returne from Rome, as I am ready to depose upon my corporall Oath, if I may be permitted: His Brother Master Anthony Mildmay his testimony is but an uncertaine report from I know not whom at Rome, that I was somewhat more favourable to their Religion then my Predecessors; and what he heard from Father Fitton, is but his report, and a false one too, of purpose to slander me, or deceive their Proselytes there: For Master Challoners testimony, it is but a report too, from I know not whom, and a discourse of others to him, without any ground arising from me; and I have cause to feare, that what he testified was meerly out of spleen, and a meer engine to ruine me, because upon

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complaint I caused him to be Committed for some high Offences charged against him, amounting to little lesse then Treason; to avoyd which, he was enforced to fly beyond the Seas, where he heard these reports concerning me, if we may beleve him; which are no evidence at all in Law.

Reply.

a Deut. 13. 12,
13, 14. Josh.
22. 11, 12.

To this the Commons replied; First, that though common fame be no convincing evidence of it self, yet in many cases both in common, Civill and Canon Law, it is a good ground of suspition, ^a inquisition, accusation and apprehension too, especially if it be a generall, universall and long continued fame both abroad and beyond the Seas, as this is; but being seconded with concurrent actions (as his) it is a most satisfactory prooffe; and in such a case, *vox populi, est vox Dei*: Besides, himselfe gave the occasion of this evidence, by his examining Sir Henry Mildmay, to know what report they gave, and what opinion or repute they had of him at Rome when he was there? Whether he were not the most odious man to them of any living, &c. If the reports and common fame they heard of him at Rome were no evidence at all to cleer him, as he reputed it, why then did he produce Sir Henry, as a principall witnesse for him, and examine him meerly what report and repute he had at Rome? If he conceived it good evidence to cleere him, in case Sir Henries testimony had proved answerable to his expectation, then certainly it must be as available to confirme and prove his guilt, yea Sir Henries testimony falling quite crosse to what he pretended, must needs be farre stronger against him, then it could have been for him, had he testified what the Archbishop pretended; because he is a witnesse of his owne producing, and had been but a single witnesse for him, but is seconded with two more concurrent testimonies against him, even concerning the opinion they had of him in Rome it selfe, which is backed with a generall opinion of the same kind both among Papists and Protestants too, who concurred in their judgements and reports concerning his good affection to Popery, and endeavours to reconcile us to the Church of Rome: Yea as this good opinion and report concerning him was universall in all places, both abroad and at home, so it is fortified by a publike charge in Parliament given in against him, by the two whole Kingdomes of England and Scotland, and confirmed by so many pregnant evidences of all sorts, that it must needs be granted to be a most enforcing, convincing argument of his guilt; the rather because himselfe gave the first occasion of this kind of evidence: For Doctor Featlies testimony, it is a report of one of the Archbishops owne Pupils, who best knew his opinions: Sir Nathaniel Brents testimony is upon his owne knowledge, ratified by the concurrent opinions of others, grounded upon his popish supposition taken out of Bellarmine, his familiarity with Master Browne a reputed Papist, *Noscitur ex Comite*: Upon his owne confession in his Petition, and the common fame of the Univerfity; that he was cleered upon his Petition of this imputation he produceth no evidence at all, neither mentions he any particular time when, nor persons by whom he was cleered: For Doctor Abbots Sermon, it is the clearest testimony in the world, that he was then generally reputed a Papist in the Univerfity both by Protestants, and Papists, and likewise in forraigne parts, for which cause alone and no other, this Doctor was his enemy: As for his complaint against it as injurious, it no way extenuates nor takes off the common fame and reputation of being a Papist, which Doctor Hals Letter (not denied by him to be written and meant of himselfe) and Francis Harris his testimony second and confirme: Whereas he saith, he never knew nor saw this Harris, this invalids not his testimony, and his little acquaintance with Ireland was so great in reallity, that he knew him, if not, *intus & in cute*, yet by common Fame and Reputation, to be a Papist in heart opinion, and the onely thing for which we produce his testimony.

Secondly, for Sir Henry Mildmayes testimony, it is more then a bare report, for he testifies on his owne certaine knowledge, that which the Archbishop produced him to prove, what opinion the Jesuits, Priests and Papists had of him at Rome when

when he was there, together with the reasons of their opinions and report; and he deposeth the truth hereof quite contrary to what the Archbishop suggested: whose Oath is not to be credited in his owne case, to impeach Sir *Henries* testimony, fortified with two others concurring with it: The like we answer to Captaine *Anthony Mildmayes* and Master *Challoners* testimonies; they both depose what opinions and reports the Popes Nuncio *Con*, Father *Fittón*, Father *Talbot*, and other *English Jesuits, Priests* and forraigne *Papists* had of the Archbishops good affection to their Religion, and how instrumentall he was to introduce Popery, and reduce us backe to *Rome*, declaring punctually each particular: Therefore their testimonies are all reall, and no hear-sayes or bare reports, as he pretends. As for Master *Challoners* pretended malice, it is but a bare surmise, and being a Gentleman of quality and integrity, this poore pretence is altogether insufficient to disparage his testimony upon Oath: The rather, because the Archbishops endeavours to imprison and bring him into the High Commission heretofore, was, onely for speaking of the Priests and Jesuits Plots to bring in Popery, and some of our Bishops compliance with them; the party who complained against him, being both a Priest and Jesuit, now in actuall Armes against the Parliament, in the Kings Army, (as Master *Challoner* deposed;) a great confirmation of the truth of his Testimony, and of the Archbishops guilt. In few words, all these recited testimonies, what opinion they had at *Oxford* heretofore, and at *Rome*, and other places since, of his being a Papist, and confederating with them in their Designe of introducing Popery by inches, and reducing us backe to *Rome*, compared with his preceding practises, doe fix this charge so fast upon him, that all his Sophistry or Oratory cannot shake it off.

The second thing objected is this, That there was a dangerous Plot laid and seriously pursued, to introduce Popery, and reconcile the Church of *England* to the Church of *Rome*; to which I was privy, and had certaine notice of it, yet I complied with it, and never laboured to prevent it; which the Commons laboured to prove by divers generall instances: First, by the Spanish Match, propounded to the King when Prince of *Wales*, and his sending over into *Spaine*, of purpose to pervert him in his Religion, as appears by the Articles of the Treaty; the Popes Letters to the Prince and Bishop of *Conchen* when in *Spaine*, the Articles of the Duke of *Buckingham* against the Lord *Digby*, and the Lord *Digbies* against him in full Parliament, Anno 1626. To which they Object I was privy, because I was Confessor to the Duke, and his Cabinet Counsell at that time, and because my Letter to Bishop *Hall*, my owne Diary, and Letters to and from the Duke, whiles in *Spaine*, with the Note in my Masse Booke discover and confirme it: Secondly, by the French Match with the Queen promoted purposely to usher in Popery, and to reconcile us unto *Rome*; to which they Object I was privy and assistant, as my Letters to the Duke, my intimacy and compliance with the Queen, my inhibitng Ministers to pray, and punishing them for praying for the Queens conversion, my censuring of Master *How* for praying, That the young Prince might not be brought up in Popery, with my magnifying of Queen *Maries* dayes, and depressing King *Edwards* and Queen *Elizabeths*, demonstrate.

Secondly, by sundry particular instances; as First, *Ludovicus a Sancta Maria* his Conclusiones Theologicae: Secondly, the Plot discovered to me by *Habernfield*: Thirdly, the Dedicating of *Fastidius* his Works to the King by Cardinall *Barbarino*: Fourthly, *Sancta Clara* his *Deus, Natura, Gratia*, writ of purpose to reconcile us to *Rome*, with which I was acquainted, and maintained the Author of it, Saint *Giles*, a most dangerous seducing Priest, in the University of *Oxford*: Fifthly, the proffers of Cardinalships to English men, and twice to my selfe: Sixthly, the strange encrease and proceedings of Papists, Priests, Jesuits, and the Popish Hierarchy in *Ireland*, to which I was privy,

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yet

Object. 2.

yet denied it, and incensed the King, against the Commons for complaining of it: Seventhly, the Popes sending of divers Nuncios successively into *England*, where they relided, and were publickly entertained, with our reciprocall sending and maintaining Agents at *Rome*, to work a Reducement of us back to that Antichristian See.

Answer.

To this I answer, First, that I was neither the Author nor Fomenter of the Spanish Match, nor of the Kings Voyage into *Spaine*, which was charged on the Duke and the Lord Digby: It is true, my Lord Duke was pleased to enter into a neer familiarity with me, and to make me his Confessor, and that I writ Letters to him into *Spaine*, and received Letters from him thence; but this proves not that I was privy to that Plot; as for the Popes Letters to the Prince and the Bishop of *Conchen* in *Spaine*, to pervert him in his Religion, they are nothing to me, and my Letter to Bishop *Hall*, was many years after that Match broken off.

Secondly, there is no prooffe of my furthering the Match with *France*, or that the end of it was to reduce us back to *Rome*; the respects and services I did for the Queen, were no more then in civility and duty I ought to performe out of the duty I bare to the King my Master, whose Consort and Wife she is; her gracious favour towards me, proceeded only from her owne gracious disposition, not from my deserts or seeking; and I had no reason to reject it, because it would be a meanes for me to work the more effectually upon her Majesty: For my giving Order in my Metropolitall Visitation to my Visitor, to inhibit Ministers to pray for the Queens conversion, or questioning any for praying for it, I absolutely deny it; and for Master *How*, he was justly censured for his prayer, it being scandalous to his Majesty in questioning his care of the Princes education in the true Religion, and insuling jealousies into the peoples heads, of his education in Popery, and inclination to it. As for my pretended magnifying of *Queene Maries* dayes, and depressing of *King Edwards* and *Queene Elizabeths*, in the Preface to the OXFORD STATUTES, I answer, that that Preface is none of mine, nor proved to be so; and if it were, yet the words relate to the State and Statutes of the Vniversity of *Oxford* only in their dayes, not of our Church and Religion.

Secondly, to the particular Instances, I answer, that the first, second and third of them concerne not me: I was neither the cause, nor author of, nor privy to them, nor could I hinder them, and the second of them is a strong evidence for me; For the fourth of them, *Sancta Clara* his Book, it was printed at *Lyons*, not at *London*, and *Saint Giles* was not the Author of it, but another Fryar, I had no hand in it, nor was privy to it; yet it was disliked by many of the Papiſts, because it gave much advantage to our Church and Religion: For his being at *Oxford*, it was much against my will, by the Kings speciall Warrant, for which I have his hand, and I maintained him not there, but the King. To the fifth, the proffer of Cardinals Caps to others, is nothing to me; and for the offer of a Cardinalship to my selfe two severall times, as I could not hinder the offers, so I rejected them, and acquainted the King both with the person and thing, which is all I could doe, expressing the cause of my refusall thereof, to be, That something dwelt within me that would not suffer that till *Rome* were other then it is, as appears by my owne Diary: The strongest Evidence that can be to acquit me from any compliancy with *Rome*. To the sixth I answer, that the encrease and proceedings of the Papiſts in *Ireland*, mentioned in the Objected Letters and Papers, are nothing to me, I was not the cause nor author thereof; the Monasteries and Nunneries mentioned in them, were but poor little houses; My answer to the Commons Remonstrance was penned by the Kings speciall command, as appears by the endorsement, & I knew not of these Irish papers, nor of the encrease of popery there, when I returned an answer to the Remonstr. An. 1628. these Proclamations, letters, papers being dated since that time: for the Deputies letters they are nothing to me, I could not hinder the

the writing and directing of them to me, and himsef hath already been impeached, condemned for his Actions, for which I am not to answer. To the seventh I say, it was not in my power to hinder the Popes sending his *Nuncios* hither, which the *King* condescended to upon the *Queens* earnest desire, to accommodate and satisfie her Majesty in some things which concerned her in her Religion. For the Agents sent and residing in *Rome* they were hers, not mine, sent thither by her Majesty without my privy, and against my liking.

To this was replied; First, that the forementioned Evidence fully demonstrates that the Archbishop was both privy, consenting, assisting to the *Spanish Match*, Voyage, and to the very *Instructions* given to the Prince before he went into *Spain*, how he ought to satisfie the Pope about *King James* his proving him to be the *Antichrist*, in his publique writings; therefore the Popes Letter to the Prince and Bishop of *Conchen*, to pervert the Prince in his Religion; with the *Dukes* and Lord *Digbys* attempts there, to seduce him to popery, and reconcile our Churches and Kingdomes to *Rome* by this meanes (contained in their mutuall Articles of Impeachment, the Copies of which Letters and Articles were found in his owne Study by Master *Prynne*) must needs concerne him, since he could not be ignorant, that the Pope and his Instruments would use their utmost diligence to seduce the Prince to their Religion, when they had him thus sent, and betrayed into their power for that very purpose; and his Letter to Bishop *Hall*, though written but of late, long after that intended Match, yet fully relates his privy to the most secret Instructions before it, to gratifie and please the very Pope himsef, and prevent his Objections against the Match, or *King James*. For the *French Match*, the Evidence proves he was both privy, consenting and assisting to it, even after he knew the danger of it in point of Religion, both to the King and Kingdom, by the proceedings and Articles in the *Spanish Treaty*, being both the very same in substance; whereas his intimacy, power with the *King*, *Duke*, and quality of his place as he was a Bishop, yea Confessor to one or both of them, should have engaged him (had he been a reall Protestant) to have used his utmost endeavours to dissuade the King and Duke from both these *Popish Matches*, as most perilous, destructive to our Religion; the sad effects whereof we now visibly behold in our civill wars, and read in Characters written with our owne blood. For his intimacy with the *Queen*, it favours of farre more then civility or duty, and her extraordinary favours to him proceeded from no other cause, but his compliance with her Majesty to introduce popery, and reduce us back to *Rome*, as appears by his proceedings against Master *Gellibrand* in the High Commission for his *Almanack* (wherein the popish Saints were expunged, and our Martyrs inserted) at her Majesties request, by his prohibiting Ministers to pray, and censuring them for praying for her conversion to our Religion, which we have punctually proved, and of Master *Howe* for praying to God to preserve the young Prince from being brought up in Popery, of which there was great feare; a harmlesse, yea necessary prayer, both in respect of the *Queen Mother*, then too neer him, and the *Queen*, who by the Articles of the Match, was to have a great hand in his Education till he was fourteen yeers of age, as also in regard of the Popes *Nuncios*, the seducing *Jesuits*, *Priests* and *Capucines* about the *Queen*, Court, Him, and childrens naturall pronenesse unto error: Which prayers, admit they had been an oversight, yet proceeding from a godly Christian Zeale, deserved onely a private admonition, not open prosecution, or High Commission censure; but his making of them so publickly criminall, and censuring those so severely for them, of purpose to deterre all others from praying for the *Queens* conversion, or against the Princes perversion, is an undeniable argument of his good affection to Popery, and attempts to reduce us thereunto: For his extolling *Queen Maries*, and deprelling *King Edwards*, and *Queen Elizabeths* dayes, the words sufficiently declare, it was as well in reference to the Religion then professed, as to the *University Statutes*, and the Preface it selfe is of his owne making as well as the *Statutes*, as we shall more fully manifest in due place by his own letters.

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Secondly,

Reply.

Secondly, to the particular instances, the Commons made this reply; First, that their maine end in producing them was onely to demonstrate, that the Pope and his Instruments had a reall Plot and desigme to introduce Popery, and reduce us back to Rome, and that the Archbishop could not but know and take speciall notice thereof by all these particular Letters, Papers, Books, found in his owne Study, sent, written to himselfe, endorsed with his owne hand, or recorded in his Diary; which should have engaged him with greater vigilancy, care, animosity, to have opposed them and their designs: In which regard, the three first of them, with all the rest most neerly concerned him, neither doth, nor can he plead ignorance of them: Secondly, that though all these particulars prove not, that he promoted, confederated with them in their designs, yet some of them directly prove it, as his countenancing of *Sancta Clara* his Books, his maintaining of *Saint Giles* (a most dangerous seducing Popish Priest) many yeers in the Univerfity of Oxford; his opposing, answering the Commons Remonstrance against the dangerous open encrease and practises of Papists in Ireland to set up Popery there, and branding it as a scandalous untruth: Thirdly, for *Habernfields* plot, we shall prove how it makes against him in due time; and for *Sancta Clara* his Book of *Reconciliation*, we have proved; First, that he knew of it, and had both the Book and Author brought to him by his Favourite Doctor *Linsey* before it was printed; this we have under his owne hand, therefore it is monstrous impudency in him to deny it: Secondly, that this Book when printed, was presented to, reserved by him in his study, and the Author with him there some three or four times afterwards: Thirdly, that it was printed and publickly sold here in *Londō* without controll: Fourthly, that his creatures both abroad and at home much applauded it: Fifthly, that *Saint Giles* was the Author of it, a popish Priest whom himselfe sent to, and maintained in the Univerfity of Oxford, to pervert and seduce Schollers there; That he had the Kings Warrant for it, is no excuse, and the Warrant being without date, written with his owne hand, and signed by the King to help at a dead lift, favours of meer fraud, circumvention, and will amount to an aggravation, but no extenuation of his crime: Fourthly, the proffer of a Cardinalship twice unto him, even at Court, so soon as he was nominated Archbishop, proves the good opinion that the popish party had of his inclination to their party and Religion; his concealing the names of the parties that made him the offer (which he will not disclose) and his not prosecuting and complaining against them to bring them to publique justice, prove that he deemed this proffer no injury nor disparagement: if a poor Puritan did but write against Popery or Popish Innovations, he presently prosecuted him in the High Commission or Star-chamber, where he was sure to be fined, imprisoned, pillorred, stigmatized, scourged, banished; but he that seriously tendred him a Cardinals Cap twice one after another, escaped scot-free, without so much as being once questioned for it: As for his informing the King thereof, it was not by way of complaint, but advice; and his answer to the King, if true, is no absolute rejection of the Dignity, but rather an adjournment for the present, his ambitious itching desire of being a Pope and Parriarch throughout his Majesties Dominions, testified by Sir Henry, and Master Anthony Mildmay, with Master Cholloner, making him refuse the present offer, not any detestation of Popery, or reconciliation with Rome: To the sixt was replied, that it appeared by the Bishops Protestation in Ireland, that he knew of the great growth and power of Papists there even in the year 1626. two yeers before his Answer to the Commons Remonstrance, which lyes on him substantially to prove, that it was made by the Kings command, as to this particular, not yet attempted by him, his owne bare endorsement being no prooffe in his owne case: The Letters, Papers afterwards received by him from Ireland, most cleerly manifest his exact intelligence of popish Priests and Papists dangerous encrease and proceedings there, without the least opposition from him, or complaint against them: The smalnesse of their Monasteries, *Nunneries* there erected, is no extenuation of his guilt: Small evils not suppressed will

will prove grand universall mischiefes in short time; as those their Monasteries and Nunneries there have done: For the Lord *Deputies* Letters; it's true, he could not hinder the directing and sending of them to him; but he might have hindered, prevented the execution of his desperate popish project related in them; and have crushed it in the shell, which he never did: To the seventh was answered, that his extraordinary former power both with the King and Queen, might and should have engaged him so farre, as to prevent those *Roman Nuncios* arrivall, here, and our Agents at Rome, whom he never so much as once opposed for ought appeares, but complied with, by his Agents, *Bishop Mountague* and *Secretary Windbank*, as we have fully manifested, when as he should rather have lost his Archbishoprick, liberty, life, then have any way consented to it in the least degree, and openly resisted it to his utmost power.

The third Objection against me is, my compliance with the popish party, and endeavours to introduce Popery, advance the Papists Designes, and reduce us back to Rome by seven particulars formerly insisted on, and now onely recapitulated with reference to the former proofs. Object. 3.
Pag. 441, 442.

To most of all these I have given full answers before, and therefore shall be the briefer in giving further answers to them now. The first, second, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh instances I deny, in the sense they are pressed, and have acquitted my selfe from them in the premises: To the third I shall give some further Answer.

Answer.

First, it is there objected, that I maintainted the Church of Rome to be a true Church, and that she erred not in Fundamentals; no not in the worst times, but onely Circa Fundamentalia: And that I justified *Chowneus* his Book, who maintained the same. I answer, that I did & doe maintaine her to be a true Church *Veritate entis*, not *Moris*, though corrupt & erronious in some points, as a thief is a true man, though a thiefe: And in my Book against *Fisher*, I charge her with some grosse corruptions, errors, to the very endangering of salvation, and with superstition too: Secondly, I am charged that I did maintaine at Doctor *Bastwicks* censure, that she erred not in *Fundamentalibus*, but *Circa Fundamentalia*; this distinction I shall still maintaine. There is a great difference between *Fundamentalia* and *Superstructoria*, and yet some circumstantialis may destroy the foundation: For example; First, *Quid* What it is a man beleeves; if a man beleeves the Trinity without the Unity, or the Unity without the Trinity, this plucks up the Foundation: Secondly, *Ubi*, the circumstance of place; for if any should deny that Christ was borne, or took his flesh in *Judea*, this grates upon the very foundation: Thirdly, *Quibus Auxiliis*, we beleeve, convert and doe works of piety; by nature or grace? If by the strength of nature onely, as the *Pelagians* held, this endangers the foundation: Fourthly, *Quando*, as to deny that Christ is not already come in the flesh, this subverts the foundation, though but a circumstance: And it is a rule in the Schools, *Aliqua circumstantia dat speciem morali actioni*; and in this sense the Church of Rome doth erre about fundamentals. Thirdly, it is alleaged, that I hold the Religion of the Church of England and Rome is both one; Conference with *Fisher*, page 576. I answer, that it is one and the same Religion in the generall; to wit, the Christian Religion; But yet I there write; That we differ in the same Religion, though we set not up a different Religion; and the difference is in certaine grosse corruptions, to the very endangering of salvation, which each side sayes the other is guilty of. Fourthly, that I maintaine, people may be saved in the Roman Church and Religion; I answer, that other learned Protestants are of the same opinion, not generally of all, but of those among them who want meanes of better instruction; yet I hold it is very dangerous to continue in that Church and Religion, for any who have means to come out of them. Fifthly, that I hold the Pope is not the Antichrist, and therefore I caused this Title given him to be expunged, & authorized, received, printed Books denying him to be Antichrist, as *Shelfords* and others, contrary to our *Homilies*, *Writers*, and the *Articles of Ireland*: I answer, that no man can charge me, that I hold the Pope not to be

be *Antichrist*: It is a great question even among learned Protestants, whether he be so or not. The Church of England hath not positively resolved him to be so: The *Homilies* define him not to be *Antichrist*: and the *Articles of Ireland* binde not us here. My expunging of this Title and others of that nature was upon other grounds. However, it is no such undoubted Article of Faith, as *Powell* in his Booke *De Antichristo*, with others, make it. As for the objected Books, I neither Licensed nor approved them, though I had them in my Study. Sixtly, it is objected, that I hold the Pope to be supream head of the Church; Though *Francis Sales*, and others stile him so, they must answer for it, its nothing at all to me who hold it not. As for his titles given me by *Croxton* & the University of Oxford in their Letters, it was without my privity, I could not hinder it; and the same Titles have been usually given to Bishops in former ages, as appears by the Epistles of Saint Cyprian, Augustine and others. Seventhly, for *Pocklington* and Bishop *Mountagues* deriving my Succession from *Augustine*, *Gregory*, and Saint *Peters Chaire at Rome*; it was without my privity: It is no more then Master *Mason* hath proved long before my time; and the Papists would give you harty thanks, could you disprove this lineall Succession of our Bishops.

Reply.

To this was replied in generall, that all the seven objected particulars prove a most apparant designe in him to introduce Popery, and reconcile us to Rome; and that all his Answers to them had been formerly disproved as false and impertinent. In particular, That the Church of Rome was no true Church at all, but a false, Antichristian, as well as a corrupt Church. for First, it hath no true Foundation, being not built upon the Apostles, Prophets, and Christ the corner-Stone. Secondly, no true Head, Ordinances, Sacraments, Worship, but a false adulterous head, the Pope; corrupt Ordinances, Sacraments, and a meere Idolatrous, superstitious wil-worship. Thirdly, no true Ministry, nor government of Christs institution. Fourthly, she yeelds no true Subjection nor Obedience to Christ, his laws, word, spirit, but opposeth him and them in all. Fifthly, she is over-spread with a Leprosie of damnable Errours in Doctrine, corruptions in Faith, Manners, Ordinances, Government. Sixtly, the definition of a true visible Church in our *Homilies* and Writers agrees not to her. Seventhly, our *Homilies*, Writers define her to be a false Church, not a true, who are all mustered up together by Master *Burton* in his *Babell no Bethell*, where she is largely proved to be no true Church. For his distinction, that she is a true Church *Veritate Entis*, though not *Moris*, as a Thiefe is a true man; it is a meere childish evasion: For it is not the meere entity and being of a company of men, that makes up a Church, or true Church; for if so, the Turks, Pagans, or any assembly else should be a true Church, as well as the Protestants; but a company of men rightly qualified, to wit; professing the true Christian Faith, among whom the Word of God is truly Preached, and the Sacraments duly administred. To set then the distinction and comparison right. If one should demand of the Archbishop, Whether a Thiefe be a true man or no? as this phrase true man, in our ordinary language signifies an honest just-dealing man, with reference to his qualities, morals, not his Entity or being as a meer man: himself grants that he is no true man, but a false one, in this sense, in this very distinction; and to answer, that he is a true man in regard of his essence, therefore a true man in respect of his Morals, were a meer impertinency, & Nonsequitur. By the selfe-same reason, when we demand of him, Whether the Church of Rome be a true Church? and he answers She is so, *Veritate entis*, for she consists of a company of persons, or reall men; not *veritate moris*, for that they are not so truly qualified in those Morals, or rather supernaturall principles which makes them to be a true Church: Himselfe must needs grant, that his distinction is fallacious, in applying this *veritas entis* to them as they are a Church, not men; or else yeeld that they are a false, but no true Church, because his not *veritate Moris*, can be applyed to nothing else but to such morall and divine qualifications, as should make them a true Church; so as his owne distinction directly

rectly subverts this his false conclusion of her being a true Church; and his charging her with grosse Corruptions, Errors, Superstitions, to the endangering of salvation doth the like.

Secondly, it was retorted, that his distinction of her erring onely *circa fundamentalia*, not in *Fundamentalibus*, was a falshood: For first, her affirming the Church to be built upon Peter and the Pope, not Christ the chiefe corner-stone. Her denying the Scriptures to be Scriptures but as they are grounded on, confirmed and expounded by the Authority of the Church and Pope, Her making Apocryphall Scriptures Canonically, and so adding to the Scriptures. Her giving the Pope power to null and dispence with things against the Scriptures. Her resolving the foundation of all our Faith into the Church; To beleve as the Church beleeves, not into the Scriptures themselves. Her deifying of the Virgin Mary, Saints, Images, in praying to and adoring them with divine worship. Her joyning of Saints Merits and Mediations with Christs, and making them joynt Saviours, Mediators & Advocates with him. Her turning the Sacrament of the Lords Supper into a Propitiatory Massing Sacrifice, of as great or greater Merit as Christs own Sacrifice on the crosse; adoring the consecrated Bread, as their Lord God and Christ himselfe. Her taking away the Sacramentall Cup from the Laity, point-blanke against Christs owne Institution. Her giving Christ an ubiquitary body on earth, instead of a glorified body in heaven; her tying people to pray to God in an unknown tongue, with her creating a new head of the Church in Christs stead, the Pope, who hath the Keyes of Heaven, Hell and Purgatory too; and can pardon sins, release Soules out of Hell and Purgatory at his pleasure; with her abolishing the second Commandement out of the Decalogue; What are they all but *Fundamentall Errors*, nullifying that Church which maintaines them, and not Errors onely about the foundation?

For his foure instances, that circumstances may undermine and destroy the Foundation: We answer, First, that neither of all these instances concerne the Papists or Church of Rome, the subject in question; therefore altogether impertinent. Secondly, they are not meer circumstantialls, but fundamentals; because directly contrary to the expresse words of Scripture and Articles of our Faith, of which they are unseparable parts; which if false in any part, may and will be false in the whole, and no ground of Faith at all. For the rule of the Schools we agree it, but how he applies it to his distinction, or the Church of Rome, we cannot yet discern.

Thirdly, it was replied; That the Religion of the Church of Rome and England is not one and the same; For that which they repute the maine part of their Religion, is no Christian Religion at all, nor part of the Christian Religion, but meere Antichristian Errour, Superstition, corruption, Idolatry. And in his Booke he doth no more charge her with some grosse corruptions endangering Salvation, then she chargeth us, as the perusal of his words demonstrates. Fourthly, his justifying salvation to be had in this false Antichristian Church and Religion, denying the foundation, is contrary to the opinion of all Otthodox Protestants, who make her damnable Errours the ground of their separation from her. And though some affirme, that divers in the Church of Rome are saved; yet none are saved by being of that Church, or by that Faith and Doctrine which she properly calls her Faith and Religion, wherein she differs from us, but by their relying onely on Christs merits, which she disclaimes.

Fifthly, his deleting all phrases, clauses calling or intimating the Pope to be the Antichrist, is a cleer evidence, that he holds him not to be so: Else his sinne, fault will prove the greater in purging out that as Heterodox and scandalous, which himselfe beleeves to be a truth. For our Statutes, Homilies, Writers, they define the Pope either in direct termes, or equivalent expressions to be Antichrist and our Church, yea State in them, at leastwise in our forecited Statutes, and the Subsidy, Act 3. Jac. penned by the Convocation. As for the Articles of Ireland, though they

they bind us not, yet being taken out of the Articles and Homilies of England, they sufficiently declare the resolution of our Church as well as theirs, that the Pope is Antichrist; and Doctor Usher Primate of Armagh, in a Letter of his to the Archbishop himselfe, Jan. 4. 1635. (the very day of his birth) writes, *That this conceit is so rife in the minds and mouths of the Papists now adayes, THAT WE ARE COMMING ON AND EVERY DAY DRAWING NIGHER UNTO THEM THEN OTHER; for the stopping of whose slanderous mouths, let this suffice, That whatsoever others imagine of the matter, I stand fully convinced in my conscience, THAT THE POPE IS ANTICHRIST; and therefore if I should be so mad as to worship the Beast, or receive the marke of his name, I must be αὐτοα τακτικός, and justly expect the revenge that is threatned against such,* Apoc. 14. 10, 11. Wherefore for this Arch-Prelat to question it, to purge out all passages styling him *Antichrist*, after such a Letter, to suffer such Books to be printed, and retaine them in his Study, which deny him to be *Antichrist*, without any censure of them or their Authors, is a grand offence, savouring of his good affection to the Pope.

Sixtly, though himself gives not this title of *Supream head* to the Pope in direct terms, yet he doth it in effect in his owne Book, and his Chaplaine licensed it in *Sales*, for which himself must answer. As for the papall titles given him by Master Croxton & the whole Univerfity of Oxford, in severall Letters, it was certainly with his approbation, else he would have reprehended them for it, which he never did: These titles are such as of later times have been appropriated only to the Pope, and were never given to any of his Predecessors in any Age, much lesse to any Protestant Bishop: And though one of them (as *Sanctissime Pater*) may perchance be found in Cyprians and Augustines genuine Epistles; yet *Sanctitas* in the abstract, can hardly be shewed in any of their true Epistles, nor was ever appropriated to any for many hundred of Ages, but to the Pope: As for the other exorbitant and blasphemous titles, no Father nor ancient Author was ever guilty of giving or affirming them.

Obje. 4.

Seventhly, for Pocklington and Mountagues deriving his pedigree and succession from Rome, it is in such phrase and language, as was never used by Mason, or any else in former times, with a meere intention to reconconcile, reduce our Church and Prelats to Rome, from whence they derive their pedigree; the end of all these new positions and objected particulars against the Archbishop, the guilt whereof still rest upon him, notwithstanding all his Evasions to shake it off.

The fourth thing charged against me to make good this Branch, is my holding intelligence, correspondence with the Popes Nuncios, Agents, Priests, Jesuits, by my Favourites and Instruments, as by Bishop Mountague and Secretary Windebanke, advanced by my meanes; the later of them, as appears by many produced Letters and Testimonies, holding intelligence with Cardinall Barbarino (who entertained his Sonnes at Rome) the Popes Nuncios, and with divers dangerous Priests, Jesuits, whom he protected, released out of prison, and imprisoned the Messengers who usually apprehended them, till they gave bond, never to apprehend nor prosecute Priests any more.

Answer.

To this I answer, First, that there is no cleer prooffe of Bishop Mountagues advancement by me, or intelligence or compliance with the Popes Nuncio, Priests, or Jesuits; but if there were, it is nothing to me, being without my privity, knowledge, or approbation: Secondly, for Secretary Windebanke, it is very true, I was the meanes of advancing him to the Secretaries place (being my ancient friend and acquaintance) but not with any intent to advance Popery, protect or release Priests, Jesuits, or hold any correspondence with the Pope or his instruments; if he proved so ill an instrument after his advancement, it was beyond my expectation, himselfe must answer, and hath been impeached for it, not I: For the Letters he received from the Popes Nuncio Panzani, the Queens Priests, or his Sonnes, with their going to, and entertainment at Rome, they concerne

not

not me, who was not privy to them nor their entertainment : But it is objected, that we continued our friendship still, notwithstanding I knew his correspondency with, releasing and protecting Priests, Jesuits, and joyned with him in some Warrants : I answer, that it is well knowne that he and I were at variance and distance of later times, he deserting me in the businesse of the late Lord Treasurer *Weston*, and for my hand to one Warrant jointly with his and others for a Priests release, it was but casuall, we being then both together at the Counsell Table, where his Release was condescended to, upon sufficient baile and caution, at the Queens request.

To this was replied ; First, that *Mountagues* correspondency with the Popes Nuncio, Priests, Jesuits, his popish inclination and endeavours to reconcile and reduce us back to *Rome*, are abundantly proved in the premises, with his good affection to, and compliance with him in this designe, the end and cause of his advancing him to two severall Bishopricks, the last wherof was *Norwich*: In his account from whence to the Archbishop, himself for the yeer 1638. (written with his owne hand, endorsed with the Archbishops, and found in his Study) there is this notable clause concerning *King Henry the eighth*, the first suppressor of the Popes power among us ; *The Bishoprick of Norwich, since the totall desolation and dissolution of the former Bishoprick by King Henry the eighth, WHO STOLE THE SHEEP, AND GAVE NOT SO MUCH AS THE TROTTERS FOR GODS SAKE, is a meane thing,* (though worth above one thousand pounds per annum) A most ingrate and scandalous expression of an avaritious popish Prelat, unworthy of so fat a Bishoprick, who instead of being Shepherded, became a Wolfe, devouring not onely the Sheep, but Shepherds of his Diocesse, and vexing them more with his popish Visitation, Articles, then ever *KING HENRY the 8.* did the Prelates by diminishing their over-large Possessions.

Reply.

Secondly, for Secretary *Windebank*, it is undeniable ; First, that the Archbishop was the onely meanes of his advancement to that place of trust : Secondly, that he was his meer creature, instrument, bosome-friend, and privy to all his actions : Thirdly, this intimacy and friendship of theirs, continued till *Windebanks* flight hence into *France*, upon the Parliaments impeachment against him for harbouring and releasing Priests and Jesuits, and that the transitory short difference between them about the Lord Treasurer *Weston*, had no relation at all to any thing concerning Priests or Religion, wherein they both accorded : Fourthly, that the same Priests and Jesuits, as *Sir Toby Matthebw, Smith, Leander, Sancta Clara* and *Price*, were intimate and familiar with them both : Fifthly, that they both concurred in checking, discouraging, imprisoning, *Gray, Thatcher, Waddesworth*, and others for apprehending Priests, Jesuits, and in calling *Gray* a Priest-catching knave ; Sixthly, that they both joyned together in some Warrants for the release of Priests ; and his excuse, that it was by casualty when they were both at the Counsell Table, where others joyned with them, is no extenuation of his offence ; where he being the over-potent member, should have engaged all the rest to oppose such an illegall scandalous action, and not have drawne them on thereto, by setting his hand first to the Warrant : But it was to gratifie the Queen, and promote the Roman Catholick Cause, therefore to shew his forwardnesse, his hand must be first to this Priests discharge, that so he might the more freely walk abroad to seduce his Majesties Subjects : Seventhly, for *Panzanies*, Father *Josephs*, Father *Phillips*, with his sonnes and the Lord *Scudamores* Letters to Secretary *Windebank*, though they are nothing to the Archbishop in point of charge, simply considered (in which sense we urge them not) yet they are infallible evidences of Secretary *Windebanks* correspondency and intelligence with the Popes Nuncios, Priests, Jesuits, of Cardinall *Barbarinoes*, and others respects to him and his Sonnes, of his extraordinary protection of Priests, Jesuits, and that he was their instrument, the onely end for which we produced them ;

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and

and being compar'd with his advancement of, and intimacy with *Windebank*, notwithstanding the frequent complaints to himselfe and the Counsell of his releasing, protecting Priests, Jesuits, and with that generall good opinion the Priests and Papists had generally at *Rome*, and in other forraigne parts of the Archbishops owne reall endeavours to promote their Religion here, and reduce us back to *Rome* (testified by *Sir Henry*, and Master *Anthony Mildmay*, Master *Challoner* and others) it will amount to a full proof of a confederacy between them to effect this dangerous Romish Designe, notwithstanding all his evasions; to accomplish which, this Secretary was as active an instrument for him in the State, as *Mountague* and other Prelats in the Church.

Object. 5.

The fift thing objected to prove my reall intentions, endeavours to introduce popery, and reconcile us unto *Rome*, is my intimacy and correspondency with divers dangerous Priests and Jesuits, as *Saint Giles*, *Sir Toby Matthew*, *Smith* the Jesuit, *Leander*, *Price*, the Bishop of *Calcedon* Doctor *Smith*, and others; one of which [*Saint Giles*] I am charged to have maintained in the University of *Oxford* sundry yeers, to corrupt and seduce Schollers there; my discouraging, threatening and abusing Pursevants for their diligence in apprehending Priests and Jesuits; my not committing Priests, or discharging them when brought unto me by them; my imprisoning *Gray*, and calling him Priest-catching knave; my connivance at the liberty that Priests and Jesuits had in the New-prison, Clink and elsewhere; my causing many popish Books to be restored to the owners when seized (contrary to the Statute) that so they might be dispersed to seduce his Majesties Subjects; some of which particulars are proved by papers under my owne hand, seized by Master *Prynne*, who ransackt my Study and Chamber; others, by the testimonies of *Wadsworth*, *Newton*, *Deuxell*, *Mayo*, *Goldsmith*, *Cooke*, *Egerton*, *Elizabeth Gray* and *Thatcher*: And out of my owne Book they alleage, I never perswaded nor practised any persecution against popish Priests or Jesuits.

Answer.

To this I answer in generall; First, that if the designe charged against me, were onely to reconcile the Church of *England* and *Rome* together in a just and Christian way, so farre as it might stand with truth and piety, I hope no Christian can blame, but rather commend me for such an enterprize; Such a reconciliation between both Churches as this, I confesse I have long desired, endeavoured, and published as much to the world in my *Reply to Fisher*, p. 388. in these words; *I have with a faithfull and single heart, laboured the meeting, the blessed meeting of TRUTH AND PEACE in Christs Church, which God I hope will in due time effect*: But other reconciliation then this to the prejudice of truth and piety, I never attempted, as my Epistle to that Book will manifest.

Secondly, for my pretended intimacy, correspondency with Priests and Jesuits, I dare confidently affirme, that never any man that sate in my place since the Reformation, had lesse acquaintance, familiarity, correspondence with Priests and Jesuits then I; some of my late Predecessors, by name, Archbishop *Bancroft* and *Abbot* (never suspected of any inclination to popery) have usually held intelligence with, and received sundry Letters from Priests, Jesuits in forraigne parts yea entertained some of them at their Tables, and that no doubt for good purposes, and the advancement of the Protestant Religion: But I for my part never held correspondency, nor received Letters from any of them; and I blesse God for it; for had I done it, I must have suffered very deeply; and my Chamber, Study, Closet, being so diligently searched, no doubt their Letters would have been seized, and given in evidence by Master *Prynne*, as well as others; but no such Letters are or can be produced; and to my knowledge I never entertained knowingly any Priest or Jesuit at my Table, nor gave them any countenance, though my Predecessors have usually done it; to prove which, I desire Master *Dobson* may be examined: who being examined accordingly without Oath, affirmed; That he was an household servant to Archbishop *Bancroft*, who received divers Letters of intelligence from Priests and Jesuits in forraigne parts, and sometimes admitted them

to his Table; that he was after servant to Archbishop *Abbot*, who for a moneth or two, dieted one *Julius Maria*, and another popish Priest, as he taketh it, (the one a Spaniard, the other an Italian) at his Table, in hopes of their conversion, who faltered with him in the end, and were thereupon discarded: That he was likewise a servant to this Archbishop, and never saw Sir *Toby Matthewes*, nor any other Priest or Jesuit to his knowledge at his Table: Who being crosse-interrogated, Whether he knew *Julius Maria* and the other to be popish Priests? He answered, he did not certainly know them to be so, but they were so reputed, and professed Papists: To which the Archbishop added, That King *James* had conference with, and extended favour to some Priests, making good use thereof, to set them at variance among themselves, and induce them for to write one against another, as *Watson* and *Preston*, who wrote divers Books in defence of the Oath of Alleagiance, and did good service therein; whereupon my Predecessor *Abbot* granted *Preston* a kind of protection under his hand and Seale: And why I might not doe as much as my predecessors in countenancing *Sancta Clara* (were I guilty of it) without any Guilt of TREASON or just Offence, I yet know not any reason.

Thirdly, I utterly deny that I held any correspondency with Sir *Toby Matthew*, *Smith*, *Price*, *Leander*, *Sancta Clara* or *Saint Giles*, neither is there any cleer prooffe thereof: but admit I did, yet there's no proof at all that I knew them to be Seminary Priests; and if I knew them not to be Priests, no Law takes hold upon me, though I harboured them, which I never did.

Fourthly, the witnesses produced to prove my intimacy with these Priests, are persons of very meane condition, against whom there have been many great complaints made heretofore at the Counsell-Table, and against one or two of them of late, for dishonest practises, in seizing other mens goods and moneys, under pretext of searching after Priests and Jesuits, pretending the goods were theirs: which complaints were referred to some Justices of Peace to examine and how far their testimonies will sway with your Lordships, I most humbly submit to your grave judgements, they being formerly offended with me, for pressing the examination of the many complaints against them in this kind.

Secondly, to the particular testimonies I answer; First, that *Saint Giles* his residing and maintainance in *Oxford*, was by the Kings speciall Warrant, which hath been produced, much against my will; and I never heard he exercised his popish Function, or seduced any there, but onely studied metaphysicall learning, according to his engagement: Secondly, For Sir *Toby Matthew*, I did not know that he was either a Priest or Jesuit, and utterly deny that he was ever with me in my Coach or Barge, or usually repaired to me to *Lambeth*, though being an eminent Archbishops Son, I might in that regard have permitted him more free access unto me: And my Secretary, Master *Dell*, remembers not that ever he told *Newton* that Sir *Toby Matthewes* was with me in the Garden at *Lambeth*: Besides, *Newton*, is but a single witnesse; and Master *Dobson* attests, that he never saw Sir *Toby Matthew* with me at *Lambeth*. As for his release when apprehended by the Lords Warrant, it was only by the Earle of *Straffords* order, not mine. For *Smith* the Jesuit, there is no prooffe that ever he was with me at *Lambeth*, but onely that he was seen there talking familiarly with my Secretary, Master *Dell*, neere my Study doore, who denies and remembers not any such thing: As for his words to *Newton*, that he had done his errand to me, they are but the reports of a Jesuit to slander me, there being no prooffe that ever he spake with me: For my correspondence with the Bishop of *Calcedon*, Doctor *Smith*, there is no prooffe but conjecturall from my Diary: For *Leander* and *Price* their resorting to me, it is but a report, without prooffe at all: And for *Sancta Clara*, I never saw him above three or four times, according as I have truly related under my owne hand: Fourthly, *Saint Giles* and he were Aliens borne out of the Kings Dominions.

and no naturall born Subjects; therefore admit I had harboured and maintained them, it is no felony nor treason by our Lawes, and directly out of the Statute of 27. Elizabeth: Fifthly, *Waddesworths* testimony, it is but a hearsay; for my sending four pound to pay his Fees, I think it is true, and it was upon this occasion; He pretended that he had been a Roman Catholick, but was now really converted to our Religion, and thereupon released, but wanted money to pay his Fees; whereupon I sent him four pound, thinking him to be a new convert to us, and it was upon his own sending to, and acquainting me with his poverty and condition: Sixtly, for my releasing and refusing to meddle with *Wilford* the Priest, it needs no other answer then what the Witnesse swears, that he had a protection and Letter of discharge from Secretary *Windebanke*, and this was the cause I refused to meddle with him: Seventhly, for *Gray*, he was committed by the Lords of the Counsell, not by me; he gave me very ill language, and used approbrious scandalous speeches of me in my owne house, for which he was committed: As for my calling of him *Priest-catching knave*, it is proved but by one Witnesse; and indeed there were many complaints against him for abusing his authority in seizing and searching after Priests, to the prejudice of those who were not such; whereupon I commanded the rest of the Messengers belonging to the High Commission not to keep him company, to avoid the like abuses and complaints: Eightly, for *Egertons* testimony, it is but a report from *Mottersheads* mouth, a single Witnesse, formerly censured in the High Commission for his abuses in importing prohibited Books, and therefore his testimony is to be suspected; *Master Jones* is not produced to make good his testimony, but his papers onely, which are no evidence: Ninthly, for the liberty and freedome of Priests in their prisons, it was unknowne to me, and their Keepers fault, not mine, who would have restrained them: Finally, *Mayo* witnesseth thus much for me, that I gave him command to watch the Embassadours and Popes Nuncios houses, to see who resorted thither to Masse; which he did, giving me an account thereof; and *Thatcher* confesseth, that I gave him a Warrant to apprehend Priests and Jesuits; though I denied it to another, whom I thought not fit to trust in such an employment; a cleer evidence I was no friend unto, and held no correspondence with them. Whereas it is objected, that I confesse I never perswaded nor practized any persecution against popish Priests and Jesuits, though I perswaded and practized it too against Puritans, and those who opposed popery: I answer, that I hope it is no offence not to be a persecutor, or not to give ill language to Jesuits; and for my persecuting of orthodox Ministers and Puritans, I never persecuted any, though I prosecuted some for their schisme and misdemeanours: Wherefore this heavy charge which hath made so great a noyse in your Lordships and the peoples eares, is I hope quite wiped off, and fallen to the ground.

Reply.

To this was replied in generall; First, that the Designe charged upon him is, not his reconciling of ROME to us, but of the Church of ENGLAND to the errors and corruptions of the Church of ROME; and how active he was, how farre he proceeded to accomplish this, and how neer he had brought it to perfection, both in point of Doctrine, Ceremonies, practise, the premised evidences have abundantly manifested, notwithstanding all flourishes to the contrary in his Book against *Fisher*, published not out of any zeale against popery, but meerly in policy upon other mens solicitations, to stop the peoples clamours against his popish practises and proceedings, as himselfe relates in his Epistle thereunto: And his setting up ALTARS, CRUCIFIXES, IMAGES, TAPERS, introducing bowing to ALTARS, COPES, Consecration of Flagons, Churches, Chappels, purging out all passages against popish Doctrines, Popes, Jesuits, popish Priests, &c. his permitting all kind of ARMINIAN ERRORS and Popish Tenents, to be Preached in our Pulpits, and published in Print with

with his Chaplaines speciall approbations prefixed to them; together with his countenancing, advancing the Authors, fomenters, and persecuting the oppugners of them, speak farre cleerer, louder against him, then all his empty writings and testimonies of himselfe can possibly plead for his justification, being so palpably contradicted by the whole streame of his actions.

Secondly, that his intimacy, correspondency with popish Priests and Jesuits is sufficiently proved by our former evidence: Sir *Toby Matthew*, the most active pernicious Jesuited Priest in the Kingdome, we have proved to be riding with him sometimes in his Barge, sometimes in his Coach, sometimes in private earnest discourse with him in his Garden, and frequently with him at his Table; what greater familiarity or intimacy could there be between them then this? That he knew him to be a Priest and Jesuit, is cleere by *Habernsfelds* plot, found in his Study, informing him to be so; and by the Popes Bull to him, common in many Courtiers hands: For *Sancta Clara*, his favourite Doctor *Lindsey* brought him to his Study, with his Book to reconcile us to *Rome*, to peruse it of purpose before it went to the Presse; after which he came thrice to him, writ a Book in defence of Episcopacy by divine Right, with an intention to gratifie him, and tendred it to him for his license; as himselfe confesseth under his ^a own hand in a written paper, where he extenuates this fact all he could; and is this no intimacy ^a See here p. 427. nor correspondency? For *St Giles*, his own ^b hand-writing, testifies that he knew ^b See here p. 428. him to be a Priest, yet notwithstanding he permitted him to reside sundry yeers in the University of *Oxford*, where himselfe was Chancellour, to have the use of the Library there; yea he provided him a large maintainance, & constantly paid it to him there, during his residence, he repairing oft times to him to receive it; and is all this no intimacy, no correspondency? For *Leander*, he denies not but that he was with him once or twice, and if common reports both among popish Priests, Papists or Protestants may be credited, he was once his Chamber-fellow in *Oxford*, and most intimate, powerfull with him here, being purposely sent hither by meanes of his interest in him, to compleat our reconciliation and reduction to *Rome*. For *Smith*, a most dangerous Jesuit, we have proved his being at *Lambeth* neere his Study, his familiarity with Master *Dell* his Secretary, who used him with great respect; his intimacy with Secretary *Windebanke*, the Archbishops greatest confederate; his sending of messages to the Archbishop by Sir *Toby Matthew*, to remember the businesse he told his Grace of when he was last with him; and his frequent threatning of Master *Newton* the Messenger when he met him in the open streets, that he would complaine of him, or doe his errand to the Archbishop, and that he had done it; And are these no badges of his intimacy? For his acquaintance and correspondence with the Bishop of *Calcedon*, Doctor *Smith*, it is apparent by his owne Diary, and *Windebanks* Letter to his Son, himselfe not daring to deny, that Doctor *Smith* mentioned in his Diary, is any other then *Calcedon*: For *Price* the Provinall of the *Benedictines*, we have proved that he hath been seen at *Lambeth* talking familiarly with Master *Dell*, and waiting neer the Archbishops Study doore to speak with him in private; that he and *Leander* have been oft times met, going, as themselves affirmed, to *Lambeth* to speak with the Archbishop, who cannot deny but they were with him; and by whose means we know not, this *Price* procured the Searchers place at *Dover* for the use of the *Benedictines*, and put two professed Papists into it, for the freer passage of Priests and Jesuits into the Kingdome, and more secure conveying intelligence to and from *Rome*: Now lay all this together, and we dare confidently averre, that all his predecessors since the Reformation put together, had not halfe that intimacy, correspondency with Priests and Jesuits as he; and if the truth were knowne, the party or parties who two severall times seriously tendred him a Cardinals Cap, avowing ability to performe it, was either the Popes owne Nuncio, or some Priests, Jesuits or popish Agents, who had instructions from

from the Pope himfelfe to make this offer to him; which none durst nor could without hazard of their lives, have tendred so much as once, much lesse twice to any of his protestant predeceffors: That he received no Letters from Priests and Jesuits, is a thing not credible; the double proffer of a Cardinalship to him from Rome, is a stronger evidence that he received Letters likewise from thence, then his owne bare word, he received none: It is true, we met with no such Letters in his Study or Closet, but the reason was, himfelfe before his commitment and afterward, when he went to Lambeth to fetch papers thence (his Closet and Study being not sealed up till some moneths after his commitment) had time and wisdom enough to convey all such Letters out of the way, or burne them, least they should rise up in judgement to condemne him, though he removed not others thence, wherein he conceived least danger, the better to colour his removal and burning of the most dangerous.

For Master Dobsons Testimony, he is but *testis domesticus*, his owne meniall servant, a meer single Witnesse, and unsworn too, therefore not so much to be valued; but take it as it is, it proves little for him: He saith, that Archbishop Bancroft received Letters of intelligence from forraigne Priests and Jesuits, but he knowes neither their persons nor names, much lesse that they were either priests or Jesuits and that any such resorted to his Table, he cannot certainly affirme it: for he cannot nominate any one priest in particular, and conceives onely they were priests but knowes it not but by conceit, without other evidence: For Julius Maria and the other forraigner, who dieted for a time at Archbishop Abbots Table, he confesseth he did not know them to be priests, but strangers they were, and papists, who made some shewes and promises to that Archbishop of turning Protestants, the onely ground why he thus entertained them, to further and perfect their conversion; but as soon as they faltred with him, they were presently discarded: But what is this to this Archbishops case, who kept correspondence with these Priests and Jesuits, of purpose to pervert and reduce us back to Rome, not to convert them unto us; certainly neither of these two (though Bancroft was none of the greatest enemies to Rome) ever entertained a Jesuit, or most pernicious known seducers into their Coaches, Barges, Closets, Gardens, as he did Sir Toby Matthew and Sancta Clara; never maintained any Priests in the University to seduce young Schollers, and instruct the Doctors there, as he did Saint Giles, who professed, that the Archb. was very cordiall for their Romish Religion; never checked, imprisoned pursivants for being too active in apprehending Priests, nor reviled them by the name of Priest-catching knaves, as he hath done; their cases and his therefore are very different: For Master Dobsons not seeing Sir Toby Matthew at Lambeth; Ergo, he was never there with the Archbishop; it is a meer Nonsequitur; Master Dobson is ancient, perchance his eyes were so dimme he could not discern him, or he was out of the way when Sir Toby was there; but divers others sweare they saw him there; Master Dell informed Master Newton, that his Lord was busie with Sir Toby Matthew in the Garden: yea therefore the Archbishop dares not produce him to testifie his knowledge, least he should confesse the truth.

For King James his encouraging Watson and Preston to write against the Jesuits and other of their Orders, no doubt it was a lawfull policy, and if this Archbishop made use of these Priests, Jesuits for the like good ends, we should have commended, not accused him for it; but he makes use of them the quite contrary way, to poyson, corrupt our Universities, to sophisticate our Articles of Religion, to put such a Roman glosse upon them, as might make them seem to be Roman Catholiques and to reconcile us speedily to Rome, not Rome to us, as

^d See p. 427. Sancta Clara his Book (written in England, and ^d shewed to his Grace by the Author himfelfe, accompanied with his great favourite Bishop Linsey before its publication, as himfelfe acknowledgeth under his owne hand-writing) manifests past all contradiction; therefore the case of Preston (to whom he himfelfe hath given a pro-

a protection under his hand and Seale as well as *Abbot*) is altogether impertinent.

Thirdly, for his correspondency with Sir *Toby Matthew*, *Sancta Clara*, *Saint Giles*, *Leander*, *Smith* and *Price*, we have so fully proved it, that impudency it selfe would blush to deny it: Our Witnesses have sworne all of them to be popish Priests, himselfe under his hand confesseth *Saint Giles* to be such a Priest, and that he was charged not to exercise his Priestly Function during his residence in *Oxford*; it is strange audacity therefore in him to deny, that he knew any of them to be Priests, when he infallibly confesseth he knew him, and no doubt knew all the rest to be so too, especially *Sancta Clara*, who stiles himselfe so in his Book, yea Father *Price* and *Leander* too, were most notoriously knowne to all to be such, and to exercise their Priestly Function in *London*, if not in the Court it selfe sometimes, therefore knowne no doubt to be priests to him. c See p. 418;

Fourthly, for the Witnesses produced, we very much wonder at his exceptions against them, most of them, as Master *Wadsworth*, *Newton*, *Mayo*, *Thatcher*, *Goldsmith* and *Cooke*, being persons imployed by the Lords of the Counsell, himself and the high Commissioners to apprehend Priests and other Delinquents, who continued in that imployment after the pretended complaints against them: If they were men so dishonest, so incredible as he pretends, why the did himself, the Lords and high Commissioners make choice or imploy such for their Messengers, & commit so great a trust unto them? If they be persons worthy to be trusted with such an employment by persons of honour, quality and himselfe too, then certainly most competent Witnesses, attesting onely that they know, with reference to the Arch-bishop, in the very execution of their Office, about the apprehending of Priests and Jesuits, wherein none can give so full or punctuall testimony as themselves, who are most privy to their own Actions. For the pretended abuses committed, they concerne onely two or three of them, not all; that they are guilty of ought complained against them, there is not the least shadow of prooffe offered by the Archbi. and admit there were, yet it would no wayes invalid their testimony, being not in the things for which they were accused, and fortified with other concurrent testimonies, as Master *Thatchers*, Master *Deuxels* and *Elizabeth Grayes*, against which there is no just exception; for Mr *Egertons* censure in the High Commission, it was most unjust and illegal; he was sentented there to be deprived of his Searchers place, and fined forty pounds, onely for giving way, and conniving at the importation of some ENGLISH BIBLES with GENEVA NOTES, and selling some of them to others: A dangerous crime, which will rather improve then impeach his testimony in all honest mens opinions.

Secondly, for his particular answers, we shall returne this replication; First, that the Warrant under the Kings hand for *Saint Giles* his residence and maintenance in *Oxford*, is without date, written with the Archbishops owne hand, and a meer circumvention; yea, it seems a very strong argument of his guilt; for if himselfe did not place and provide for him in *Oxford*, what need he procure such a Warrant from the King to doe it? and if he had been cordiall to our Religion, he would never have accepted such a Warrant, nor intermeddled with such a dangerous scandalous Designe as this, to poyson and seduce the whole University (who took publick notice of it) in such a time of generall defection and backsliding unto popery.

Secondly, for his intimacy with Sir *Toby Matthew*, and knowing him to be a Priest, our Witnesses evidences are so cleere, we shall rather pittie his impudency in denying it, then trouble your Lordships in repeating them; Master *Dobsons* not seeing him at *Lambeth*, is no prooffe he was not there, and the Earle of *Straffords* releasing him, was seconded with his owne approbation who said it is well.

Thirdly, for *Smiths*, *Leanders* and *Price* their resorts unto him, we have formerly

ly cleared it, and shall not repeat; *Sancta Clara* his addressee to him, with his Books to reconcile us, is confessed under his owne hand, we need no other testimony.

Fourthly, that *Sancta Clara* and *Saint Giles* were Aliens, is no extenuation of his guilt, but aggravation; for they were therefore the fitter, the likelier to be employed hither by papall authority, to reduce us back to *Rome*; But admit them Aliens, which he hath not as yet proved, yet *Sir Toby Matthew*, *Leander* and *Price* were native Englishmen, and so within the Statutes of 23 *Eliz.* c. 1. & 27 *Eliz.* c. 2. which he would evade.

Fifthly, for Master *Waddesworths* testimony, it is very full, the Designe was to send him over-sea, or to imprison him, till he should enter into bond never to prosecute or apprehend Priests more, to which plot the Archbishop was privy, whose name was used to him, himself confessing he sent him four peeces to be rid of him; He pretends it was because he pretended himselfe a convert: Certainly this is but a pretext, he being a convert many yeers before, and one employed to apprehend Priests long before his imprisonment, his diligence herein being the cause of his troubles.

Sixtly, his refusall to commit *Wilford*, a most dangerous seducing Priest, before he knew he had any protection, and discharging him afterwards, onely because he had a protection from Secretary *Windebanke*, with Master *Dels* answer, that his Lord would not meddle with such trifles; shewes the coldnesse of his zeale to our Religion, and his good affection to popery: If a godly Protestant Minister had but scrupled at the reading of the Book for Sabbathday-sport, or omitted the last Ceremony, or preached but a Sermon on a Lords-day after-noon, these were such hainous crimes, and matters of so grand importance, that they must be forthwith suspended, committed, deprived, and all busineses set aside to prosecute them, notwithstanding any protection of Law or Gospell; but if a dangerous Priest, who had perverted above two hundred soules, be brought before his Grace, alas his zeale is so frozen, he will not meddle with the businesse, and his friend Secretary *Windebanks* Warrant must set him free, and secure him against all lawes and prosecutions: A plaine prooffe of a confederacy between them to protect these Traytors, and reduce us back to popery, by granting liberty to such pernicious seducers.

Seventhly, for *Gray*, his onely fault as our Witnesses depose, was, that he complained against, his expertnesse and diligence in discovering priests, and assisting other Messengers to apprehend them; for this hainous crime alone, *Windebanke* complained of him to the Queen; and for this very cause *Thatcher* is specially charged by the Archbishop himselfe, not to keep company with him, under paine of being turned out of his place; and *Goldsmith* deposeth, that the Archbishop himselfe gave a publick charge to all the Messengers of the High Commission not to keep company with *Gray* any more, for if they did he would lay them by the heels, pull their Coats off their backs, and turne them out of their places; Committed he was to the Fleet upon the Archbishops complaint, only for using words implying his coldnesse in prosecuting priests, & hoping to see better times; a very poor cause to imprison him so long: His own hand (as we proved) is to the Warrant for his commitment: He oft times petitioned for his enlargement by his wife, but his petitions were still rejected with scorn; He answers, *He will have nothing to doe with that Priest-catching knave*, proved by two Witnesses, *Elizabeth Gray* and *Goldsmith*. *Ubi dolor ibi digitus*; here was the cause of all the malice against *Gray*, this was his grand crime, he was a priest-catcher, and a knave for catching them; strange language from an Archbishop: But what followes? his favourite *Windebank* must come in to act the second part and close up the Tragedy; *Gray* must not be enlarged after many moneths imprisonment, till he put in baile never to discover or prosecute Priests more, and then they should all be quiet in short time with

with our prelates and popish Clergies concurrence, quickly reduce us all to *Rome*: This is the upshot of the Designe, which this evidence concerning *Gray* most cleerly discovers and proves too.

Eighthly, for *Egerton's* testimony, concerning his restoring of popish Books, it is more then a report, it was from the mouth of *Motterhead* a sworn Officer to the Archbishop, now dead, who durst not report an untruth of this nature, and the Archbishop himselfe confesseth, the many Books forementioned, were restored by order of the High Commission Court, whereof himselfe was a chiefe member, therefore by him; a cleer confirmation of *Motterhead's* words, *Egerton's* testimony, and Master *Jones* his papers.

Ninthly, for the liberty of Priests, Jesuits, and their saying Masse in prisons, it was his owne negligence and connivance, the Keepers being under his command, & the High Commissioners, who could look narrowly enough to Puritans and godly Ministers: and indeed their commitment thither to secure them from our common Goales and all legall prosecutions, was but a meer fallacy to delude the people, and advance the Catholick cause with greater facility and lesse suspicion.

Tenthly, *Mayoes* testimony and *Thatchers*, are so farre from extenuating, that they aggravate his offence; their Warrants and imployments being meer dissimulations and shadowes to gull the people; for nought was done upon the intelligence of the one, to whom he refused to grant a Warrant, because he was too hot against Priests; and no Priests apprehended by the other, who had his Warrant upon this condition, Not to imploy or keep company with *Gray*, the onely man that could discover Priests and Jesuits to him, and help him in their apprehending.

Finally, his owne objected confession in his Epistle to the King, *God forbid I should ever offer to perswade a persecution in any kind, or practice it in the least, &c.* against Priests and Jesuits, coupled with the premises, when as he was so terrible, so bloody a persecutor of Orthodox godly Ministers, and zealous Protestants, unanswerably proves his connivance at, his protection of, and confederacy with them, to re-enthral us in their Romish bondage: So that this whole charge, however he conceives he hath shaken it quite off and laid it in the dust, recoiles upon him with greater vigor, and rests heavier on his back then ever.

The last charge of this nature against me is, that I complied with Papists, Priests and Jesuits, in concealing their very Treasonable plots and conspiracies both against our State, Church and Religion, to reduce us unto *Rome*, for which they produce two instances; my threatening and committing *Mistris Hussey*, for discovering a dangerous plot of the Queen-Mother and others to cut the Protestants throats; and my concealing of *Habernfields* plot discovered to me, not prosecuting or revealing it to the Parliament or Lords, to sift it to the bottome.

To this I answer that I did not conceale nor discourage the discoverers of either of these two plots: For the first of them, I conceived it very improbable, and I thought *Anne Hussey* to be crazy when she revealed it, and so much I told her; For her commitment to the Sheriffes, it was at her owne desire, for her greater safety; and there was as strict an examination as possible of this conspiracy, but no cleer evidence: For the latter plot, as soon as I received intelligence of it, I presently revealed it to the King, as appeares by my Letter, and the Kings Answer to it in the margin, under his owne hand, which Master *Prynne* hath printed; and the subsequent Letters prove, that I did all I could therein, but could make nothing of it; This I beleieve a noble Lord here present well remembers, to whom I disclosed it, to wit, the Earle of Northumberland. (who presently replied, he did remember no such thing :) However, it is one of the greatest evidences that can be of my steadfastnesse in the protestant Religion, and opposition against popery, if the plot were reall, and if but counterfeit, then no crime to conceale it.

To

Reply.

b see A necessary Introduction to his Tryall, p. 170 171.

To which was replied ; First, that all the premises abundantly prove, that he was privy and assistant to many Jesuiticall plots and devices to usher in popery, and reduce us to *Rome*, therefore it is no wonder that he opposed not, nor prosecuted, but smothered them all he could : Secondly, that the first of the plots which he then conceived improbable, hath since experimentally proved reall both in *England* and *Ireland*; yea his ^b Owne with *Straffords dangerous advice to the King, To bring in an Army of Irish Papists at that time, to subdue the Scots, because they durst not trust the English* ; was cozen Germane to this plot, which she discovered, and probably a branch thereof ; For his deeming and calling her *Mad-woman*, when she spake both punctually and rationally, with his reviling terrifying words to her, his laying an imputation on the whole City of *London*, that she was hired by them to make this discovery, with his menaces to have her punished, &c. were unsufferable abuses in such a case as this, to smother a most execrable Treason, and such a terrifying of a Witnesse, as we shall not read the like; especially when all the other Lords encouraged and gave her good words : As for the further examination of the businesse afterwards and commitment of the Priest, it proceeded only from the other Lords, not him, who did all he could to dant the Witnesse, and conceal the Conspiracy; which if fully prosecuted at that time, might have prevented the bloody Massacres which have since been made in *Ireland* and *England*, in prosecution of the same Designe, to advance the Catholick Cause, and reduce us back to our prestine Romish thraldome and superstitions : Thirdly, for *Habernfields* plot, it is true, upon the first discovery of it to him in the generall onely, when he deemed it to be a conspiracy plotted & prosecuted onely by Puritans, he acquainted the King therewith, which we confesse in our Evidence ; but as soon as he received the full discovery of it, & found the parties engaged in it to be Papists, Priests, Jesuits, and some of his owne creatures, confederates therein particularized, (as Secretary *Windebanke*, Sir *Toby Matthew*, and others about the Court,) he presently sets downe, proceeds no farther in it, conceales his papers to himselfe, not discovering them to King, Counsell, Parliament, nor endeavouring to apprehend, examine the parties named in it, when present, and some of them questioned, yea impeached in Parliament for some particulars relating to it : Which concealment of his, of a most desperate Treason and Conspiracy, thus circumstantiated in a case of such grand concernment to the safety of the King, Kingdome, Church and Protestant Religion, we conceive to be a high and treasonable offence, tending onely to advance those popish Designes to subvert our Religion, and subject us unto *Rome*, which have ever since been prosecuted by the selfe-same parties, faction, with an higher hand and more open face of late, then ever heretofore : That this plot was not a fiction, (unlesse onely in that which concernes himselfe, wherein he knew there were some mistakes, he being not so odious at *Rome* as it seemes to make him,) but a reall truth in all or most particulars which concern our Religion ; his owne Diary, his endorssments on it together with our dear-bought experience, & late Discoveries concurring with it, fully evidence. His own conviction therfore of its reality should have enduced him, if not to prosecute, yet at leastwise to have revealed it to the Parliament, that they might have sifted it to the Bran, which he never did ; Master *Prymnes* seizing it in his Chamber, to his great grieve, being the onely meanes to bring it unto light : His argument, that it makes most of any thing for the justification of his sincerity to our Religion, and opposition to Popery, aggravates, not extenuates his offence in concealing it, because then he had more reason to disclose it, as well for his owne vindication from scandal, as the publike safety of our King, Church, Religion ; but his engagements to this confederated Popish party, and the Advancement of their cause were such, that he preferred them before his owne private pretended justification, or the safety of all these coupled together : Wherefore he still remaines under the guilt, weight of this and all other the

the Commons forementioned particular charges, notwithstanding all his Answers, Defences to enervate or elude them: And therefore upon this first general Branch of his Charge, the Commons prayed Judgement against him from the House of Peers, as the *Archeft Traytor*, the *cunningest Underminer*, *Subverter* of our established Religion, the *greatest Advancer* of *Popery*, and most *sedulous Agent* to reduce us back to *Rome*, of any Archbishop or pretender to the *Protestant Religion*, that our *English Soile* or the *Christian world* have ever bred; concluding in the Poets words, *Dij talem terris avertite Pestem.*

The remaining Branches of whose Charge and Tryall, we shall (God willing) contract into a *lesser Volume*, and publish with convenient speed; in each Branch whereof, he will appeare as *Criminall*, as *Treasonable*, as *Arch a Malefactor* as in this, wherein he most protested, most laboured to assert his Innocency against so many pregnant *Evidences* and cleer *Demonstrations* of his *guiltinesse*, as will render him most execrable to all true Protestants for eternity, however some have already enrolled him in their lying *Legends*, for a most glorious *Martyr*, and more meritorious *Saint*, then ever his traiterous Predecessor *Becket* was; whose *Treasons* and other grand *Misde-meanours*, were farre inferiour both in quantity, quality, and atrocity unto his.

F I N I S.

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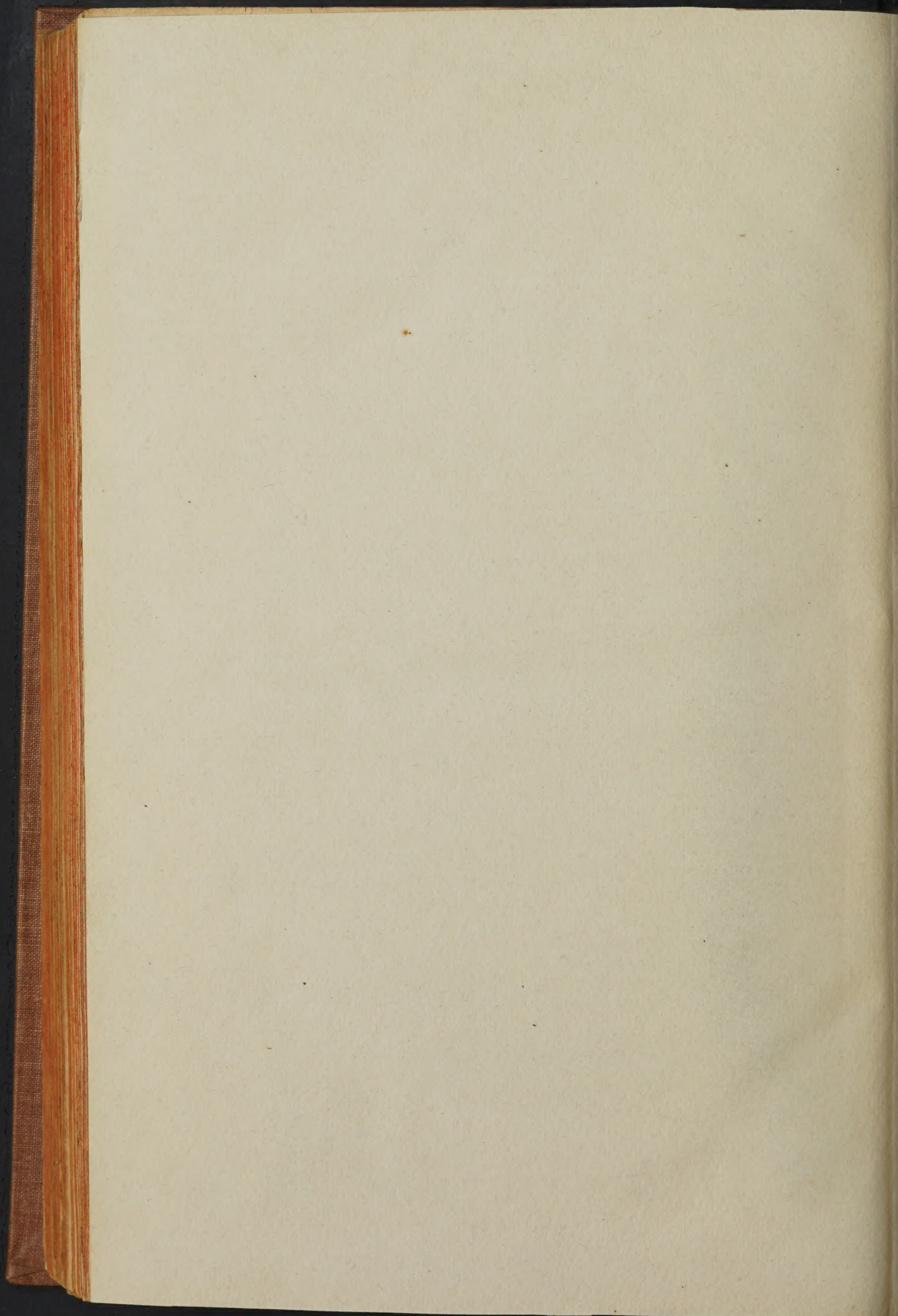
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which though the Printers negligence have escaped the
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Some other slips there are which I shall desire thee to amend as thou findest them, having no leizure to make an exact catalogue of them all.

David S. Francis. b. ne. 4/13/93



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